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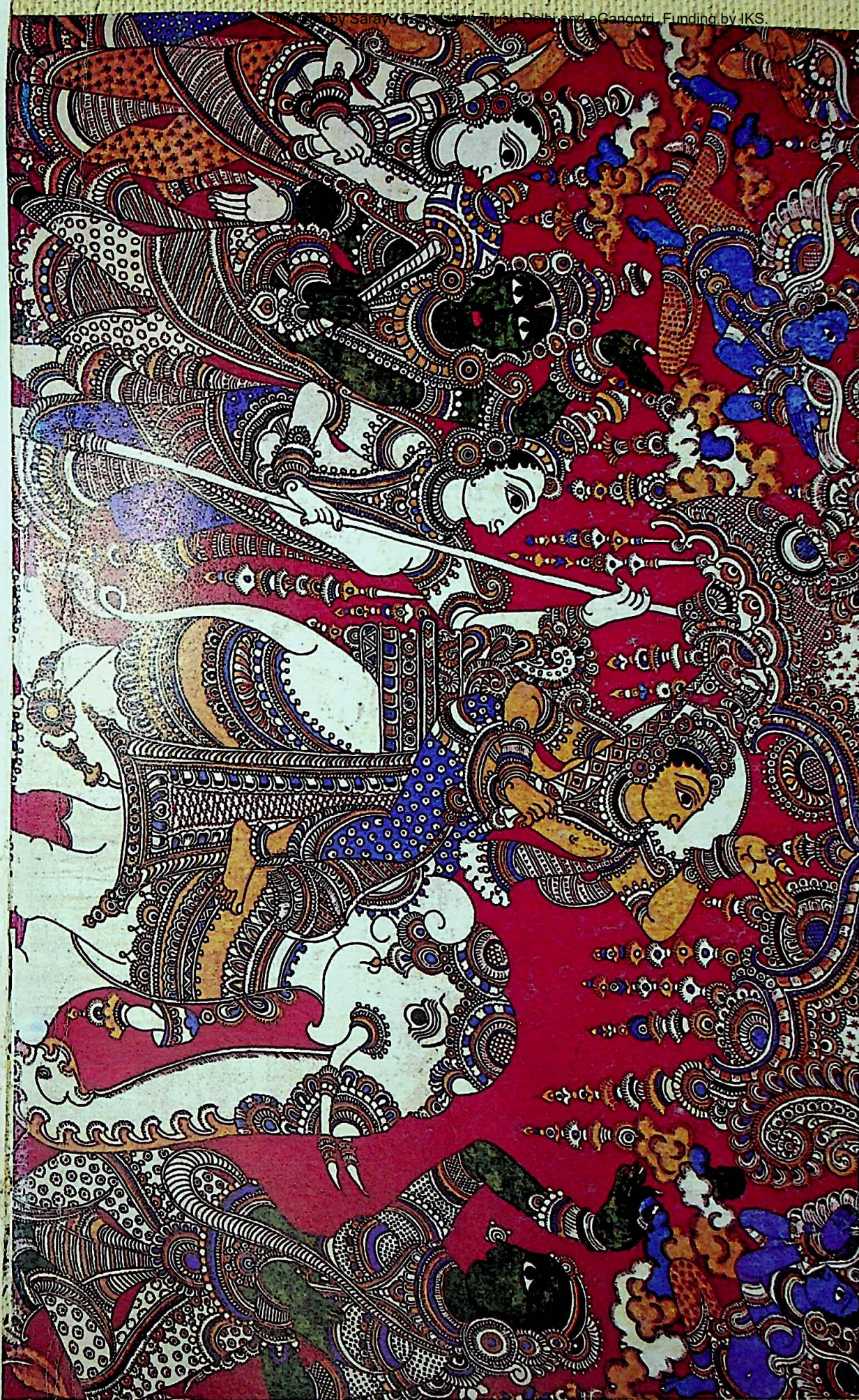
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Antiquities of Indian Tibet

BY

A. H. FRANCKE, Ph.D.,

OF THE MORAVIAN MISSION

PART (VOLUME) II

THE CHRONICLES OF LADAKH AND MINOR CHRONICLES,

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS, WITH NOTES AND MAPS

Edited with Foreword by

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FOREWORD.

The printing of Dr. Francke's work was commenced in 1913. It was practically suspended during the war years, and the difficult period which followed: and since its resumption in 1920 it has been retarded by several circumstances, among which may be mentioned the supply of Tibetan type and the author's residence in Germany, entailing a vast amount of correspondence. The work has undergone considerable revision both prior to being submitted to the press and subsequently.

As regards the difficulties of the texts, it may be said that the edition and translation have been rendered possible only by Dr. Francke's personal acquaintance with the language, peoples, and topography of Ladakh and the neighbouring territories, and by the help which he was able to obtain in the country itself. There remain many points of reading, rendering, and explanation in regard to which certainty has not been attained.

In general Dr. Francke has preserved the varieties of spelling which he found in his originals, and such varieties are usually reflected in the translations. Apology must, however, be made for some inconsistencies in the treatment of Indian terms occurring in the Tibetan: thus such words as *mahārāja*, *wazīr*, may have been so written where the Tibetan has *ma-ha-ra-dza*, *wa-zir*.[1]

The numerous deviations in the spelling of the same names may be classified as follows: *First*, there are the variations so common in the Tibetan spellings both of proper names and of ordinary words. *Secondly*, there are the divergent spellings of European writers, whether due to differences of date, or to systems of transliteration, or to individual idiosyncrasies: and an important group under this head consists of place-names which have assumed a certain fixity in maps, while another consists of names of rulers for which Cunningham's *Ladák* is the chief or sole authority. In general the principles followed have been (1) to preserve in all citations the spelling of the writer, (2) to maintain an uniform and, if possible, correct spelling wherever Dr. Francke is speaking in his own person, except that (3) licence has often been taken to refer to places under the name-forms familiar in the ordinary maps. In the special local maps prepared for this volume a correct orthography has been thought appropriate. It is to be hoped that in the future writers on Tibet will show respect for an old literary language by presenting Tibetan words in the form of an exact transliteration according to an

[1] It may be here mentioned that many of the words noted on pp. 145–6 as borrowed from Indian and European languages have been discussed by Dr. B. Laufer in his article "Loan-words in Tibetan", published in *T'oung-Pao*, vol. xvii (1916), pp. 449 sqq.

accepted system, regardless of pronunciation, which readers unacquainted with the language will in any case distort—in obedience, it would seem, to a perverse instinct misguiding all alike, whether *docti* or *indocti*, in the presence of unknown vocables.

Prior to the appearance of Cunningham's *Ladák* (London, 1854)—with which we should associate the likewise valuable work (*Western Himalaya and Tibet*, London, 1852) of his fellow-explorer, Dr. Thomas Thomson—information concerning Western Tibet was based almost exclusively upon the reports of travellers, Chinese travellers from the fourth to the ninth century A.D., Roman Catholic missionaries during the seventeenth and eighteenth, British travellers (Moorcroft, Henderson, Vigne) during the first part of the nineteenth. Some lists of kings were supplied by Csoma Cörösi, who lived in the country from 1823 to 1830, in Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, pp. 131–2; and a few isolated notices have been traced in the Sanskrit chronicles (*Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*) of Kashmir.

Cunningham's work was of great importance, furnishing not only a great deal of systematic information concerning the geography, topography, meteorology, and economics of the whole region, but also a description of the ethnology and common life, the government, the religion, the languages, and the history. He supplies genealogies of kings and successions of priests for the several districts, and details the substance of local chronicles and narratives. His remarkable historical and topographical insight enabled him to produce a work which is susceptible much more of amplification than of correction, and which will retain its value as an original source. Since his time the region has been extensively visited by officials,[1] explorers, mountaineers, scientists, travellers, and sportsmen; and Ladakh in particular has been found not beyond the reach of ordinary tourists. The most marked deficiency in our present knowledge of the whole territory affects its early history, which is not without importance, seeing that the trade route viâ Ladakh has from ancient times connected Kashmir and India with the life and politics of Central Asia. Dr. Francke's work, providing definite outlines for the later centuries, may furnish threads leading back to the beginnings.

F. W. THOMAS.

August, 1925.

[1] One Englishman, an ex-Corporal named Johnson, even held under the Kashmir Mahārāja the office of Wazīr of Ladakh (1871–1883). He left a very honourable reputation (see p. 142 of the present work).

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INTRODUCTION

THE chronicles of Ladakh (*La-dvags*), which are here for the first time edited and translated in their full extent, comprise in their earlier parts the history of the ancient empire of Great Tibet and in their more recent parts that of the West Tibetan empire. But even in the chapters dealing with the history of Great Tibet special attention is shown to Western Tibet; and these chapters do not appear to be mere extracts from general Tibetan works of history. On the contrary, they appear to be an original production, which had its origin in the west of the country.

The first European to hear of the existence of a continuous historical narrative in Western Tibet was Csoma de Körös, who lived in Zaṅs-dkar and Upper Kunawar between A.D. 1820 and 1830. He says in a note appended to his list of Tibetan kings (Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, p. 132) that there was a book at Leh containing the names of the kings who successively reigned in that principality (Ladakh). But Csoma was never able to see the book.

Csoma's statement was questioned by Sir Alexander Cunningham, who visited Ladakh in A.D. 1846–7. He says that from Dpal-gyi-mgon (tenth century) down to the end of the sixteenth century no historical records exist in Ladakh. This he explains in the following way:—'During the invasion of Ladakh by Ali-Mir, the Mohamedan chief of Skardo (sixteenth century), all the temples and monasteries of the country are said to have been destroyed, and their libraries thrown into the Indus.' Cunningham, however, managed to see historical books containing the history of Ladakh from c. A.D. 1580 down to the Dogra wars (A.D. 1834). These chapters were apparently translated for him into Urdu, and he wrote down in English what he was told. This method explains a number of blunders found in Cunningham's chapter 'Under Native Rulers'. But a comparison of his account with that of the chronicles, as we have them now, plainly proves that his information was drawn from original documents.

The first to bring a copy of such an original document to Europe was Hermann v. Schlagintweit, who visited Leh in 1856. It was a copy specially prepared for him, executed by three lamas, but not until valuable presents had been given to the ex-king, Hjigs-med-rnam-rgyal. This copy was published by Emil v. Schlagintweit, with a German translation, in *Abhandlungen der kgl. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. x, 1866.

A copy of the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*, very similar to that of Schlagintweit, must have been in the hands of the Rev. H. A. Jäschke when he made his collections of Tibetan words for his Tibetan-English dictionary. Many of the words and passages

marked *Glr.* in his dictionary may be traced in the Tibetan text of Schlagintweit's edition. But Jäschke's rendering is often different from that of Schlagintweit.

Dr. K. Marx, Moravian missionary at Leh, soon saw the insufficiency of Schlagintweit's translation. At the same time he discovered at Leh two MSS. which contained fuller accounts of the times subsequent to A.D. 1620. He even induced a Ladakhi nobleman, Munshi Dpal-rgyas, to write the story of the Dogra war, as such an account did not yet exist. Basing on this new material, Dr. Marx proposed to edit a history of Ladakh (of the West Tibetan empire, beginning with King Ñi-ma-mgon in the tenth century) in three parts. The first part was to contain the history of Ladakh from Ñi-ma-mgon to Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal (beginning of the seventeenth century); the second part, the history from Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal down to the Dogra wars (1834); and the third part, that of the Dogra wars. The first part of his work appeared in the J.A.S.B., 1891, consisting of text, translation, and notes, exactly as intended by the author, who had died a few weeks before its publication. Of the second part, the Tibetan text being lost, an English translation only, with a few notes, was published by Dr. K. Marx's brother, Professor G. Dalman. It appeared in the J.A.S.B., 1894. The third part, text according to *Ca* MS., with a translation by my wife, sister-in-law to Dr. K. Marx, appeared in J.A.S.B., 1902.

This was the state of things when Dr. Vogel, officiating Director-General of Archæology in India, asked me to bring out a complete edition of the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs.* In spite of all the labour spent on this little work the edition of the text, as well as its translation, had still many shortcomings. Not only was the text incomplete and scattered over various journals in two languages, but also the translation in many parts left much to be desired.

My first aim was, naturally, to recover those MSS. which had been intended by Dr. Marx to serve as a basis for his second publication, viz. the history of Ladakh from *c.* A.D. 1620 to 1834. These MSS. were called by Dr. Marx *B* MS. and *C* MS. Judging from the description which Dr. Marx gives of the author of *C* MS., I came to the conclusion that he might be Munshi Dpal-rgyas of Leh. My conjecture proved right, and the Rev. G. Reichel of Leh was soon enabled to send me a copy of *C* MS., covering that particular period of history. Munshi Dpal-rgyas, however, was not satisfied with furnishing this little chapter. On the contrary, he offered me in addition his most recent and most complete copy of his history of the Dogra wars. An examination of this new account of the Dogra wars showed me the advisability of embodying it in the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs.* Not to miss the meaning of a number of difficult passages in that chapter, I translated it at once into German. This German translation, together with a note on the relationship of the three different accounts of the Dogra war to one another, was published in the Z.D.M.G., vol. lxiv. All these different versions seem to come from Munshi Dpal-rgyas. It was more difficult to tr[ace] Dr. K. Marx's *B* MS. As a description of the person who owned it about twen[ty] years ago had not been left by Dr. K. Marx, I tried to recover it by offerin[g] a prize to the person who should find it. The prize, amounting to 10 Rs. only,

was gained by the Christian schoolmaster at Leh, Joseph Tshe-brtan, who found the MS. in the possession of Tsandan-munshi at Leh. Of this MS. Joseph Tshe-brtan soon sent me a careful copy. Then I remembered having read in Dr. K. Marx's introduction that in several MSS. of the *Rgyal-rabs* a chapter on cosmology and cosmogony preceded the historical account of the chronicles. At the same time people told me of Munshi Dpal-rgyas' most recent historical activity, viz. his composition of a chapter on the history of Ladakh after 1842 A.D. Joseph Tshe-brtan provided me copies of all these productions, to which he added quite a new chapter, viz. Munshi Dpal-rgyas' chronological and taxation tables.

When I heard from Dr. L. D. Barnett that the British Museum was in possession of a MS. of the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*, I asked Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, then officiating Director-General of Archæology, India, to allow me to order a photographic copy of the same, to which he kindly agreed.

In the present publication the Tibetan text of the following chapters appears for the first time:—chapter ii, on cosmology; chapter viii, on the kings from Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal down to the Dogra wars (*c.* 1625–1834 A.D.); chapter x, on the history of Ladakh after the Dogra wars; and chapter xi, containing chronological and taxation tables. With regard to chapter ix, the history of the Dogra wars, let me state that in the present publication the text of *Ca* MS. has been replaced by that of *Cc* MS., because the latter MS. contains not only a fuller, but also a more reliable account of those wars. Moreover, the text of the other chapters, which is mainly reproduced from former publications by Schlagintweit and Marx, has been carefully revised, and compared with that of the London MS.; and thus a number of doubtful readings have become clear.

As regards translations, the following chapters only contain entirely new material:—chapter ii, on cosmology; chapter x, on the history of Ladakh after the Dogra wars; and chapter xi, chronological and taxation tables. But here let me state that my revision of the former translations by Schlagintweit and Marx has in a great number of cases led to entirely new conceptions. And the present revised translation yields a richer harvest of historical facts than could be gathered from the former translations.

Let me now describe the five MSS. which have supplied the basis of the present text. I have not seen the original of a single MS.; but a comparison of the different copies with one another has shown me their reliability. Of the London MS. I had a photographic reproduction.

1. Schlagintweit's MS. (*S* MS.). The original MS. was the property of the ex-King of Ladakh, Ḫjigs-med-rnam-rgyal. This ex-king resided at Leh during Hermann v. Schlagintweit's visit to that town in 1856 A.D. At first he refused to produce his MS. at all; but, after valuable presents had been given to him, it was the ex-king himself who insisted on a copy of the MS. being prepared for Schlagintweit by three lamas. The text of this copy was appended by Emil v. Schlagintweit to the publication of his German translation of the *Rgyal-rabs*

mentioned above. Dr. K. Marx gives the following description of Schlagintweit's copy of the text (J.A.S.B., 1891, pp. 97–8):—'It apparently was written in *dbu-can* characters; consequently, in all those cases where certain *dbu-med* letters are apt to be confounded it may be taken for granted that, as compared with *dbu-med* MSS., preference must be given to Schlagintweit's edition, as being founded on an *dbu-can* MS. On the other hand, any MS. specially prepared by a native of Ladakh for a foreigner is apt to be less reliable than others of independent origin, for the reason—which would especially be true regarding historical documents—that the copyist will have a tendency to slightly alter the text, in the interest of his master, religion, or country, suppressing such facts as may seem to be derogatory to their fame, and substituting for phrases liable to be misunderstood others of a less equivocal character. As to Schlagintweit's edition, it must be admitted that the lamas who wrote the copy for his brother did not give way to any such tendency until they reached the 6th line of folio 30*a*; be it that they wished to suppress certain facts contained in the sequel, or that they were of opinion that the "merit" of the presents extended no further: certain it is that beyond this point the text is merely a meaningless jumble of words, culled at random from the original, and put together in such a way that only a careful examination of the text by one who knew the language could reveal the fraud. These two and a half pages, therefore, which are supposed to embrace the history of about two centuries, are really not fit for translation, and the attempt can only conduce to results totally misleading. All the other parts of the MS. seem to have been done fairly well. There are mistakes in spelling, and here and there an omission or an addition of a word or phrase that did not belong to the original; but, on the whole, the MS. seems to have been better than many one sees here.' Let me add a few words to Dr. K. Marx's description of the last two and a half pages of *S* MS., embracing the history of Ladakh from Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal to the Dogra war. It is not necessary to believe that 'the merit' of Schlagintweit's presents extended no further, and that for this reason the royal MS. was not properly copied. I have come to the conviction that the royal MS. did not contain a better text. The royal MS. was one of those which close the history of Ladakh with Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal's reign. Other MSS. of the same type are K. Marx's *A* MS. and the London MS. (*L* MS.). Although the history proper of *S* MS. and *L* MS. ended with Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal, a list of names of the more recent kings, together with a few historical notes, was added by a later hand. That King Ḫjigs-med-rnam-rgyal actually did not possess a better text of the history of his country after *c.* 1620 A.D. becomes evident from the following incident:—when his son, ex-King Bsod-nams-rnam-rgyal, on a recent visit to Khalatse, discovered that the Tiṅ-ḫdzin-pa family was in possession of a *Rgyal-rabs* which contained full descriptions of the reigns of the last independent kings, he carried away all these chapters on recent history, returning to the family only the first part of the history.

2. *A* MS. Dr. K. Marx says with regard to it, '*A* MS. is a small book in 16mo, bound in leather and well kept. It contains, on 109 leaves, 1st, a cosmogony and cosmology in outline; 2nd, the genealogy of the Śākyas; 3rd, a history of the kings of Tibet (Yar-lung); 4th, a history of the kings of Ladakh down to King Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal. Throughout it is most neatly written, with comparatively few mistakes. As it was not originally written for an outsider, but for the private use of its owner, its text may safely be supposed not to have been altered on purpose. The history of the kings of Ladakh down to Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal fills twenty leaves.' It forms the basis of the Tibetan text of K. Marx's 'first document'.

3. *B* MS. Dr. K. Marx says, '*B* MS. is four loose leaves in folio, very old-looking, very much worn at the edges and corners, and torn in some places. It commences with the history of the second (Rnam-rgyal) dynasty of Ladakh kings, and gives a comparatively full account of the history of Ladakh down to the Dogra invasion. This MS. is very badly written, so much so that even Ladakhis find it difficult to read; still, in point of evidence it ranks next to *A*, and the information which it contains regarding the decline of the Ladakh empire (since Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal) is especially valuable.' When Dr. Marx died in 1891, it appears that the owner of this MS. claimed his property, and took it to his home. As Dr. Marx does not give any hints with regard to the owner's personality, it was rather difficult to recover the MS. As already stated, Joseph Tshe-brtan found it in the possession of Tsandan Munshi at Leh. He prepared a copy of it, which he sent me.

4. *C* MS. Dr. K. Marx says, '*C* MS. consists of two parts. The first part was specially prepared by command of the wazir of Ladakh. Consequently all the vices inherent in such MSS., as hinted at above, are manifest in it. It consists of twenty-three folio leaves. It is very carelessly written, and the text is very incomplete. It is much inferior to either *A* or *B*. It is obvious in several places that alterations were introduced on purpose, and the principle underlying this practice can easily be discovered: it is to avoid, in the first place, the miraculous; secondly, anything that may be offensive to the Dogra reader; and thirdly, all that may throw an unfavourable light on the royal family. Still, there are preserved in it a few passages that are new, and they will be found introduced in their proper places, and specially marked *A* and *B*. This MS. covers the entire history of the kings of Tibet (*Yar-lung*) and of Ladakh till close upon the Dogra invasion. It also contains an interlinear translation into Urdu, but written in Tibetan (*dbu-med*) characters.'

'The second part of *C* MS. was prepared for me, at my special request, by the writer of the first part, who is the head of one of the ancient families that presided over important functions under the old régime. As I am not an official personage, I think I need not apprehend that he withheld the truth from me. In this portion he relates almost exclusively the events of the Dogra wars and the fall

of the Ladakh empire. As his own father was to some extent mixed up with these painful affairs, it is to him a kind of family history as well. The very fact that he tells it at all, and without any embellishing touches, goes far to prove his veracity in this case; and, as the whole narrative does not contain one word derogatory to the conquerors, but a long tale of ignominy and shame to the losing, i.e. his own, side, I think the character of the writer is fully established thereby.' This MS., the second part of *C* MS., 'consists of about six folio leaves. Its language is the modern Ladakh book-language, and this fact alone should render it particularly interesting to students of the Tibetan language.' As already stated, we have at present three different versions of the 'History of the Dogra Wars', which were probably all composed by Munshi Dpal-rgyas. These three different versions will in the following be distinguished by the letters *a*, *b*, and *c*. *Ca* MS., Munshi Dpal-rgyas' first attempt, is the version published in J.A.S.B., 1902, pp. 21 ff. A fragment only of a translation of *Cb* MS. by Dr. K. Marx is found in J.A.S.B., 1894, pp. 106-7. *Cc* MS., Munshi Dpal-rgyas' final edition, forms the basis of the present Tibetan text of the history of the Dogra war. Wherever a passage of the text is indicated as from *C* MS., without the addition of *a*, *b*, or *c*, it means that it was taken from a chapter of Munshi Dpal-rgyas' chronicle which either precedes or follows the history of the Dogra wars.

5. *L* MS. From a letter of Dr. L. D. Barnett of the British Museum I learnt that the British Museum was in possession of a copy of the *Rgyal-rabs* of Ladakh. It is No. 6683 of the MS. collection. As the Museum authorities are forbidden by Act of Parliament to let any MSS. go out of the Museum, I was advised to have this MS. photographed. *L* MS. is a little book, consisting of seventy-two leaves of black indigo-tinted paper, furnished with *dbu-can* writing in gold. The size of the book is 23½ × 8½ cm. There are five lines on every page. This MS. begins with an introductory hymn, after which follow, as I suppose, a cosmology and a genealogy of Buddha's family. As these chapters are not of any historical interest, I asked Dr. L. D. Barnett not to have them photographed, and to let the photographer begin his work with the history of Gña-khri-btsan-po, on leaf No. 34. The text from leaf No. 34 to No. 70 closely agrees with Schlagintweit's copy of the *Rgyal-rabs*. On leaf No. 70, with the history of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal, the text proper comes to an end. But it is remarkable that the history of this king, as preserved in *L* MS., contains a few passages which are not found in any other MSS. at my disposal. These passages are, however, in agreement with Cunningham's account of the same reign (see his *Ladakh*). The remaining two leaves contain only a list of the kings following Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal. The last king mentioned is Ḫjigs-med-chos-kyi-seṅ-ge, the father of the present ex-King Bsod-nams-rnam-rgyal. Thus, *L* MS. is a specimen of those chronicles which were written at the end of King Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal's reign. They were probably called 'Biographies of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal'.

As stated by the early Tibetan writers of history, they made use of several historical books which were then current in Ladakh. In parts ii, iii, and iv, the following are mentioned:—

1. *Rnam-bśad-mṅon-paḫi-mdzod* (Abhidharma-kośa).
2. *Chos-ḫbyuṅ.*
3. *Rgyal-rabs-che-chuṅ-rnams.*
4. *Ḫjig-rten-gdags-pa.*
5. *Rgyal-rabs-spuṅ-po-gsum-khug-blon-poḫi-rgyal-mtshan.*
6. *Gsaṅ-ba* or *Ḫbru-bdus* (Guhya-samāja ?).
7. *Daṅ-po-dbaṅ-byed-rim-paḫi-dgu-byuṅ.*
8. *Ḫkhor-lo-sna-bdun.*

Of these works No. 7 is still known in Ladakh, where it is called *Rim-dgu.* This work may possibly come to light again. As I understand, this book contains not exactly folklore, but popular legends, referring to the early reigns. The book called *Chos-ḫbyuṅ* is given in Csoma's list of historical books. To these eight works may be added the *Rgya-cher-rol-pa* (*Lalita-vistara*), which book was utilized by the writer of part iii, the genealogy of the Sakyas. The little song, *Rgyal-rigs-bram-zehi-bu-mo-daṅ*, etc., was directly copied from that book.

The office of chronicler does not appear to have been continually occupied in Ladakh. We know only of the following occurrences: Under King Mu-khri-btsan-po (798–804 A.D.) a first history of Tibet was written. Then King Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal (*c.* 1625–45 A.D.) wrote a biography of his father, Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal. Finally, Munshi Tshe-riṅ-dpal-rgyas, of Leh, has acted as chronicler of more recent times. It is, of course, very probable that between these three there worked a great number of chroniclers who have been forgotten. At present we cannot expect to find any more MSS. of the *Rgyal-rabs*, dating from King Mu-khri-btsan-po's times. Still, the early parts of the text of the royal MS. (*S* MS.) were possibly copied from an ancient MS. of the *Rgyal-rabs* of *c.* 800 A.D.

It is very probable that some of the early historians of Ladakh or Tibet took Indian *Vaṃśāvalīs* as their model. The *Vaṃśāvalī* of Chamba, for instance, as published by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel in his *Antiquities of the Chamba State*, bears a strong resemblance to the older portions of the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*. Both productions begin with an introductory hymn, in which the book is called a necklace. The necklace is represented as being wound round the neck of the deity or saint to whom the book is dedicated. Then, both books contain a long list of names of mythological beings, the supposed supernatural ancestors of the race of kings, and, in a third part, the names of the actual human kings are given. The Indian *Vaṃśāvalīs*, even if they contained nothing but names, were written in metre, and such was also the case, probably, with the Tibetan productions. A last remnant of such a Tibetan metrical *Vaṃśāvalī* we may have in Schlagintweit's folios 13 and 14*a* (the seven heavenly thrones), where there are ten lines of metrical verse which contain in lines 1–6 only names, and in lines 7–10 a few notes on that group of kings.

In addition to the Indian *Vaṃśāvalīs*, Tibetan historiography may have been influenced in very early times by Chinese historiographers. Rockhill may be right when he compares the seven Tibetan *Khri* (heavenly throne) kings with the twelve celestial sovereigns of the Chinese Sanhwang; the six Tibetan *Legs* with the eleven terrestrial sovereigns of the Chinese; and the eight Tibetan *Lde* with the nine human sovereigns of the Chinese. Possibly the Tibetans were not at once furnished with sufficient names to satisfy a Chinese historian. Therefore they had to manufacture new names or classes of names, and insert them in their lists. This may account for the repeated beginning in the *Rgyal-rabs*, part iv, as we have it at present. Thus we find two kings of the name of Spu-rgyal. Of the palace of Phyi-dbaṅ-stag-rtse, which was stated in the chronicles to have been in existence during the reign of the first king, we hear again, ten or eleven generations later, that it was then built as the first palace of the country. Then, although the country is described as having been in a high state of civilization under its first king, a first introduction of civilization is attributed also to several of his successors. From the Chinese the Tibetans probably learned history-writing in prose. In this connexion, however, we must not forget that the Tibetans are ethnically related to the Chinese. It is not impossible that both these nations had inherited their lists of mythological kings from their common ancestors. And this may account for the similarity between their lists of mythological kings.

But a really intelligent form of prose-writing was not acquired before the fifteenth century, when quite a new way of recording facts made its appearance. This last and best form of chronicling was probably learnt from the Muhammadan writers of the period.

The man who compiled the story of the kings of Yar-luṅ, *Rgyal-rabs*, part iv, did not derive his information only from chronicles in prose or verse, but also made use of the folklore of his time, and thereby added a new charm to his chapter of the history. Thus we find an old proverb placed at the beginning of the chapter, and popular ditties, referring to the reigns of Spu-de-guṅ-rgyal and Khri-sroṅ-lde-tsan. The first song in part iii is probably a verse from Buddhist literature which had become popular, whilst the second song was taken from the *Lalita-vistara*. It is interesting that in Dr. K. Marx's *B* MS. (part viii) also an ancient popular song is found, which it was the historian's endeavour to turn into prose. My attention was drawn to this interesting fact in the following way:—I told my Tibetan assistant, Bzod-pa-phun-tshogs of Khalatse, to read through the third chapter of Schlagintweit's text of the chronicles, to see if he could find poetical parts in it. He read it and said that he had not found anything, because the old song of Ali Mir, which was contained in Dr. K. Marx's *Rgyal-rabs*, was omitted in Schlagintweit's copy. He said that he had often heard people sing a song of Ali Mir. When I examined Marx's text, I could see at once that seven lines of the old song could be easily restored by making only very slight alterations in the text. It then runs as follows:—

kha-saṅ-ṅa-yis-rmi-lam-du
mtsho-nas-seṅ-ge-ṅar-gyis-mchoṅs
rgyal-kha-tun-la-thim-par-mthoṅ
de-daṅ-dus-mtshuṅs-bu-mo-ḥdi
sems-can-daṅ-ni-ldan-par-gyur
ḥdi-la-bu-žig-ṅes-par-skye
miṅ-la-seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal-thogs.

Then also, in the tale of the battle of Babsgo, Schlagintweit's MS., we find a little song of four lines included, as follows (with two corrections by myself):—

Rgyal-po-Bab-sgoṅ-bžugs-šiṅ
Kha-chul-dmag-daṅ-bcas
Sog-po-rnams-la-brgyab-pas
Sog-ḥbros-thabs-su-soṅ.

Another song referring to N̄i-ma-rnam-rgyal is found in *C* MS., and the last chapter of the chronicle contains a few proverbial sayings.

The influence of prose productions of folklore (the Kesar-saga in particular) on the writing of history is, of course, very distinct in the early parts of the chronicle. Let me mention only the description of the seven heroes under Guṅ-sroṅ-ḥdu-rje, which at once calls to mind the seven 'Agus of the Kesar-saga. But also passages like the description of Lha-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal's three sons, who lived as late as the sixteenth century, look as if they had just been copied from the Kesar-saga.

This brings us to the question of the Bon religion, which religion is apparent in many parts of the *Rgyal-rabs*. Thus (1) in the chapter on cosmology we find a line of gods, preceding the gods of the four continents, which looks as if it might be of Bon-po origin. It begins with Nam-kyer-rgyal po, who is probably identical with Kyer-rdzoṅ-sñan-po of the *Gliṅ-chos* (religion of the Kesar-saga). (2) The tables of nations in the same chapter, which are not yet entirely intelligible, also look as if they had come down to us from early Bon-po times. (3) The ancient dynasties of kings from Gña-khri-btsan-po down to Lha-tho-tho-ri-sñen-bšal, look as if they had been introduced wholesale from Bon-po mythology. As we know from the mythology of the Kesar-saga (*Gliṅ-chos*, the most original type of the Bon religion), the world consists of three realms, viz. (*a*) heaven, the land of the gods; (*b*) the earth, the land of men; and (c) the underworld, the land of the *Nāgas* (*klu*). Now it is remarkable that all the five groups of mythological kings are connected with one or other of these three realms of mythology, as follows:—The seven heavenly *khri* (thrones) are connected with the land of the gods; the two *Bar-gyi-ldiṅ*, the six *Saḥi-legs*, and the eight *Saḥi-lde* are connected with the earth; and the five *Smad-kyi-btsan* or *Klu-rgyal* (*Nāga-rājas*) belong to *Yog-klu*, the realm of the *Nāgas*. (4) Then the history of Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po with his two wives at once calls to mind the tale of King Kesar with his two wives, as I have repeatedly stated. And the influence of the Kesar-saga is felt also in other parts of the chronicle, as stated

above. Gesar's (Kesar's) name is found three times in the chronicle, viz. in parts i, ii, and vi. He is the revealer of historical knowledge.

Let me now review the text of the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*. It consists of ten parts, some of which have headings in Tibetan, whilst others have not.

Part I: Introductory Hymns. One hymn is found in *S* MS., another in *L* MS.

Part II: Cosmology and Cosmogony. Dr. K. Marx mentions such a chapter as occurring in *A* MS. The following text is based on a copy of this chapter provided by Joseph Tshe-brtan of Leh.

Part III: The Genealogy of the Śākyas. This chapter is found in *A* MS., *S* MS., and *L* MS. It is interesting that several of the mythological names contained in it are found also in inscriptions of Ladakh and in folklore. This shows how deeply rooted is the belief of the people that the kings of Ladakh are descended from the Śākya race. The following text is based on *S* MS. But *A* MS. might be adduced for comparison. The history from Rna-ba-can to Gautama Buddha is almost literally identical in *S* MS. and *A* MS.

Part IV: The Tibetan Kings of Leh and Lhasa down to Glañ-dar-ma, the Apostate. This chapter is entitled in Tibetan 'History of the First Spread of Buddhism'. It is found in *A* MS., *C* MS., *S* MS., and *L* MS. The same times we find described in Central Tibetan and Mongolian historical books and in Chinese works. The latter were translated by S. W. Bushell (JRAS., 1880). A most successful attempt to reconcile the Chinese with the Tibetan accounts was made by Herbert Müller in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtskunde*, Bd. xx. My chronology is based on the Chinese chronicles. The following text is based on *S* MS.; but *L* MS. has been adduced for comparison.

Part V: Glañ-dar-ma's Persecution of Buddhism. This chapter is entitled in Tibetan 'The Submerging of Buddha's Religion'. It is found in *A* MS., *C* MS., *S* MS., and *L* MS. The same times are described in Central Tibetan, Mongolian, and Chinese historical works. Even Albīrūnī speaks of Long-dherman, Langdarma. The text of this chapter is based on *S* MS.; but *L* MS. has been adduced for comparison.

Part VI: The Kings of the First West Tibetan Dynasty. This chapter is entitled in Tibetan 'The Story of the Later Spread of Buddha's Religion'. It is found in *A* MS., *C* MS., *S* MS., and *L* MS. The Chinese works do not contain any passages relating to those events. The Central Tibetan and Mongolian authors tell the tale down to King Dpal-gyi-mgon. Of later times they supply only occasional notes, as, for instance, the note on a census of Tibet and Ladakh under the Emperor Kublai Khan in the thirteenth century. The text of this chapter is based on *A* MS.; but *C* MS., *S* MS., and *L* MS. have been adduced for comparison.

Part VII: The Kings of the Second Dynasty down to Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal. This is probably the 'Biography of Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal' compiled by his son Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal, as stated in *S* MS. No Oriental would begin a biography with the birth of his hero. The hero's history is given at the end of a long narrative of his

ancestors. *A* MS., *S* MS., and *L* MS. are probably such biographies of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal, furnished with the most elaborate groundwork. The text of this chapter is based on *A* MS.; but *C* MS., *S.* MS., *B* MS., and *L* MS. have been adduced for comparison. Foreign historical works contain only occasional references to the events told in this chapter.

Part VIII: The Last Independent Kings of Ladakh. This chapter, which is not furnished with a Tibetan title, is found in *B* MS. and *C* MS. *S* MS. and *L* MS. supply only a few additions to the text. Foreign historical works contain only occasional references to the events told in this chapter. The following text is based on *B* MS.; but *C* MS. and in a lesser degree *S* MS. and *L* MS. have been adduced for comparison.

Part IX: The History of the Dogra War. Its Tibetan title is 'History of the War waged by Mahārāja Gulāb Siṅg's Soldiers against Ladakh and Tibet'. It is found in *Ca* MS., *Cb* MS., and *Cc* MS. The same events are described by Tshe-brtan of Khalatse and Bastī-Rām. The text of this chapter is based on *Cc* MS.; but a few additions were made from *Ca* MS.

Part X: Ladakh after the Dogra War (1842–86 A.D.). This chapter was written by Munshi Tshe-riṅ-dpal-rgyas of Leh, and his text was copied for the present publication by Joseph Tshe-brtan of Leh.

In an eleventh part Munshi Tshe-riṅ-dpal-rgyas' Chronological and Taxation Tables will be found published.

The aim of the present publication is not to bring out a critical edition of a Tibetan work on history, but to present in a connected text all the historical facts contained in the various MSS. of the West Tibetan chronicles.

As after 1600 A.D. the various MSS. do not correspond with regard to their texts, it would be advisable on some later occasion to publish the texts of the different MSS. in full.

Where does the truth begin? I am convinced that all the early groups of kings (see Part IV) have nothing to do with history. They belong to Bon-po mythology. The first historical king is Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po (600–50 A.D.). The Tibetan art of writing history begins with him. But, as the Tibetans probably could remember his forefathers up to his great-great-grandfather, the Kings Khri-sñan-bzuṅ-btsan, Ḫbroṅ-sñan-lde-ru, Stag-ri-sñan-gzigs, and Gnam-ri-sroṅ-btsan may also be historical personages. Thus the first possibly historical king, Khri-sñan-bzuṅ-btsan, may have lived about 120 years before Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, c. 480 A.D.

Let me now examine the general features of Ladakh historiography. The character of the chronicles is not the same during the different periods which they describe. The first three and a half chapters contain only legendary matter, taken from Buddhist as well as Bon-po mythology. Then follow one and a half chapters of real history (Part IV, second half, and Part V). They tell the tale of the empire of Great Tibet. Then we hear the tale of the West Tibetan empire, which in its most ancient parts (Part VI) can hardly be called a history; nor was it apparently meant

to be such. It was begun as a pedigree of the kings of Leh, whose chief intention was to prove their descent from the famous line of the ancient kings of Lhasa. Thus the first portion of this chapter, covering roughly the period from 900 to 1400 A.D., does not contain much beside mere names. About the year 1400 the account begins to become fuller. This may be due to the fact that the second dynasty branched off at about that time, and this new line of kings may have had a stronger instinct for history. Or it may be due to Muhammadan influences. At any rate, the accounts grow in fullness after 1400 A.D. Still, they leave much to be desired from a European point of view. The writers were lamas, and to them the greatest events during the reign of a king were his presents to lamas and monasteries, or his building of chortens (*mchod-rten*, stūpa) and *maṇi*-walls. Much ink has been expended on these events, which are of very little interest to the average European. On the other hand, the campaigns of the kings are treated with extraordinary brevity, and of their economical work we hear nothing at all. Only in the case of the last few kings are we able to form an idea of their characters, and of the tactics employed during the campaigns we hear practically nothing. The chronicler is quite satisfied with telling us the final result. Thus we see that all those points which go to make a history of a country serviceable are missing in these Western Tibetan records; and yet the naïve tone of the chroniclers has often a charm of its own.

An important question is this: do the Ladakhi historians tell the truth, or is their history entirely or partially fabricated matter? The best test of the veracity of a historical account is a comparison with other entirely independent documents. Only in comparatively few cases are we enabled to compare a Western Tibetan account of an event with that of a foreign country. Of greater importance in that respect are the many inscriptions on rock and stone which are scattered all over the country. I have made a special study of these records, and have come to the following conclusion: from the inscriptions it becomes evident that at any rate the kings of the Rnam-rgyal dynasty are historical realities, and their order of succession is the same on the records on stone as in the chronicles. Records containing the names of all of them have been found, from Lha-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal down to Tshe-dpal-rdo-rje-rnam-rgyal. As far as contemporary history of other countries can be adduced by way of comparison, the chronicles do not contain anything that conflicts therewith. The test of the veracity of the account of the first dynasty is of a more insufficient nature. Records on stone relating to the time from *c.* 850 to 1400 A.D. are rarer than those of later times, and several of them do not contain the proper name of the sovereign. This much has so far come to light. King Ḫbum-lde's name is found on the rock at Mul-bhe, which contains an edict by him. The name of his son, *Blo-gros-*[*mchog-ldan*], occurs in an inscription on the wall of the *Byams-pa-dmar-po* temple at Leh. An inscription at Tabo in Spi-ti mentions King Lha-chen-byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḫ (first half of the eleventh century) as a contemporary of the Gu-ge king Byaṅ-chub-ḫod and the famous Indian teacher Atīśa. Thus the testimony of the inscriptions which have become known up to the present does

not go very far with regard to the accuracy of the first part of the chronicles. Here folklore comes to our aid. It has preserved the names of two more kings of the first dynasty in two songs, the drift of which is not in opposition to what the chronicles say about them; these are the kings Ñi-ma-mgon and Jo-dpal. And the name of yet another king, or at least prince, of Western Tibet, Prince Rin-chen, is apparently attested by the chronicles of Kashmir. Certainly, we should be glad to be able to adduce more arguments to prove the accuracy of the account of the first dynasty. However, what can be adduced is in accordance with its statements, even with regard to chronology, and I think we have a right to accept also the account of the first West Tibetan dynasty as on the whole true and reliable.

In no case do the West Tibetan chronicles enable us to fix the time of the reign of a king exactly, and the Tibetan dates have to be used with much caution. The Tibetans, as well as the Chinese, have cycles of sixty years, which are differentiated by numbers. The first Tibetan cycle begins with the year 1024 A.D. (1026 according to Waddell). This great cycle of sixty years contains smaller cycles of twelve years each, the single years of which are named after twelve animals. To be able to distinguish between the same animal years within the cycle of sixty, the 'animals' names are coupled with the names of the Tibetan five elements. Thus, a date is complete if the following is given: (1) the number of the great cycle, (2) the animal of the little cycle, (3) the element. For instance, the water-ox year of the fourteenth cycle is the year 1853 A.D. But in most cases the date is not given completely enough to be of much use. In the most ancient dates only the animal's name is given. Some time between 1500 and 1600 the Ladakhis began to combine the animal's name with that of an element. Dates furnished also with the number of the cycle of sixty do not occur before the nineteenth century. Besides, I have come to the conclusion that the Ladakhi cycles are behind the Tibetan cycles by exactly twelve years. Compare the dates for the beginning of the Dogra war and for the discovery of the sapphire mine. But in the second half of the nineteenth century some lama authority introduced the Tibetan cycles. Thus we have no absolute certainty with regard to West Tibetan dates. As, however, several West Tibetan kings were contemporaries of other historical personages whose dates can be fixed, we are in a position to furnish all the Ladakhi kings with approximate dates. With regard to the second dynasty eventual mistakes can hardly amount to more than a decade. From the outset it must be understood that the reign of a certain king may have been longer or shorter than the period given in this chronicle; but it is probable that some years of his actual reign coincide with some of the years given here. The fixed dates, on which hinges the whole chronology given in this book, are the following:—Glan-dar-ma, 816–42 A.D., according to the Chinese; Atiśa, 980–1053 A.D., according to the *Reḥu-mig*; Prince Rin-chen, *c.* 1320 A.D., according to the Kashmir chronicles; Tsoṅ-kha-pa, 1356–1418, according to the *Reḥu-mig*; the Turkoman invasion of Ladakh under Sultan Haidar, 1532 A.D., according to the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*; the siege of Bab-sgo, *c.* 1650 A.D., according to various authorities; Desideri's visit to

Leh, under Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal, 1715 A.D.; Moorcroft's visit to Leh, under Tshe-dpal-rnam-rgyal, 1820 A.D.; Dogra wars, 1834–42 A.D. The intervening periods are filled up by assigning about thirty years to each reign.

The most important foreign works which are of particular value for a history of Western Tibet are (1) the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (chronicles of Kashmir), by Kalhaṇa, for the Chinese and Kashmiri expeditions to Western Tibet in the eighth century; (2) the Annals of the Chinese Thang dynasty, for the same period; (3) the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (chronicles of Kashmir), by Jona-rāja, for the career of Prince Rin-chen in the beginning of the fourteenth century and the Kashmiri expeditions to Ladakh in the fifteenth century; (4) the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*, for the Turkoman expedition to Ladakh in the sixteenth century; (5) Roman Catholic accounts of d'Andrada's mission to Tsaparang in Gu-ge in the seventeenth century; (6) Desideri's account of his journey to Lhasa and Leh, 1715; (7) the account of the Mughal historian, Mir-Izzet-Ullah, for details about the siege of Bab-sgo, *c.* 1650 A.D.; (8) Bernier's travels (Kashmir), for the relations of the Mughal emperors to Western Tibet in the seventeenth century; (9) Moorcroft's travels, for the times of the last independent king of Ladakh; (10) Central Tibetan and Mongolian works are of the greatest importance for the history of Western Tibet down to the tenth century. After that time they contain only casual notes on Western Tibet, as, for instance, on the census of Ladakh under Kublai-Khan.

Together with the chronicles of Ladakh I am publishing the chronicles and genealogical trees of several West Tibetan vassal chiefs and three short accounts of important events in Ladakhi history. They are found under 'Minor Chronicles'. The chronicles relate to the following provinces: Zaṅs-dkar, Bzaṅ-la, Gu-ge, Bu-rig (Cig-gtan, Śod, Mkhar-bu), Baltistan, Ko-loṅ of Lahul, Ti-nan of Lahul, and Bar-bog of Lahul. And the brief accounts tell the tale of the Dogra war (two versions) and of the trade between Ladakh and Kuḷū and narrate the services of several ministers and generals.

Besides the chronicles and genealogical trees, the following historical documents are also of great importance:—(1) Inscriptions on stone, etc. They will be treated in a special part. (2) Decrees on paper issued by certain kings. Up to the present I have discovered the following:—two decrees by Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal, one by Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal II, one by Tshe-dpal-rnam-rgyal, and one by Biddhi Singh of Kuḷū. As regards Kuḷū kings, a great number of letters by them in Ṭakrī, addressed to various chiefs of Lahul, have been collected by Mr. G. C. L. Howell, Assistant-Commissioner of Kuḷū. But it would not be difficult to collect similar documents in Ladakh. They are all of the greatest historical interest. (3) The *Māhātmyas* of monasteries. I have succeeded in seeing the following:—the *Chags-yig* of the Gyuṅ-druṅ (Lamayuru) monastery of Ladakh, and of the Gandhola and Trilokanātha monasteries of Lahul. The *Chags-yig* of the Likir monastery is contained in an inscription on a wall of the monastery. The *Māhātmyas* do not contain much historical, but a great deal of legendary matter.

With regard to names of kings, the Tibetans seem to have had the principle of not repeating the same name. If ever the same name occurs a second time, as in the case of Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal and Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal, we may be sure that the second king of such name was not heir-apparent, but a younger prince, previous to his accession to the throne.

My thanks are due to the following persons for having assisted in the translation of the chronicles:—To Mrs. S. Becker-Chapman, of Herrnhut, for having looked over my first rough copy of the English translation; to the two Tibetan Christians, Bzod-pa-phun-tshogs, of Khalatse, and Joseph Tshe-brtan, of Leh, for having assisted me to find the correct interpretation of several difficult Tibetan passages; and, most of all, to Dr. F. W. Thomas, of the India Office, for having revised the work before printing. Dr. Thomas has not only revised the English rendering, but has also cleared up many a difficult passage in the translation. I must not forget my predecessors, who cleared the way for the present edition. The greatest praise is due to the late Dr. K. Marx, of Leh, who showed for the first time that the *Rgyal-rabs* contains a coherent and intelligible account of the past, and is not a mere jumble of words.

LA-DVAGS-RGYAL-RABS

TIBETAN TEXT

ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་རབས་ནི།

I

(*L* MS.) ལེགས་བྱས་མཆོད་སྦྱིན་བརྒྱ་ཕྲག་བཅུ་ཡི་བསོད་ནམས་འབྲས།
དུས་གསུམ་མཐོང་བའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་འདྲེན་བྱེད་སྐྱོང་གིས་བརྒྱན།
ཞི་(ཞག་)ཁྲག་སྲེད་པ་སྟོབས་ཀྱི་མི་བཟོད་སྒྲ་བརྒྱའི་ལན།
ནམ་མཁའི་རལ་པས་བསྐྱེད་པས་མཐུ་སྟོབས་དབང་པོས་མཛོད། ༎

(*S* MS.) མཚར་དུ་དངར་བའི་མཆིན་པའི་གེ་སར་ 5
གཞོན་ནུའི་ལང་ཚོའི་ལྷུགས་ཀྱུ་ཡིས།
ཆོས་ཀུན་རི་དྭགས་མིག་ཅན་མ་ཡི་
སྙིང་ལ་བསྟུན་པའི་རང་དབང་དུ།
འདུ་འཕྲལ་བློས་གར་རི་མོའི་སྣང་བརྟན་
ཆོས་ཉིད་མེ་ལོང་གཙང་མའི་ངོས། 10
རྫིན་པར་འཆར་བའི་བྱེད་པོ་ཟུར་ཟུར་
ལྷ་པ་མཉེན་པའི་རྒྱན་དུ་བཞུགས། ༎

II

(*A* MS.) བོད་ས་གཞི་ཆག་རབས་ནི།

༎ སྤྱིར་ཆོས་ཐམས་ཅད་རང་བཞིན་གྱིས་རྣམ་པར་དག་ཅིང༌། བརྗོད་པའི་ཡུལ་ལས་འདས་པ་ཡིན་ནའང༌། གང་ཟག་བརྒྱུད་སྨིན་པ་དང༌། མ་སྨིན་པའི་དབང་གིས། ཀུན་རྫོབ་སྒྱུ་མའི་རྣམ་འཕྲུལ་ནམ་མཁའ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཁྱབ་པ། སྣོད་བཅུད་ཀྱི་འཇིག་རྟེན་དབྱིབས་དང༌ཁ་དོག་སྣ་ཚོགས་སུ་སྣང་བ་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་པ་ལགས་ནའང༌། མདོར་ལས། 15

ཉི་ཟླ་བྱེ་བ་ཕྲག་བརྒྱ་རྣམ་བྱེ་བའི།
གླིང་བཞིའི་པར་ཚལ་མེད་འབུམ་དགྲིགས་པ་ལས།
འཁོར་ཡུག་རྒྱམ་པོས་བསྐོར་བ་བཟོད་པ་སྟེ།
ཕྱག་ཐུབ(ཤཱ་ཀྱ་ཐུབ་པ)་མིང་གི་རྣམ་གྲངས་རྣམས་སྣང་བཞུགས་

ཞེས་དང ། བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་རྣམ་པར་སྣང་མཛད་གངས་ཆེན་མཚོ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ཕྱག་གི་ལྷུང་བཟེད་ཀྱི་ནང་དུ་སྟོང་གསུམ་མི་མཛེད་འདི་ཡི་ 20
སྣར་ཆགས་པའི་ཚུལ་ནི། གཞུང་ལྟར་མང་དུ་གྲགས་ཀྱང༌། མདོར་བསྡུ་ན། ༧༧ ། ཡོན་ཏན་བསྟུད་པ་ལས། མཁའ་ལ་རླུང་རྟེན། དེ་

ལ་རྒྱའི་ཟུར་ཕོ་ཉེན། དེ་ལ་ས་ཆེན་འདི་ཉེན། དེ་ལ་འགྲོ་བ་ཉེན། སེམས་ཅན་ལས་ལ་སྤྱོད་པའི་རྒྱུ་དེ་འདྲེན། ཞེས་པ། དེ་ལ་དང་པོ་
ནམ་མཁའ་སྟོང་པར་བསྐལ་པ་ཉི་ཤུར་སྟོངས་ནས་གནས་པའི་དུས་སུ། གཡོ་འགྱུལ་རླུང་གི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱིས་མས་བཏེག། དགའ་བདེ་
ཆུ་ཡི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱིས་ཀུན་བསྡུས། རྫོགས་སྤྱོད་མེ་ཡི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱིས་རྡོ་བབ། སྣང་བ་ནམ་མཁའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱིས་སྒོ་ཕྱེ།
དབང་ཆེན་གསེར་གྱི་ས་གཞི་ནི་རྒྱ་ཆེ་ལ་འཁོད་སྙོམས། ཁོངས་ཡངས་ལ་མཐའ་མེད་པའི་དཔུང་སྤོན་པོས་གཡས་ཐུབ། དོག་མི་འགྱུར་
5 བ་དབུས་ཀྱི་རི་རྒྱལ་ལྷུན་པོས་མནན། གླིང་བཞི་མཐའ་ནས་མི་ཕྱེར་བར་འབྱུང་བ་ལྔའི་གཏེར་བཙུགས། ནམ་ཟླ་དང་དུས་ཚོད་བཞི་མི་
འགྱུར་བ་སྲིད་པའི་རྒྱལ་མོ་བཞིས་ཚོད་བཟུང་ནས། སེམས་ཅན་དཔལ་བའི་བར་དུ་ཆགས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ།། དེ་ཡང་འཛམ་བུ་གླིང་པའི་ཚེ་
ལོ་བརྒྱ་ཁྲི་པའི་ཚེ་ན། དཔལ་བར་སེམས་ཅན་གཅིག་སྐྱེས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། དེ་ལྟར་བཅུད་ཀྱི་སེམས་ཅན་ཆགས་པའི་ཡུན་ལ། བར་སྐབས་
བཅུ་དགུ་འགོར་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུན་གང་དང་། གང་གི་ཟུང་བ་དང་། ཚད་ཅི་ཙམ་ཡོད་པ་དང་། གླིང་བཞི་གླིང་བརྒྱད་ལ་
སོགས་པའི་རྣམ་བཤད་མངོན་པའི་མཛོད་ལས་ཤེས་པར་བྱའོ། དེ་ལྟར་ཕྱི་སྣོད་ཀྱི་འཇིག་རྟེན་མར་ནས་ཡར་ཆགས། ནང་བཅུད་ཀྱི་སེམས་
10 [ཅན་]ཡར་ནས་མར་ལ་བབ་པའི་ཚུལ་ནི། འོད་གསལ་གྱི་ལྷ་ཚོ་དང་དབང་ཐང་དམན་པ། ལྷ་ནས་ཀྱེར་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡེ་མཆེན་ཆེན་པོ་བྱ་བ་
ལགས་སྐད། དེའི་བུ་ལྷ་སྲིད་ཟེར་ཆེན་པོ། དེའི་བུ་ལྷ་ནམ་ཟེར་ཆེན་པོ། དེའི་བུ་ལྷ་འོད་གསལ། དེའི་བུ་ལྷ་ཁར་གསལ། དེའི་བུ་ལྷ་
ཆར་བྱེད། དེའི་བུ་ལྷ་བར་ལྷ་བདུན་ཚོགས། དེའི་བུ་ལྷ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བུ་པ་ལ་བུ་བརྒྱད་སྐྱེས་པའི། ནངས་ཀྱི་བུ་མོ་ལྷ་སྐར་ཆེན་དང་སྐར་
ལ་ཐོགས་གཉིས། ཁར་ལུས་འབབས་པོར་བབས། དེའི་འོག་མ་འོད་ཆེན་དང་འོད་ལ་ཐོགས་གཉིས། ཐང་སྒྲ་མི་སྐྱ་ཏུ་བབས། དེའི་
འོག་མ་སྣན་བུ་དང་སྣན་ལ་ཐོགས་གཉིས། ཏུབ་པ་གླང་སྤྱོད་ལ་བབས། དེའི་ནངས་རི་རབ་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་ན་ཏུནྡ་སྔོན་མོའི་འོད་ཀྱིས་
15 ཁྱབ་པ། སྐོང་འཁོར་ལོས་སྒྱུར་བའི་ཞི་ཙ་ཙི། ཐར་ལམ་བསྒྲོད་པའི་གླིང་རྡོ་རྗེ་གདན་ཐང་ཚུབ་ཀྱི་སྙིང་པོ་ཅན་ཤེད་ཏུའི་དབྱིབས་སུ་
སྣང་བ། གླིང་གི་སྙིང་པོ་དུས་གསུམ་ཀྱི་བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པ་འབྱུང་བའི་གནས། འདི་ཤེད་ཏུ་ཉམས་དགའ་བར་སྨོད་དེ། ལྷ་ཤེད་ཅན་
དང་ཤེད་ལ་ཐོགས་གཉིས་བབས་སོ།།

དེའི་ཚེ་ན་མི་ལ་ཡོན་ཏན་བཅུ་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། རང་ལུས་ལ་འོད་དང་ལྡན་པས། ཉིན་མཚན་གྱི་མིང་ཡང་མེད་པ། ལུས་ལ་
ནད་མེད་པས། ཚེ་ཤེད་ཏུ་རིང་བ། ཁམས་ཀྱི་ཟས་ལ་མི་ལྟོས་པ་དང་། ཁམས་ཀྱི་གོས་ལ་མི་ལྟོས་པ་དང་། ཉོན་མོངས་པ་མེད་པ། རྫུ་
20 འཕྲུལ་དང་ལྡན་པ། མངོན་པར་ཤེས་པ་དང་ལྡན་པ། ཕོ་མོའི་མིང་ཡང་མེད་པ། དབྱ་གཉེན་མེད་པ། ནོར་སོག་མེད་པ། སྤྱོད་ལམ་
ཐམས་ཅད་ལྷའི་ཚུགས་སུ་ཡོད་དོ།།

དེའི་དུས་སུ་ལྷ་གཤེད་ཟའི་སྤྱི་བོར་ལྦ་བ་གཅིག་བྱུང་། དེ་རྡོལ་བས། མི་དཀར་པོ་གཅིག་བྱུང་། དེ་རྒྱལ་རིགས་སུ་བྱས། གློག་མ་
ནས་མི་དམར་པོ་གཅིག་བྱུང་། དེ་བྲམ་ཟེའི་རིགས་སུ་བྱས། སྙིང་ཀ་ནས་མི་གསེར་པོ་གཅིག་བྱུང་། དེ་རྗེ་རིགས་སུ་བྱས། ཐོལ་གོང་ནས་
མི་ནག་པོ་གཅིག་བྱུང་། དེ་དམངས་རིགས་སུ་བྱས་སོ། དེ་ཚེ་རྒྱ་གར་པའི་མི་རིགས་ཡིན་ནོ། ཏུ་ཙོ་གཤེད་ལ་སོགས་ལས་ཆད་པ་ནི།
25 ཀྱིད་གི་སྙིང་དང་གནོད་སྦྱིན་གདོང་དམར་གཉིས་བྱུང་། ཀྱིད་གི་སྙིང་ལ་ཡང་བུ་གཉིས། བུ་མོ་རླུང་རྗེ་བམ་པ་དང་། ཏུ་བོ་ཐག་སྲིད་
གཉིས། རླུང་རྗེ་བམ་གྱི་བུ་བརྒྱད་ནི། ཁ་ཆེ། བལ་ཡུལ། ཟ་ཧོར། ཞོ་རྒྱུད། ཏ་ཟིག། ཁྲོམ་གེ་སར་འདུན་མ། རྣ་ནམ། ཐོན་མི་བྲུ་ཤ།
རག་ཤེ་ལ་སོགས་བཞི་རིགས། མེའུ་རིགས་བཞིའི་ཞང་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། ཏུ་བོ་ཐག་སྲིད་ལ་བུ་གཉིས། བུ་བོ་ཐར་རྗེ་ཐོན་པ་དང་། ཏུ་བོ་སྤྲེའུ་
སུ་ཉིད་དོ། སྤྲེའུ་སུ་ཉིད་ལ་འགོག་འཚོལ་ཀྱི་མི་སྟེ་བཅོ་བརྒྱད། དེ་ལས་ཆད་པ་མཐའ་འཁོབ་དགུ་བཅུ་ཙ་གཉིས་སུ་ཆད་དོ། བུ་བོ་ཐང་
རྗེ་ཐོན་པ་ལ་བུ་གཉིས། བུ་བོ་ཐང་མི་སྐྱིད་པ་དང་། ཏུ་བོ་འཐང་རྗེ་ཡམ་དང་གཉིས། ཏུ་བོ་ལས་ཆད་པ་ཁོབ་(མཐའ་འཁོབ་)ཐྲག་བཅུའི་
30 མི་ལགས་སྐད། བུ་བོ་ཐང་མི་སྐྱིད་པ་ལ་བུ་བཞི། ནངས་ཀྱི་བུ་བོ་སྣ་ཤང་ཤུང་གི་མེས་པོ་སྐྱིད་པ་ཐང་རྗེ། དེའི་འོག་མ་སེ་འ་ཞའི་

མེས་པོ་གླིང་སེར་ཐང་རྗེ། དེའི་འོག་མ་ཧོད་གསུམ་པའི་མེས་པོ་རིང་རྗེཙ་ར། ཐང་ཆུང་ལྡོང་མོ་ཉག་གི་མེས་པོ་སྐུ་རྗེ་ཁྲུག་པ་དང་
བཞིའོ།། བཞི་པོ་དེ་ལས་མི་རིགས་ཟལ་ཆེར་གྱེས་སོ། སྐུ་རྗེ་ཁྲུག་པ་ལ་སྲས་བཞི་སྟེ། སྐུ་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་ཐོག་ཏུ་དང་། སྨར་མ་རྗེ་དང་།
ཀུར་ཟུ་རྩེ་དང་། ཁལ་རྗེ་དང་བཞི་སྟེ། སྐུ་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་ཐོག་ཏུ་ལ་ཟུ་གསུམ། རྩེ་མི་དང་། རྗེ་དང་། རྗེ་མི་དང་གསུམ། སྨར་པ་(མ་)རྗེ་
ལ་ཟུ་ལྔ། ཁ་མོ་དང་། རྟོགས་མི་དང་། ཟག་རྗེ་དང་། ཟམ་རྗེ་དང་། ཞང་རྗེ་བཙན་དང་ལྔ། ཀུར་ཟུ་རྩེ་ལ་ཟུ་ལྔ་སྟེ། ཡང་རྗེ་རིང་
རྗེ་དང་། སྟོན་རྗེ་དང་། ཡ་ཡ་དང་། རྩེ་དཀར་རྗེ་དང་ལྔ་རྒྱལ་རིགས་ཡིན། བློན་རིགས་ལ། ལྡོང་པོ་ཆེ་ཡོངས་ཏུ་དང་། ཡ་ཆེན་ལྡོང་ 5
དང་། ནམ་ཆེན་ལྡོང་དང་། ཐོག་རྒྱུད་ལྡོང་དང་བཞིའོ། རྗེ་རིགས་ལ་ཐོག་རྒྱུད་ལྡོང་གིས་ཆུང་མ་བླངས་པས། ཟུ་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་སྐྱེས།
དེ་ལྡོང་ཟུ་ཆེན་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་དང་། ཉེས་ལྡོང་ལ་སོགས་པ་མི་རིགས་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་པ་ཞིག་ཆད་དོ། དེ་ཡང་སྤྱིར་འཛམ་བུ་གླིང་ན།
ཡུལ་ཆེན་པོ་ལྔ། མཐའ་འཁོབ་ཉག་བཅུ་རྩ་གཉིས། ཡང་འཁོབ་ཉག་བཅུ་འབོག་ཚོལ་གྱི་མི་སྡེ་ཆེན་པོ་བཅོ་བརྒྱད། རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་ཕྲ་མོ་ཉི་
ཤུ་རྩ་བཞི། འོ་སྐོལ་གྱི་ལྷོ་འཛམ་བུ་གླིང་ན་མཆིས་སོ། དེ་ཡང་དབུས་རི་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས། འཛམ་བུ་གླིང་སོགས་ཁའི་ཤུ་བ། རྒྱ་གར་
རྡོ་རྗེ་གདན་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་སྙིང་པོ་ཅན་དེར། བསྐལ་པ་བཟང་པོའི་སངས་རྒྱས་སྟོང་རྩ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་འཕྲིས་མཛད་པ། འཁོར་ལོ་སྒྱུར་བའི་ 10
རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཆེ་བ་དཔེར་ཙམ་ཞིག་བརྗོད་ན། འཁོར་ལོ་སྒྱུར་རྒྱལ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྒོ་ང་ལ་ཞིང་གནས་ནི་རི་རབ་ཀྱི་ཁོག་པ་ལ་གནས་
དུས་ནི་རི་རབ་ཁྱུར་འཛིན་གྱི་རྩེ་ཁོག་ལ་གནས། . . . .

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བདུད་རྩི་ཟ་ཞིང་བཏུང་ལ་སྤྱོད། མེ་ཏོག་སྤུབས་གནས་ཀྱི་མི་ནི་དཔག་བསམ་གྱི་མེ་ཏོག་ལ་སྐྱེས་ནས། སེང་ཐོག་ལ་སྤྱོད། བདུད་རྩི་བཅུད་
འཕྲུང་གི་མི་ནི། སེ་ཛམྦུ་ཝྲྀཀྵའི་ཡལ་ག་ལ་སྐྱེ་སྟེ། ཛམྦུ་ཧྲི་སའི་ཁུ་བ་ལ་སྤྱོད། མི་འཕམ་ཅི་ལ་བའི་སྟེ། ཟ་ལྡོན་པ་མེ་ཏོག་གི་འབྲས་བུ་ 15
བཟའ། རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ཁ་ཞག་འཕྲུང་། སྣིག་བརྩེགས་མཆོད་ཐོགས་སྦྱིན་པོ་རྣམས་དང་འཕྲབ་མོ་བྱེད། ཟས་སྒྲ་ས་དང་ཁྲག་བཟའ། སྐྱེས་ཉག་
ཟྲིས་པ་དབྱར་ལྔར་རྡོར་ལ་སྐྱེ། དགུན་ན་འཆི། མགོ་གཉན་ནི་དུང་འགྲོ་སྣ་མཚོགས་ཀྱི་མགོ་བོ་ཟས་སུ་ཟ་བཟའིན། གླིང་ཆུང་ཚོ་ན་
གནས་སོ།།

སྐྱེ་གནས་བཞི་ལ། ལྷ་འཛམ་བུ་གླིང་མངལ་ལས་སྐྱེས། སར་ཤུས་འཕགས་པོ་དྲོད་གསེར་ལས་སྐྱེས། ནུབ་བ་གླང་སྤྱོད་སྒོ་ང་
ལས་སྐྱེས། བྱང་སྒྲ་མི་སྙན་བརྫུ་སྟེ་སྐྱེས། མཚམས་ཀྱི་མིའུ་རིགས་བཞི་ནི། གས་སང་རྒྱ། ཤྲིན་སང་ཧོར། ཏ་ཞེ་མོན། སྦྲ་རྒྱལ་བོད་ 20
དང་བཞིའོ། ནང་གི་མིའུ་རིགས་བཞི་ནི། སྦྲ་འང་ཕུང་། གཏོང་གསུམ་པ། ལྡོང་སེ་ཉག། སེ་འ་ཞ་དང་བཞིའོ། ཁྱལ་བའི་མིའུ་རིགས་
བཞི་ལ། རྡེར་རྒྱལ་རིགས་ནས་ཁྱལ། སྤྲེའུ་རིགས་ནས་ཁྱལ། ཙངས་པ་བྲམ་ཟེའི་རིགས་ནས་ཁྱལ། རྨིག་པ་རྨང(དམངས)་རིགས་ནས་
ཁྱལ། ཞེས་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་པ་ཞིག་ཆགས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། གཞན་ཡང་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་བཞི་དང་རིགས་ནས་ཁྱལ་བ་
མང་དུ་བྱུང་ངོ།།

དུས་དེའི་ཚེ་བདུད་རྩེ་པའི་བརྒྱུད་ཅེས་བྱ་བ་ཁ་དོག་དམར་གསེར། རོ་སྦྲང་རྩི་འདྲ་བ་ཞིག་བྱུང་བས། དེ་ལྷ་གསེར་ཟས་ཚངས 25
པས། ཞིམ་པོ་ཚོར་ནས། ཡང་ཡང་དུ་ཟོས་པས། དེ་ལ་ཀུན་གྱིས་ཀྱང་དེའི་རྗེས་སུ་འབྲངས་ནས་ལྷགས་པས། ལུས་སྤུ་བ། ཞི་བ་ལ་
སོགས་པ་བཞུག་སྟེ། ལུས་ཀྱི་འོད་ཉམས་པ་དང་། ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་འགྲོ་མི་ནུས་པ་དང་། ཟད་པར་བྱུར་ཏེ་ཟ་དང་བྱེད་པའི་ཚེ། སྤྱི་
མཐུན་གྱི་ལས་ཀྱི་བསོད་ནམས་ཀྱིས། གསེར་ཅན་གྱི་སྐུ་རིང་ལ་ཉི་ཟླའི་སྣང་བ་མེ་སེལ་གྱི་ཉི་མ་བྱུང་། དེ་དང་དུས་མཉམ་དུ་གསེར་
དོགས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་རིང་ལ་མཚན་མོའི་སྣང་བ་ཟླ་སེལ་གྱི་ཟླ་བ་བྱུང་། གསེར་ཟླའི་སྐུ་རིང་ལ་དགུ་ཚོགས་བྱུང་། དེའི་ཚེ་ཟས་དེ་མང་དུ་ཟོས
པ་རྣམས་མདོག་ངན་ལ། ཉུང་ངུ་ཟོས་པ་རྣམས་མདོག་བཟང་བས། ང་ནི་མདོག་བཟང་ལ། ཁྱོད་ནི་མདོག་ངན་ནོ། ཞེས་ང་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ཉོན་ 30

མོངས་པ་རྣམས་རྩོམ་པའི་ཐོག་མ་དེ་ཡིན་ནོ། །དེ་དག་ཀྱང་ང་རྒྱལ་དེའི་རྣམ་སྨིན་གྱིས་སའི་བཅུད་དེ་ཉུས་པ་ཀུན་འདུ་སྟེ། །ཆ་ངན་ཉམས་
པས། །སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་སྤྱི་མཐུན་གྱི་ལས་ཀྱིས་ས་ཆེན་པོ་འདིའི་སྟེང་དུ་སྦྲུ་གུའི་ཚལ་ཞེས་བྱ། །རོ་སྦྲང་རྩི་མ་སྦྱོལ་བ་ལྟ་བུ། །ཁ་དོག་ཀ་
དམ་བུ་ཀའི་མེ་ཏོག་ལྟ་བུ་ཅིག་བྱུང་ངོ༑ །དེ་ལ་ཡང་ཟ་བ་དང་ཤང་བ་ནས། །ཁྱད་སོད་ཐུར་བཞིན་ཟས་པས། །དེ་ཡང་ཉུབ་པར་གྱུར་ཏོ། །
དེ་ནས་མི་རྣམས་ཚོགས་ནས། །ཆ་ངན་བྱེད་པ་ལ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་རྗེ་དང་སྐྱེ་མཐུན་གྱི་བསོད་ནམས་ལས་གྲུབ་པའི། །མ་རྨོས་པའི་
5 ལོ་ཏོག་འབྲས་སཱ་ལུའི་ཚལ་ཞེས་བྱ། །བྲུན་དང་ཕྱག་མ་མེད་པ། །ནང་ཟས་ན་ནང་སྐྱེ། །ཉུབ་ཟས་ན། །ཉུབ་སྐྱེས། །འབྲས་སྐྱེ་མ་རེ་རེ་
ལ་ཕུལ་མ་ག་དའི་བྲེ་བཞི་བཞི་ཡོད་པ། །རྟོག་པོ་རེ་རེ་ལ་སོར་བཞི་བཞི་ཡོད་པ། །དེ་ལ་ཕུན་རིང་དུ་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་པར་བྱེད་པའི་ཚེ། །
ཟས་དེ་སྲ་ར་བས་རགས་པ་ཡིན་པས། །ཤང་གཅི་དང་སྐབས་ཕུད་ལ་སོགས་བྱུང་བས། །སྐྱེས་པ་དང་བུད་མེད་ཀྱི་དབང་པོ་དག་བྱུང་ངོ། །
དེ་དག་གིས་གཅིག་གིས་གཅིག་ལ། །མིག་བྲུ་ཚགས་སུ་བལྟས་པས། །ལོག་པར་ཞུགས་ནས། །དེ་སེམས་ཅན་གཞན་དག་མཐོང་ནས། །སེམས་
ཅན་གྱིས་སེམས་ཅན་ལ་ལོག་པར་ཞུགས་སོ་ཞེས་ཟེར་ཞིང་། །རྡོ་དང་སེག་མ་འཐེན་པར་བྱེད་པས། །དེ་མི་མཐོང་བར་བྱ་བའི་ཕྱིར། །ངོ་ཚ་
10 ཁང་བུ་བརྩིགས་པས། །ཁྱིམ་རྩིག་པའི་ཐོག་མ་དེ་ཡིན་ནོ། །

དེ་ཡང་ལྷ་མིའི་རྗེར་ཁུར་རྒྱལ་རིགས་ལ་རྒྱས་པར་བྱེ་ན། །གསུམ་བརྒྱ་དྲུག་བཅུ་ཡོད། །དེ་ལ་བསྡུས་པ་རྣམ་པ་གཉིས་བཤད་དེ། །
དག་པ་སངས་རྒྱས་རྗེ་དང་མ་དག་སེམས་ཅན་རྗེ། །སངས་རྒྱས་རྗེ་ནི་སྐུ་གསུང་འགྲོ་དོན་མཛད། །སེམས་ཅན་རྗེ་ལ་རྣམ་པ་ལྔར་བྱེ་ནས། །
སྟོང་གསུམ་དབང་བྱེད་སྤྱི་ཁུར་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་། །རིགས་དྲུག་རྒྱལ་པོ་འཛམ་གླིང་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ལྔ། །དེ་ཡང་སྟོང་གསུམ་མི་མཛེད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་
ཤཱ་ཀྱ་ཐུབ་པ། །སྟོང་སྤྱི་ཁུར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚངས་པ་ཕྱོགས་སྐྱོང་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྒྱལ་ཆེན་རིགས་བཞི་དང་། །རིགས་དྲུག་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཤིན་རྗེ་ཆོས་
15 རྒྱལ་དང༌། །འཛམ་གླིང་རྒྱལ་པོ་མང་བཀུར་རྒྱལ་པོའི་བརྒྱུད་འཁོར་ལོས་སྒྱུར་རྒྱལ་སྤྱི་བོ་སྐྱེས་ལ་སོགས། །གསེར་དངུལ་ཟངས་ལྕགས་
དབང་སྒྱུར་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན། །དེ་ཡང་དབུས་རི་རབ་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་འཛམ་བུ་གླིང་སོག་ཁའི་ཡུ་བ། །རྒྱ་གར་རྡོ་རྗེ་གདན་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་སྙིང་
པོ་དེར། །བསྐལ་པ་བཟང་པོའི་སངས་རྒྱས་སྟོང་རྩ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་འཁྲིས་མཛད་པ། །འཁོར་ལོས་སྒྱུར་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཚེ་བ་དབེན་ཙམ་
ཞིག་རྗོད་ན། །དེ་ཡང་མཁས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་འབྱུང་རྣམས་དང༌། །རྒྱལ་རབས་ཆེ་ཆུང་རྣམས་ལས་རྒྱལ་རིགས་གསུམ་བརྒྱ་དྲུག་བཅུ་ཡོད་
པར་བཤད་ཀྱང༌། །འཇིག་རྟེན་ལས་འདས་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང༌། །མ་འདས་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉིས་སུ་འདུས། །འཇིག་རྟེན་ལས་འདས་པ་ནི། །འཇིག་
20 རྟེན་ཁམས་རབ་འབྱམས་ལ་དབང་བྱེད་ཅིང༌། །སྲིད་པ་ལ་དབང་ཐོབ་ནས། །འཇིག་རྟེན་རྟོགས་པའི་ཡུལ་ལས་འདས་པས་ན་ཤཱ་ཀྱ་ཐུབ་པ་ལྟ་
བུའོ། །འཇིག་རྟེན་ལས་མ་འདས་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྔ་སྟེ། །བེམ་པོའི་རྒྱལ་པོ། །རིགས་ཅན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ། །བསྒོམས་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ། །. . . . . . །
སྤུ་རྒྱལ་བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ལྔའོ། །དེ་ཡང་བེམ་པོའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྔ་ནི། །རིའི་རྒྱལ་པོ། །ཤིང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ། །ཆུའི་རྒྱལ་པོ། །མེའི་རྒྱལ་པོ། །
རླུང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ལྔའོ། །དེ་ལ་དང་པོ་རིའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རི་རབ་ལྷུན་པོ་རིན་ཆེན་སྣ་ལྔ་ལས་གྲུབ་ཅིང༌། །སྟེང་ནས་འོག་ཏུ་དཔག་ཚད་
འབུམ་ཕྲག་དྲུག་ཁྲི་ཡོད། །སྟེང་ལྷ། །བར་ལྷ་སྲིན། །འོག་འཚེ་བདག་རྒྱལ་པོའི་སོ་བྱང༌། །ལོགས་ལ་རྒྱལ་ཆེན་བཞིའི་བཞུགས་གནས། །གཟའ་
25 དང་རྒྱུ་སྐར་རྣམས་སྐོར་བར་བྱེད་པ་དེ་རིའི་རྒྱལ་པོ། །ཤིང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ནི་དཔག་བསམ་གྱི་ཤིང་སྟེ། །ལྷ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དགའ་བདེ་ལ་སྤྱོད་ཅིང༌། །
ཟས་གོས་ཐམས་ཅད་དེ་ལས་འབྱུང་བས་ན་ཤིང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ། །ཆུའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ནི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡིན་ཏེ། །འཐུངས་ན་ལྟོ་བ་དང་མགྲིན་པ་གང་
ལ་ཡང་མི་གནོད། །ཀླུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བཞུགས་གནས། །ནོར་བུ་རིན་ཆེན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་འབྱུང་ས་ཡིན་པས་ན་ཆུའི་རྒྱལ་པོ། །མེའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་
ནི་བསྐལ་པའི་མེ་དབང་ཡིན་ཏེ། །མེ་འབར་བའི་དུས་ན་བསམ་གཏན་གཉིས་བར་ཚོད་བསྲེག་པར་བྱེད། །ཐུར་དུ་འབར་བས། །དཀྱལ་བའི་
ཁམས། །གསེར་གྱི་ས་གཞི། །ཆུ་དང་རླུང་གི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་སྲེག་ཅིང༌། །རི་རབ་ལྷུན་པོ་ཡང་འཇིག་ནུས་པ་དེ་ནི་མེའི་རྒྱལ་པོ། །རླུང་གི་
30 རྒྱལ་པོ་ནི་སྟོང་གསུམ་ལེགས་བྱེད་ཀྱི་རླུང་ཡིན་ཏེ། །སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས་དབང་གྲུབ་ཅིང༌། །འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་ཁམས་འདིར་གནས་ཏེ། །དེའི་དྲམས་

སུ་དཔག་ཚད་ས་ཡ་ཐུག་འཐུམ། རྒྱུད་གྲངས་མེད་ཀླུང་གི་སྟོབས་ཀྱིས་ཆུའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ཡང་འགྱུར་ལ་མི་འཛིག སོགས་ལ་མི་གཡོ་
བས་ན་ཀླུང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ། གཉིས་པ་རིགས་ཅན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉིས་ཏེ། མི་མ་ཡིན་པ་དང་མིའི་རྒྱལ་པོ། མི་མ་ཡིན་པ་ལ་ཀླུ་སྟེ། ལྷ།
ལྷ་མ་ཡིན། དུད་འགྲོ། དམྱལ་བ། ཡི་དྭགས་དང་ཀླུའོ། དང་པོ་ལྷའི་དབང་པོ་བརྒྱ་བྱིན་ཏེ། གཞན་ལས་ཁྱད་པར་འཕགས་ཤིང་མིག་སྟོང་
དང་ལྡན་པ། སྟོབས་དང་རྫུ་འཕྲུལ་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པ། ཉེ་དབང་རྒྱལ་ཆེན་བཞི། རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ཀླུ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དབང་བྱེད་ཅིང༌། བསྲུང་བར་
བྱེད་པ་དེ་ཀླུ་ཟུ་ནི་ལྷའི་རྒྱལ་པོ། གཉིས་པ་ལྷ་མ་ཡིན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཐག་བཟང་རིས་ཡིན་ཏེ། རིན་ཆེན་སྣ་བཞིའི་གོ་ཆ་ལུས་གོན་ཏེ་ 5
. . . . [ལྷ་མ་ཡིན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་] ||

ཐམས་ཅད་གྲོས་བྱས་ནས། ད་ནི་འོ་སྐོལ་གྱི་ནང་ནས་མི་ལེགས་ཉེས་ཀྱི་ཁྱད་འབྱེད་པ། བརྩོན་འགྲུས་དང་སྙིང་སྟོབས་ཆེ་བ།
ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་ཁྱབས་མེད། སྐྱེ་བསོད་ནམས་ཆེ་བ། སྤྱོད་པ་སྡུ་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་མཁས་མེད། ཚོད་རིག་པ་ཅིག་ཞིང་དཔོན་དུ་སྒྲོ་དགོས།
ཟེར་ནས། ཞིང་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་གྲོག་ཁས་ཕུལ་ནས། སྐྱེ་བོའི་ཚོགས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་བཀུར་བས། དེ་ལ་མང་པོས་བཀུར་བ་ཞེས་
མཚན་གསོལ་ནས། སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས་བདེ་ཞིང་སྐྱིད་དོ། དེ་ཡང་མཛོད་ལས་ 10

ལེ་ལོས་བསོག་འཛོག་བྱས་ནས་ནི།
འཛིན་ཆགས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཞིང་དཔོན་སྐྱབས།
ཞིང་དང་ས་ལུ་མ་བྱིན་པར།
ལེན་པ་རྣམས་ལས་སྐྱོབ་པར་བྱེད།

པ་ལ་རྒྱལ་རིགས་ཀ། བྲེ་རིགས་དང། ཆོས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་དགུ་སྐྱོང་བའི་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་དང། ཤེས་རབ་ཉམས་སུ་བླང་སྟེ་གནས་པ་ལ་རྒྱལ་ 15
པོ་ཞེས་བསྙད་སོ། མཚན་ཡང་མང་པོས་བཀུར་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཞེས་བྱའོ། དུས་སྐབས་འདི་ཙམ་ནས་མི་རིགས་བཞི་འམ་ལྔར་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན་ཏེ།
དེ་ཡང་འཁོར་ལོ་སྣ་བདུན་ལས། སྔོན་ནི་འདི་དག་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ལས་དང་བྱ་བའི་ཁྱད་པར་ལས་རིགས་ནི་བཞི་འམ་ལྔར་བྱུང། ཞེས་པ་
ལྟར་སེམས་ཅན་དེ་དག་དགེ་བ་བཅུ་སྤྱོད་ཅིང། ཁྲུས་དང་གཙང་སྦྲ་ལ་དགའ་བ་རྣམས་ལ་བྲམ་ཟེའི་རིགས་སུ་བྱུང་ངོ། དགེ་བ་བཅུ་སྤྱོད་
ཅིང་དོ་ཚ་ཤེས། ཤེས་རབ་ཆེ་བ་སྙིང་རུས་ཆེ་བ་རྣམས་ལ་རྗེ་རིགས་ཞེས་བྱའོ། མི་དགེ་བ་བཅུ་འཕབ་འཚོལ་དུ་སྤྱོད་ཅིང་དོ་ཚ་ཆུང་བ།
སྡིག་པ་ལ་མི་འཛེམ་པ་རྟུན་ཏུ་སྣ་བ་རྣམས་ལ་དམངས་རིགས་ཞེས་བྱའོ། དེ་དག་ལས་ཁྲེལ་དང་དོ་ཚ་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆུང་བ། མི་དགེ་བ་བཅུ་ 20
ལ་སོགས་པ་འཇིག་རྟེན་ན་ཤིན་ཏུ་སྨད་པའི། ངམ་པའི་སྤྱོད་པ་དང་འགལ་བར་བྱེད་པ་རྣམས་ལ་གདོལ་པའི་རིགས་ངན་ཞེས་བྱའོ།
མི་རིགས་སོ་སོར་ཚོམ་པའི་ཐོག་མ་དེ་ཡིན་ནོ ||

རྒྱལ་པོ་མང་བཀུར་བའི་སྲས་འོད་མཛེས། དེའི་རིང་ལ་གཟའ་དང་སྐར་མ་བྱུང། དེའི་སྲས་དགེ་བ། དེའི་རིང་ལ་འོད་དམར་པོ་
བྱུང། དེའི་སྲས་དགེ་མཆོག དེའི་རིང་ལ་སྒྲ་སྐད་དང་ཞག་ཚ་བྱུང། དེའི་དུས་སུ་ཚེ་ལོ་དགུ་ཁྲི་ཐུབ། དེའི་སྲས་གསོ་སྦྱོང་འཕགས།
དེའི་རིང་ལ་འབྲུག་གི་སྒྲ་བྱུང། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་ལུ་ལ་བསྐལ་པ་དང་པོའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྤྱི་ལུ་ཟེར་རོ། གསོ་འཕགས་ལ་སྲས་འཁོར་ལོས་སྒྱུར་བའི་ 25
རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣམས་འབྱུང་བའི་ཐུ་ཀྲས་སྤྱི་བོར་ཤ་སྦྲ་ཅིག་བྱུང། དེ་རྨོལ་བའི་ནང་ནས་ཁྱེའུ་གཟུགས་བཟང་བ། མཛེས་པ། ལྟ་ན་སྡུག་པ།
སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་བྱམས་པ། མཚན་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཅིག་བྱུང་སྟེ། ཡབ་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་བོ་ལས་སྐྱེས་པས། སྤྱི་བོ་སྐྱེས་ཞེས་མིང་དུ་བཏགས་
སོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྣ་བདུན་དང་ལྡན་ཏེ། རིན་ཆེན་སྣ་བདུན་ནི་འཁོར་ལོ་རིན་ཆེན། ནོར་བུ་རིན་ཆེན། བཙུན་མོ་རིན་
ཆེན། བློན་པོ་རིན་ཆེན། གླང་པོ་རིན་ཆེན། རྟ་མཆོག་རིན་ཆེན། དམག་དཔོན་རིན་ཆེན་[དང་]རིན་ཆེན་སྣ་བདུན་དང། གཞན་ཡང།
དམག་དཔོན་རིན་ཆེན་གྱི་ཚབ་ཏུ་ཁྱིམ་བདག་རིན་ཆེན་ཞེས་སོ། འདིས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་རིན་ཆེན་སྣ་བདུན་དང། ཟས་གོས་ཀྱི་ཆད་པ་བཅས་ 30

སྐྱེ། འཛམ་བུ་གླིང་དུ་ལོ་བརྒྱད་ཁྲི་ལོན་ནས། གནོད་སྦྱིན་ལྷ་སེམས་ཀྱིས་བསྐུལ་ནས། འཁོར་ལོ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྣ་དངས། བཙུན་མོའི་འཁོར་
དང་བཅས་པ་ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་སོང་ནས། ཤར་དང། ནུབ་དང། བྱང་དང། [ལྷོ་]རྒྱལ་ཆེན་བཞིའི་བར་དུ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བྱས་ཏེ། དེ་ལྟ་དཔའ་
འདོད་ཆེས་ཀྱིས་གཏུངས་ཏེ། སྡུག་བསྔལ་བས་བརྒྱ་བྱིན་ཕ་མ་དེ་ལ་ངན་སེམས་སྐྱེས་པས། བསོད་ནམས་ཟད་པས། ལུས་དེ་ཉིད་དུ་ས་
ལ་ལྟུང་སྟེ། གྲོངས་པར་གྱུར་ཏོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིས་སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ལ་བརྟག་ཅིང། བཟོ་བོའི་གནས་དང་ལས་ཀྱི་བྱེ་བྲག་མང་པོ་
5 བྱས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེའི་དུས་སུ་ཚེ་ལོ་བརྒྱད་ཁྲི་ཐུབ། སྤྱི་བོ་སྐྱེས་ཀྱི་ཕྲག་པ་གཡས་སུ་ཀ་ཀྲེ་ལས་ཙིཙ་ཅིག་བྱུང། མིང་མཛེས་པ་ཞེས་
བྱའོ། གསེར་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་བསྒྱུར་བ་གླིང་བཞི་ལ་དབང་ངོ། མཛེས་པའི་ཕྲག་པ་གཡོན་པར་ཀ་ཀྲེ་ལས་ཙིཙ་ཅིག་བྱུང། མིང་ཉེ་མཛེས་
ཞེས་བྱ་སྟེ། དངུལ་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་བསྒྱུར་བ་གླིང་གསུམ་ལ་དབང་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། ཉེར་མཛེས་ཀྱི་བརླ་གཡས་པར་ཀ་ཀྲེ་ལས་ཙིཙ་ཅིག་བྱུང།
མིང་མཛེས་ཅན་ཞེས་བྱ་སྟེ། ཟངས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་བསྒྱུར་བ་གླིང་གཉིས་ལ་དབང་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། མཛེས་ཅན་གྱི་བརླ་གཡོན་པར་ཀ་ཀྲེ་ལས་
ཙིཙ་ཅིག་བྱུང། མིང་མཛེས་ལྡན་དུ་བཏགས། ལྕགས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་བསྒྱུར་བ་གླིང་གཅིག་ལ་དབང་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེའི་དུས་སུ་ཚེ་ལོ་བདུན་ཁྲི་
10 ཐུབ། དེ་ལ་འཁོར་ལོ་བསྒྱུར་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྣེ་ལྔ་ཟེར།།

མཛེས་ལྡན་གྱི་སྲས་རྒྱལ་བྱེད། དེའི་སྲས་མཛེས་དགའ། དའི་སྲས་མི་སྡེད་པ། དེའི་སྲས་བཏང་བཟང། དེའི་དུས་སུ་ཚེ་ལོ་དྲུག་ཁྲི་
ཐུབ། དུས་ཚོད་དགེ་བ་རྣམས་དེའི་དུས་སུ་བྱུང་ངོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་བཏང་བཟང་གི་དུས་སུ་སངས་རྒྱས་འཁོར་བ་འཇིག་སྟོན་པར་བྱོན།
བཏང་བཟང་གི་སྲས་ལུས་སྟོབས་གསེར་ཐུབ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེའི་གདུང་རབས་སྟོང་ཕྲག་དགུ་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་རྒྱལ་བྱེད་ཆེན་པོའི་དུས་སུ།
སངས་རྒྱས་གསེར་ཐུབ་འོད་ཅན་སྟོན་པར་བྱོན། དེ་ནས་གདུང་རབས་སྟོང་ཕྲག་སྟོང་དང་བརྒྱ་ཕྲག་གཉིས་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཞི་སྡེ་ལྡན་ཞེས་བྱ་
15 བ་བྱུང། དེའི་བུ་དང་ཚ་བོ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་རབས་འབུམ་ཚོར། རྒྱལ་རིགས་མདའ་ཐང་དུ་ས་ལ་དབང་བྱས་སོ། དེའི་དུས་སུ་ཚེ་ལོ་
བཞི་ཁྲི་ཐུབ། སངས་རྒྱས་ཐམས་ཅད་སྐྱོབ་སྟོན་པར་བྱོན། དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་རབས་སྟོང་ཕྲག་བདུན་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་བཟོད་པ་བཀའ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་
བྱུང། དེའི་དུས་སུ་ཚེ་ལོ་གསུམ་ཁྲི་ཐུབ། སངས་རྒྱས་ལོག་པར་དང་སེལ་སྟོན་པར་བྱོན། ཆོས་སྐྱོང་རྒྱུད་གསུངས། དེ་ནས་གདུང་
རབས་འབུམ་དང་དྲུག་ཁྲི་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་གླང་ཆེན་སྐྱི་བྱུང། དེའི་དུས་སུ་ཚེ་ལོ་ཉི་ཁྲི་ཐུབ། དེའི་དུས་སུ་རྫོགས་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་གསེར་
ཐུབ་བྱོན། དེ་ནས་གདུང་རབས་འབུམ་དང་ཁྲི་ཚོ་ལྔ་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཀྲི་ཀྲི་ཞེས་བྱ་བྱུང། ཚེ་ལོ་ཁྲི་དང་ལྔ་སྟོང་ཐུབ། སངས་རྒྱས་འོད་
20 སྲུང་སྟོན་པར་བྱོན། ཆོས་ནུབ་འགྱུར་རྒྱུད་གསུངས། ཀྲི་ཀྲིའི་སྲས་ལེགས་སྐྱོང། དེའི་བརྒྱུད་བརྒྱ་ཐམ་པ་ནས། ཡུལ་གྲུ་འཛིན་དུ
རྒྱལ་པོ་ཟླ་བ་ཅན་ཞེས་བྱ་བྱུང།།

III

(*S MS.*) ཤེས་པར་བརྗོད་པའི་དབྱངས་ཀྱི་ང་རོའི་ཁམ་བུ་རའི་རྒྱུད་ལས་ཉེ་བར་བྲངས་ཏེ། བླ་ན་མེད་པའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་བདུད་རྩི།
ཟད་མི་ཤེས་པའི་འབྱུང་གནས་ཟ་མ་ཏོག། དབང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྐང་དུ་བྱུང་བའི་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་གསང་མཛོད། དཔལ་པེ་ཧུའི་མཛེས་རྒྱན་དུ་སྤྱད་
པའི་བསྐལ་པ་བཟང་པོ། འདིའི་འདྲེན་མཆོག་སྟོབས་བཅུ་མངའ་བ། སྟོང་གི་མི་ལྟུང་འཕྲང་བའི་དབུས་ན་ཟུ་ཤེལ། དབང་པོའི་དཀྱིལ་
25 འཁོར། ཉ་གང་བ་ལྟ་བུར་མངོན་པར་འཕགས་ཤིང། མངའ་ཡིས་བཅིངས་པའི་རྣབས་པོ་ཆེའི་སྨོན་ལམ་གྱི་མཐུ། སྤྲུལ་དུ་བྱུང་བའི་
བདེན་སྟོབས་ཟློ་མ་མེད་པས། བད་དཀར་ལྟ་བུར་ཐོགས་པའི་དབྱངས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མོའི་ཇ་བོ་ཆེ། སྲིད་པ་གསུམ་གྱི་ཁོར་མོ་ཡུག་བརྟུང་བའི་
རྒྱལ་བ་སུ་རམ་ཤིང་པ། འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ནི་ལྷ་དང་བཅས་པའི་འགྲོ་བའི་ལེགས་བྱས་གྲངས་མེད་པའི་ཞིང་གིས་བསྐྱབས་
པའི་ཕན་བདེ་ཀུན་གྱི་རྩ་ལགས་ཏེ། དེ་ཡང་འབྱུང་ཞིང་འཕེལ་བ་དང། ཡར་ལྡན་དུ་རྒྱས་པའི་བྱེད་པོ་ནི་ཡངས་པའི་ནོར་འཛིན་གྱི་ཁྱོན་

ལ་མདའ་སྐྱུར་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞིག་ལ་རག་ལུས་པས་ན། འོ་སློབ་ཀྱི་སྐྱོན་པས་ཀྱང་རིགས་དང༌། ཕུལ་དང༌། རྣམ་དང༌། བརྒྱུད་
དང༌། ཟུར་མེད་དེ་གཞིགས་པ་ལྟ་ལ་གཞིགས་ནས། ཟམ་གཙང་གི་སྣས་སུ་བལྟམས་པར་མཛད་པས། ཐོག་མར་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱི་གདུང་དབས་
རྒྱུད་ཟད་བརྗོད་པར་བྱ་སྟེ། འཕགས་པའི་ཡུལ་གྱི་མི་བལ་ཆེ་བ་འཆི་མེད་ཀྱི་གནས་ནས་ཆད་པས། གཞལ་དུ་མེད་པའི་ཚེ་དང༌། འཁོར་
དཀྱུ་ལ་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་ཅིང་མཐའ་ཡས་པའི་ཡོན་ཏན་དུ་མ་ལ་དབང་འབྱོར་བའི་ཚེ། འབད་རྩོལ་གྱི་མཐུ་ལ་རག་མ་ལུས་པའི་བདུད་རྩི།
སའི་བཅུད་དང༌། སའི་ཞག ། སྦྲུ་གུའི་ཚལ། མ་རྨོས་པའི་འབྲས་ས་ལུ་རྣམས་ལ་ལོངས་སྤྱད་པས། ལྷ་མས་ཆད་པའི་ཡོན་ཏན་ནབ་ཆེད་ 5
ལས་གཞན་དུ་གྱུར་ཅིང༌། མ་རྨོས་པའི་འབྲས་ཀྱང་རྣམ་པར་གཡེང་བའི། གཞན་དབང་དུ་གྱུར། ཅེད་པ་ལ་བརྟེན། སོ་ནམ་གྱི་བྱ་བ་ལ་
བརྩམས་པས། བར་ཆུན་དུ་ཆོད་པ་དང༌། མཆོད་འབྱུ་བ་བྱུང་བ་རྣམས་ལ། རྣང་པོའི་ཐིག་གིས་གཅོད་པའི་ལག་ལྟེ་བར། ཀུན་གྱིས་བཀུར་
ཞིང་འདུད་པ་ལས་མང་པོས་བཀུར་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་སྤྱི་བར་གྲགས་ཤིང༌། དེ་ནས་རིམ་བཞིན་འོད་མཛེས། དགེ་བ། དགེ་མཆོག། གསོ་
སྦྱོང་འཕགས་ཏེ། སྔོན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྤྱི་ལྟར་བརྗོད་ལ། གསོ་སྦྱོང་འཕགས་ཀྱི་སྲས་འཁོར་ལོ་བསྒྱུར་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣམས་བྱུང་བའི་སྤྱི་
ལྟས་སུ། སྤྱི་བོར་ཤ་སྐྲན་ཞིག་བྱུང༌། དེ་རྡོལ་བའི་ནང་ནས་ང་ལ་[ལས་]ནུ། དེའི་བརླ་གཡས་པར་ཤ་སྐྲན་ཞིག་བྱུང་བ་ལས་མཛེས་པ། 10
དེའི་བརླ་གཡོན་པར་ཤ་སྐྲན་ཞིག་བྱུང་བ་ལས་ཉེ་མཛེས། དེའི་རྐང་པ་གཡས་པར་ཤ་སྐྲན་ཞིག་བྱུང་བ་ལས་མཛེས་ལྡན། དེའི་རྐང་པ་
གཡོན་པར་ཤ་སྐྲན་ཞིག་བྱུང་བ་ལས་ཉེ་མཛེས་ལྡན་ཏེ། འདི་ལྔ་ལ་འཁོར་ལོ་བསྒྱུར་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྔར་གྲགས་ཤིང༌། ཉེ་མ་བཞིས་ནི་
གླིང་བཞི་ནས་གཅིག་གི་བར་ལ་དབང་བསྒྱུར་བས། གསེར་དངུལ་ཟངས་ལྕགས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་བསྒྱུར་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན་ནོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདི་དག་
ནས་རིམ་པར་བརྒྱུད་དེ་ཟས་གཙང་ཡན་ཆད་དུ། ས་ཡ་ཅིག་འབུམ་གཉིས་ཁྲི་ཅིག་སྟོང་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་བཅུ་བཞི་བྱུང་བར་གྲགས་ལ། འཇིགས་
རྟེན་གདགས་པར། རྒྱལ་པོ་འབུམ་ཕྲག་བརྒྱད་གསུམ་ཁྲི་བཞི་སྟོང་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་གསུམ་བཅུ་ཙ་བཞི་ཡོད་པར་བཤད་པའི་ལུགས་གཉིས་ཀ་སྙིགས་ 15
དུས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྨྲ་བ་ཀུན་གྱི་གཙུག་རྒྱན། གཞོན་ནུ་དཔལ་གྱིས་འདྲེན་པར་མཛད་པར་མཛད་པ་ལས་གསལ་བར་མ་གསུངས་པས། སྔར་
ནས་ཀྱང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལ་འཛིན་པར་འདོད་པའི་བློ་ལྡན་དག་གིས་དཔྱད་པར་བྱའོ། དེ་ཡང་སྟོན་པ་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱི་གདུང་ལ་ཉི་མའི་གཉེན་དང་བུ་
རམ་ཤིང་པ་ཤཱཀྱ་ཞེས་བརྗོད་པ་ནི། དེའི་བརྒྱུད་བརྒྱ་ཕྲག་ཁ་ནས་ཡུལ་གྲུ་འཛིན་དུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ནུ་བ་ཅན་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བྱུང༌། དེ་ལ་བུ་
གཉིས་ཏེ། གོའུ་ཏ་མ་དང་བྷ་ར་དྭ་ཛ་དང་གཉིས། ཆེ་བ་གོའུ་ཏ་མ་ནི་ཆོས་དང་ཆོས་མ་ཡིན་པར་འདྲེས་པར་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བྱེད་པ་མཐོང་
ནས། བདག་ཀྱང་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བཟུང་ནས་འདི་ལྟར་འགྱུར་སྙམ་ནས། ཐུགས་སྐྱོ་སྟེ། དྲང་སྲོང་མདོག་ནག་ལ་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་ངོ༌། ཆུང་བ 20
བྷ་ར་དྭ་ཛས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བྱས་སོ། དེའི་ཚེ་ཡུལ་དེ་ན་སྨད་འཚོང་མ་འགྲོ་བ་བཟང་མོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་ལ། སྐྱེས་བུ་གཡོ་ཅན་པདྨའི་
ཚ་ལོག་དང་གཉིས་དགའ་མགུར་སྤྱོད་ཀྱིན་ཡོད་པ་ལ། དེའི་བར་ལ་ཚོང་པ་གཞན་ཞིག་དང་འདོད་ལོག་སྤྱད་པས། པདྨའི་ཚ་ལག(ལོག)
འཁྲོས་ནས(ཁྲོས་ནས)། བཟང་མོའི་མགོ་བཅད་ནས། ཁྲག་གིས་གོས་པའི་རལ་གྲི་དང་[བཟང་མོའི་མགོ་]གཉིས་གོའུ་ཏ་མའི་ཟུག་སྒོར་བཞག
པ་དང༌། ཚད་པ་གཅོད་པའི་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་རྗེས་ནས་སྙེགས་པས། ཁྲག་གིས་གོས་པའི་རལ་གྲི་དང༌། བཟང་མོའི་མགོ་དེ་ན་ཡོད་པས། དེའི་
ཚད་པ་གོའུ་ཏ་མ་ལ་ཕོག་ནས་གསལ་ཤིང་ལ་སྐྱོན་ཏོ། དེ་དྲང་སྲོང་མདོག་ནག་གིས་མངོན་པར་ཤེས་པས་མཁྱེན་ནས། གོའུ་ཏ་མའི་ཚ 25
བར་ཕྱིན་ནས། བུ་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་འདི་ལྟ་བུ་མྱོང་བའི་ལས་ཅི་བྱས་གསུངས་པ་དང༌། མཁན་པོ་ང་ལ་ཉེས་པ་ཅི་ཡང་མེད། ཉེས་པ་མེད་པའི་
བདེན་ཚིག་གིས་མཁན་པོའི་ཞལ་གསེར་བཞིན་དུ་གྱུར་ཅིག་སྨྲས་པས། དེ་མ་ཐག་དྲང་སྲོང་མདོག་ནག་པོ་དེ་གསེར་བཞིན་དུ་གྱུར་པས།
དེ་ཕྱིན་ཆད་དྲང་སྲོང་གསེར་མདོག་ཅན་དུ་གྲགས་སོ། དེ་ནས་དྲང་སྲོང་གིས་གོའུ་ཏ་མའི་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་གདུང་བརྒྱུད་ཆད་པར་གཟིགས་
ནས་གོའུ་ཏ་མ་ལ། ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་གདུང་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཕྱིར་ས་བོན་ཞིག་ཐོང་གསུངས་པས། གོའུ་ཏ་མ་ན་རེ། བདག་སྡུག་བསྔལ་གྱིས་ཚོར་བས་
གདུངས་ནས། གདུང་བརྒྱུད་བདག་པར་ནུས་པ་མེད་ཞུས་པས། སྤྲིན་དཔོན་གྱིས་སྤྲིན་བསྐུས་པའི་བསིལ་བར་བྱས་པས། གོའུ་ཏ་མ་ལ་ 30

བདེ་བའི་ཉམས་སྐྱེས་ནས། ཁ་བ་ཐིགས་པ་གཉིས་ཁག་དང་འདྲེས་པ་བྱུང་བས། ཟླ་རམ་སྙིང་གི་ལོ་མ་གཉིས་སུ་བཞག་པས། ཉི་མའི་འོད་
དང། ཟླ་བའི་བཅུད་ཀྱིས་སྨིན་པས་ཁྱེའུ་གཉིས་བྱུང་ངོ། དེ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་མིང་ལ་ཟླ་རམ་སྙིང་པ་དང། ཉི་མའི་གཉེན་དུ་མིང་བཏགས་སོ།།

ཉི་མའི་གཉེན་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང། ཟླ་རམ་སྙིང་པ་རྒྱལ་པོ་བྱས་པས། ཟླ་རམ་སྙིང་པའི་བརྒྱུད་ཅེས་མང་དུ་གྲགས་ཏེ་གང་བར་གྱུར་ཏོ།
དེའི་བྱ་བརྒྱུད་བརྒྱ་ཕྲག་པ་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་འབངས་སྐྱེས་པོ་ཟླ་བ་བྱུང་ངོ། དེའི་བཙུན་མོ་ཆེ་བ་ལ་སྲས་བཞི་སྐྱེ། ཆུང་བ་ལ་སྲས་མོ་བཞི་
5 བྱུང་བ་དང། དུས་གཞན་ཞིག་ན་དེའི་བཙུན་མོ་གཉིས་གྲོངས་ནས། བ་རོལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཞིག་གི་བུ་མོ་བླངས་པས་དེ་ན་རེ། ཁྱོད་ལ་སྲས་ཡོད་
པ་དེ་དག་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་མི་དབང་བར། གལ་ཏེ་ང་ཡི་བུ་མོ་ལ་བུ་བྱུང་ན། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བཞག་དགོས་ཟེར་བ་དང། དེའི་རྒྱལ་བློན་གྲོས་ཐུབ
ནས། ཁོའི་བུ་མོ་ལ་བུ་ཡོད་མི་ཡོད་མི་ཤེས། གལ་ཏེ་བྱུང་ཙང་གསོན་མི་གསོན་མི་ཤེས། གསོན་ཡང་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ་བཞག་དགོས། སྤུ་བློས་
བྱས་ནས་བཙུན་མོ་བླངས་སོ། དེ་ལ་སྲས་ཁྲུངས། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་དགའ་ཞེས་བཏགས་སོ། དེའི་ཚེ་བློན་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བསམ་པ་ལ། བུ་བོ་རྣམས་
རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ་བཞག་ན། སྡར་ཚད་ཆོག་ཐལ། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་དགའ་བཞག་ན་ནི། བུ་བོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ངོ་བསྲུངས་དགོས་པས། ད་ནི་ཐབས་ཀྱིས་
10 བུ་བོ་རྣམས་སྤྱུག་པར་བྱ་སྙམ་ནས། བློན་པོ་གཡོ་ཅན་ཞིག་གིས་ལྷ་མ་ཞུས་ནས་སྤྱུགས་སོ། དེ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སྲིང་མོ་རྣམས་ཁྲིད་དེ། ཆུ་བོ་
བསྐལ་ལྡན་ཤིང་རྟའི་འགྲམ། དྲང་སྲོང་གསེར་སྐྱའི་གནས་དང་ཧ་ཅང་མི་རིང་བའི་ནགས་ཁྲོད་སྤྱིལ་བའི་གནས་བཏབ་ནས་འདུག་གོ།
དེ་ནས་དེ་དག་ལང་ཚོ་རྒྱས་པས། སྐྱ་བོ་སེང་སེང་པོར་གྱུར་པ། དྲང་སྲོང་གིས་མཐོང་ནས་འདྲིས་པ། དེ་རྣམས་ན་རེ། བདག་ཅག་རྣམས་
འདོད་ཆགས་ཀྱིས་གདུངས་ནས། འདི་ལྟར་གྱུར་སྣང་བས། དེ་ལྟར་ན་འདང། ཁྱེད་རྣམས་རང་གི་མི་གཅིག་པའི་སྲིང་མོ་སྤྲོད་ས་ལ།
མའི་བདེན་པའི་སྲིང་མོ་དང་ལྷན་ཅིག་རྩེ་བ་ལ་དགོས་གསུངས་པས། དེ་དག་ན་རེ། དྲང་སྲོང་ཆེན་པོ། དེ་ལྟར་བགྱིད་རུང་ངམ་ཞུས་པས།
15 རྒྱལ་རིགས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་སྤྱངས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་དེ་ལྟར་བྱ་རུང་ངོ་གསུངས་པས། དེ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས། དྲང་སྲོང་གི་ཚིག་ཚད་མ་ཡིན་ནོ་ཞེས་དེ་
ལྟར་བྱས་པས། བུ་དང་བུ་མོ་མང་པོ་བཙས་པས། ཡབ་ཀྱིས་གསན་ནས། གཞོན་ནུ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་དེ་ལྟར་བྱེད་ནོད་པ་ཉིད་སྨྲས་པས།
ཤཱ་སྐྱར་ཏུ། ཤཱ་ཀྱ་ཞེས་བྱ་སྟེ། ཤཱ་ཀྱ་ཚོམ་པའི་དང་པོ་དེ་ཡིན་ནོ།།

དེའི་བྱ་བརྒྱུད་ལྔ་ཁྲི་ལྔ་སྟོང་གྲོང་ཁྱེར་གསེར་སྐྱར་བྱུང་ངོ། དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་སེང་ཏ་བཅུ་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བྱུང། དེའི་བརྒྱུད་ཉི་ཤུ་
རྩ་ལྔའི་ཐ་མ་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཞུ་བརྟན་ཐུ་མ་བྱུང། དེ་ལ་སྲས་གཉིས་ཏེ། སེང་གེ་འགྲམ་དང། སེང་གེ་སྒྲའོ། སེང་གེ་འགྲམ་ནི་སོངས་སྐྱེན་
20 པར་གྲགས་སོ། འཛམ་བུའི་གླིང་གི་གཞུ་ཐོགས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་མཆོག་ཡིན་ནོ། སེང་གེ་འགྲམ་ལ་སྲས་བཞི་སྟེ། ཟས་གཙང། ཟས་དཀར།
བྲེ་བོ་ཟས། བདུད་རྩི་ཟས་དང་བཞིའོ། ཟས་གཙང་ནི་གཟུགས་བཟང་ཞིང་མཛེས་པ། ལྟ་ན་སྡུག་པ། སྟོབས་ཆེ་བ། དཔའ་བ། བརྟན་པ།
མཁས་ཤིང་མཛངས་པ་ལ་གསལ་བ་སྨྲ་བ་སྙིང་སྟོབས་ཆེ་བ། ལེ་ལོ་དང་སྤྱོད་པ་ངན་པའི་རྗེས་སུ་མི་འགྲོ་བ། ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆོས་དང
ལྡན་པ། ཆོས་བཞིན་དུ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བྱེད་ནུས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལེགས་པར་རབ་བསད་ཀྱི་བུ་མོ། སྒྱུ་འཕྲུལ་མ་དང་སྒྱུ་
འཕྲུལ་ཆེན་པོ་གཉིས་གཡོག་མོ་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་དང་བཅས་ཏེ་བླངས་སོ། དུས་གཞན་ཞིག་ན་སེང་གེ་འགྲམ་གྲོངས་ནས། ཟས་གཙང་གིས
25 རྒྱལ་སྲིད་མཛད་དོ། དའི་ཚེ་མི་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་འཁོར་ཞིང་བྱས་པ། མི་ནད་ཟུག་ནད་མེད་ཅིང་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པ་དང་ལྡན་པ། ཐམས་
ཅད་བུ་བཞིན་དུ་བསྐྱངས་སོ།

དུས་དེའི་ལྷ་བུ་དམ་པ་ཏོག་དཀར་པོ། རིགས་དང། ཡུལ་དང། དུས་དང། གདུང་དང། ཡུམ་དང། ལྷ་ལ་གཟིགས་ནས། རྒྱལ་
པོ་ཟས་གཙང་གི་བཙུན་མོ་སྒྱུ་འཕྲུལ་ཆེན་མོའི་ལྷུམས་སུ་བཞུགས་སོ། དེ་ཡང་ཟླ་བ་བཅུ་གཉིས་བཞུགས་པ་ནས། མངལ་གྱི་དྲི་མ་ཡིས
མ་གོས་པ། སྤྱིད་ཟླ་བ་ཚང། ཚེས་བརྒྱད། སྐར་མ་རྒྱལ་ལ། ཡུམ་གྱི་མཆན་ཁུང་གཡས་པ་ནས་ཁྲུངས་སོ། དེ་ནི་སྐྱེས་བུ་ཆེན་པོའི
30 མཚན་གསུམ་བཅུ་རྩ་གཉིས་དང་ལྡན་པ། དཔེ་བྱད་བཟང་པོ་བརྒྱད་བཅུའིས་བརྒྱན་པ་ཞིག་ཕྱུང་གོ། དེའི་ཚེ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་པའི་ལྟས་སྣ

ཚོགས་པ་དང་། ཡུལ་ཆེན་པོ་བཞིར་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བཞི་བཅས་ཏེ། མ་ག་ཏར་པ་དྨ་ཆེན་པོའི་བུ་གཟུགས་ཅན་སྙིང་པོ། ཀོ་ས་ལར་ཚངས་སྦྱིན་གྱི་བུ་གསལ་རྒྱལ། བད་པ་ལར་དམག་བརྒྱ་པའི་བུ་ཤར་བ། འཕགས་རྒྱལ་དུ་སྒྲ་ཆུད་མཐའ་ཡས་ཀྱི་བུ་ཀུམ་བུ་རབ་སྣང་ངོ༌། གཞན་ཡང་ཡ་རབས་ཀྱི་རིགས་ལྔ་བརྒྱ། གྲགས་འཛིན་མ་ལ་སོགས་བུ་མོ་བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ། མདུན་པ་ལ་སོགས་བློན་ལྔ་བརྒྱ། རྣི་ཨུ་ཞི་དང་། རྣི་ཨུ་མོ་ཞི་དང་། བལ་གླང་ཞི་ཡང་སྐྱེས་སོ། བསྐྱེད་མོའི་ཚལ་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་དང་གཏེར་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་ཡང་བྱུང་ངོ༌། དབུས་སུ་ཅང་ཤུན་གྱི་ཤིང་སྐྱེས་པས། སྲས་ཀྱི་མིང་ལ་དོན་ཐམས་ཅད་གྲུབ་པ་ཞེས་བུ་བར་བཏགས་སོ། དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་བུ་དེ་ཆེར་སོང་བ་དང་། ཡི་གེ་དང་རྩིས་ལ་སོགས་པའི་རིག་པའི་གནས་ལྔ་ལ་མཁས་ཤིང་། སྟོབས་དང་སྒྱུ་རྩལ་གྱིས་ལྷ་སྦྱིན་ལ་སོགས་པ་སྐྱེ་བོ་གྲགས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཐུབ་པ་ཞེས་བཏགས་སོ། དེ་ནས་སྲས་ལ་བཙུན་མོ་བླང་བར་ཆུས་པས། གཞོན་ནུ་ན་རེ།

འདོད་པའི་དོན་ནི་བདག་གི་མཐའ་ཡས་རིག།
འཐབ་མོ་ཁོན་ཟུས་ཚ་ངན་སྡུག་བསྔལ་ཅ།
འཛིགས་བྱེད་དུག་གི་ལོ་མ་འདྲ་བ་སྣེ།
མེ་དང་འདྲ་ཉིད་རལ་གྲི་སོ་དང་འདྲ།

ཞེས་ཁྱིམ་གྱི་ཉེས་པ་མང་པོ་གསུང་ཤིང་། འོན་ཀྱང་བུ་མོ་འདི་འདྲ་ཞིག་ཡོད་ན་བླང་ངོ་། ཞེས་བུད་མེད་ཀྱི་ཡོན་ཏན་ཡི་གེ་བྲི་སྟེ་ཕུལ་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོས་ཡི་གེ་འདུན་ན་འདོན་ལ་བཏང་དེ།

རྒྱལ་རིགས་བྲམ་ཟེའི་བུ་མོ་དང་།
རྗེ་རིགས་དམང་རིགས་དེ་བཞིན་ཏེ།
སུ་ལ་ཡོན་ཏན་འདི་ཡོད་པའི།
བུ་མོ་དེ་ནི་འདིར་རྩལ་ཞིག།
ང་ཡི་བུ་རིགས་[དེ]་དང་ནི།
རྩུས་པ་མངོན་པར་འཛིན་པ་ཡིན།
ཡོན་ཏན་བདེ་བའི་ཆོས་ཀྱི་གནས།
དེ་ལ་འདི་ནི་ཡིད་དགའ་འོ།།

ཞེས་པའི་ཡི་གེ་བྲམ་ཟེ་ལ་བཀུར་ཏེ་བཏང་བས། བྲམ་ཟེ་ཡུལ་ཐམས་ཅད་དུ་ཕྱིན་ནས་བཙལ་བས། རིམ་གྱིས་ས་ཚོ་མ་མཐོང་ནས། དེ་འཛུམ་ཞིང་ཡོན་ཏན་དེ་བདག་ལ་ཡོད་ཅེའོ། དེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་གསོལ་པ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ན་རེ། བུད་མེད་འདི་བརྟན་ཆེ་ཞིང་ཡིད་ཆེས་མེད་པའི། ཞག་བདུན་ཚུན་ལ་བུ་མོ་ཐམས་ཅད་བསྡུས། གཞོན་ནུ་ནོར་ཅི་འདོད་ཐམས་ཅད་སྦྱིན། ཞེས་སྒྲགས་པ་དང་། བུ་མོ་ཐམས་ཅད་བྱུང་ནས། ཡོ་བྱད་འགའ་ཞིག་ཟད་པའི་སྐབས་སུ། ས་ཚོ་མ་བསྐྱེལ་ནས་འཛུམ་བྱས། བདག་གིས་ཅི་ནོངས་པས། མ་དགེ། དེ་དག་ལ་ཡོ་བྱད་མེད་པར་མཛད་ཞུས་པས། གཞོན་ནུ་ཡང་འཛུམ་ཞིང་། ཐུག་གི་སོར་དུབ་སྲང་བརྒྱ་སྟོང་རི་བ་དེ་གནང་ངོ༌། ས་ཚོ་མ་གཞོན་ནུ་ལ་བླངས་སོ། གཞན་ཡང་གྲགས་འཛིན་མ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་བཙུན་མོ་བརྒྱ་ཞི་བཞི་སྟོང་ཁབ་ཏུ་བཞེས་སོ། དེ་ནས་གཞོན་ནུ་ལོ་ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་དགུ་ལོན་དུས། གྲགས་འཛིན་མ་ལ་མངལ་གྱིས་སེམས་ཅན་དང་ལྡན་པར་གྱུར་ཏོ། དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ལོ་ལ་སྐྱེ་རྒ་[ན་]འཆིའི་སྡུག་བསྔལ་བཟོད་ཐབས་མེད་པ་རྣམས་གཟིགས་ནས་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་ངོ༌།།

དེ་ནས་དཔུང་ལོ་གསུམ་བཅུ་སོ་ལྔ་ཞེས་པའི་ཚེ། ས་ག་ཟླ་བའི་ཚེས་བཅོ་ལྔ་ལ་བདུད་བཏུལ། དཔུང་ལོ་མཉམ་པར་ཞག་སོ་རངས་
མངོན་པར་རྫོགས་པར་སངས་རྒྱས་སོ། དེའི་ཐུབ་མོ་ཀོ་ན་ལ་གྲགས་འཛིན་མ་ལ་ཙཨུ་ཞིག་སྐྱེ་སྐྱེ། ཟླ་བ་ཡང་སྒྲ་གཅན་གྱིས་བཟུང་ནས།
ཙཨུ་མེད་ཡང་སྒྲ་གཅན་འཛིན་ཞེས་སོ། དེའི་ཚེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཟས་གཙང་ན་རེ། ཤཱ་ཀྱ་ཐུབ་པ་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་ནས་ལོ་དྲུག་སོང་། གྲགས་འཛིན་
མའི་བུ་འདི་ཤཱ་ཀྱ་ཐུབ་པའི་བུ་མ་ཡིན་སྙམ་པ་དང་། གྲགས་འཛིན་མའི་ཡུས་པས་ངུས་ནས། ཙཨུ་དེ་ཇིང་གི་ས་བོང་ཞིག་གི་ཁར་བོར་
5 ནས། གལ་ཏེ་འདི་ཤཱ་ཀྱ་ཐུབ་པའི་བུ་ཡིན་ན། ཆུའི་སྟེང་དུ་ལྡིང་བར་གྱུར་ཅིག། ཤཱ་ཀྱ་ཐུབ་པའི་བུ་མ་ཡིན་ན། ཆུའི་ནང་དུ་བྱིང་བར་
གྱུར་ཅིག། ཅེས་བརྗོད་པའི། ས་བོང་དེ་མིང་གི་འདབ་ལྟར་ཇིང་གི་གཏིང(སྟེང?)་ན་ཡོད་པ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཟས་གཙང་གིས་གཟིགས་ནས། གོས་
དང་བཅས་པ་ཆུའི་ནང་དུ་ཞུགས་ནས། བང་པར་བླང་སྟེ་གཅེས་པར་བསྐྱངས་སོ། དེ་ཡང་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་སྟེ་སྲིད་པའི་རྒྱུན་ཆད་དོ།
སྤྱིར་མང་པོས་བཀུར་བ་ནས་སྒྲ་གཅན་འཛིན་ཡན་ཆོད་ལ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འབུམ་ཕྲག་བཅུ་དང་དྲུག་ཁྲི་དྲུག་སྟོང་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་དང་བཅུ་གཅིག།
བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་ཡབ་སྲས་དང་བཅུ་གསུམ་བྱུང་ངོ༎

IV

10 (*S* MS.) ༄༅། རིགས་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ནི་སྟུ་རྒྱལ་བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན་ཏེ། འདི་བཤད་ལུགས་མང་དུ་མ་མཆིས་ཏེ། རྒྱལ
རབས་སྲུན་པོ་གསུམ་ཁྲི་སྲོན་པོའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན། གསང་བ་འམ་འབྲུ་བདུས་ལ་སོགས་པ་མང་དུ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། བསྡུས་ན། གཉིས་
ཞེགས་སྐད།

བསྒྲགས་པ། ལྷ་རབས་བོན་ལུགས་དང་།

གསང་བ། མི་རབས་ཆོས་ལུགས་སོ༎

15 གཅུང་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ལུགས་ནས་དབེན་ཙམ་ཞིག་བརྗོད་ན། འོ་སྐོལ་ལྷོ་འཛམ་བུ་གླིང་གི་ལྟེ་བ། ཡུལ་ཀྱི་དབུས། སའི་སྙིང་། གངས་རིའི་
བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་སྐོར་བའི་ར་བ། གངས་ཏི་སེ་ཤེལ་གྱི་མཆོད་རྟེན་གྱི་རྩ། མཚོ་མ་པང་གཡུའི་མཎྜལ་གྱི་འདྲམ། རིན་པོ་ཆེ་གསེར་བྱུང་ས།
རྒྱ་བོ་ཆེན་པོ་བཞིའི་མགོ། ཡུལ་བོད་ཀ་གླིང་ཟུག། རི་མགོ་ལས་གཙང་གནས་འདི་ལ། དང་པོ་དབང་བྱེད་རིམ་པའི་དཀྱུ་འབྱུང་ཞེས་
གཏམ་བརྒྱུད་རྣམས་ལས་བཤད་ནའང་། བོད་རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་བཅུ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་མནར་བའི་དུས་སུ། བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་ཀྱི་གདུང་བརྒྱུད་ཡུལ་ཀོ་
ས་ལའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་གསལ་རྒྱལ་ལ། སྲས་ལྔ་མངའ་བའི་བར་པ་བུད་རྡྷ་ཤི་རི་ཞེས་པ། མིག་བྱ་ལྟར་ཡས་འགེབས་པ། རྐང་ལག་ངང་པ་
20 ལྟར་འབྲེལ་བ། སྨིན་ན་གཡུའི་སྨིན་མ་སྐྱེས་པ། བདུད་པོ་འཁོར་ཅིག་འཁྲུངས་པས། བྲམ་ཟེ་མཚན་མཁན་ལ་བསྟན་པས། བྲམ་ཟེ་ན་
རེ། རྒྱལ་བུ་འདི་མཚན་དང་ཡང་ལྡན། སྐུ་ཚོད(བསོད)་ཀྱང་མེད་ཏུ་ཆེ། ཡབ་མ་གྲོངས་གོང་དུ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བྱེད་པར་འགྱུར། ཞེས་
ལུང་བསྟན་པས། ཡབ་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་ལ། ང་གསད་པ་འམ། ཡང་ན་སྤུན་ཟླ་གསད་ནས། ཀོ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བྱེད་པར་འགྱུར་སྙམ་ནས། ཕྱིར་
སྤྲུགས་བསམ་པ་ལ། བྲམ་ཟེ་རྣམས་ན་རེ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདི་བྱང་ཕྱོགས་ཁ་བ་ཅན་དུ་བསྐྲུལ་ན། སེམས་ཅན་ལ་ཕན་ཐོགས་པར་འགྱུར་ཞེས་
ལུང་བསྟན་པས། རྐང་མགྱོགས་བཞིའི་གཉའ་བ་ལ་ཁྲི་བྱས་ནས། བྱང་གི་རི་དང་རགས་བསྒྲལ་ནས། བོད་ཡུལ་དབུས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་རི་གྱེད་
25 མགོའི་ཁ་ལ་བསྐྱལ་ནས་བཞག་གོ། འདི་ལ་བཤད་ལུགས་མི་འདྲ་བ་མང་དུ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། མང་པོའི་བཀུར་བ་གོཨུ་ཏ་མའི་རིགས་ཀྱི་ཤཱ་ཀྱ
ཡིན་པ་ནི་འདྲའོ། དེ་ཞིངས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་མཐོང་ནས། ཁྱེད་སུ་ཡིན་བྱས་པས། བཙན་པོ་ཟེར་གང་ནས་བྱོན་བྱས་པས། སྐད་ནི་མ་ཤེས་
ཏེ། ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་མཛུབ་མོ(འཛུམ་མོ)་བསྒྲིང་ངོ། དེ་ཞིངས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཡུལ་མི་ལ་སྨྲ་སྨྲས་ཏེ། མི་མང་པོ་ཕྱིན་ནས་བསྟན་པས།
རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་བཅུ་གཉིས་པས། བཟང་ཞིང་། དཔལ་བརྗིད་ཆེ་བ། ཡིད་དུ་འོང་བར་མཐོང་ནས། ཀུན་མཐུན་པར། འོ་སྐོལ་རྗེ་མེད་ཀྱི། རྗེ་

ཅར(*L* MS. ཛྷེ་ཅ)་སྨན་འཛིན་དགོས་ཟེར་ནས། བཙན་ཁྲུང(*L* MS. བཙོན་ཁྲུང)་དང་སྲུམས་གཉིས། གཉའ་ར་རྩེ་དང་གཙོ་གཉིས། ཁྲ་སྡེགས་གཉིས་ཏེ། འབངས་ཚུས་ཚུག་གིས་སྨན་ཟུངས། ར་སངས་དར་པ་དང་། ཁྲིང་པོས་ཁོད་པ་ཅན། མི་ཉག་གི་བཟེས་གཉེན་ཟློན་པོར་བསྐོས། དེ་མགོ་ནག་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོར་མངའ་གསོལ་ཏེ། མཚན་ཡང་གཉའ་ཁྲི་གཏོགས་པ་ལ། ཛྷེ་གཉའ་ཁྲི་བཙན་པོ་ཞེས་མཚན་གསོལ་ཏེ། རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་རྒྱན་དམ་པ་ཡུལ་ཡར་ལུང་སོགས། སྐུ་མཁར་ཕྱི་དབང་སྟག་རྩེའི་ནང་དུ་བཞུགས་ཏེ། མངའ་ཐང་དང་བཀའ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱིས་སྐུ་བརྒྱན་མཛད། འདིག་རྟེན་ཆོས་བཞིན་དུ་བསྐྱངས་པས། རྒྱལ་ཁམས་བདེ་ཞིང་སྐྱིད། སྐུ་སྲུང་སྡེ་བཞིས་སྐུ་སྲུངས། ནོར་ལྷོད་སྡེ་མི་བཞི་བཅུ་ཙ་བཞིས་ནི་ཕྱིའི་དགྲ་འདུལ། གཡུར་ལྷོད་སྡེ་བཞི་བཅུ་ཙ་བཞི་ནི་ནང་གི་ཆ་ཁ་སྐྱོམས། སོ་ཁ་བཞིར་ནི་སོ་འཛུགས། ཁྲོམ་ཁ(*L* MS. ཁྲོམ་ཁ)་བརྒྱད་ཀྱིས་ནི་སོ་ཁའི་དགྲ་འདུལ། ནོང་ནོར་ཁ་བ་སོ(*L* MS. ཁབ་སོ)་ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བང་མཛོད་འགྱེངས། ཚོང་འདུས་བཅུ་གཉིས་ནས་ནོར་གྱི་དཔྱིག་འཛུལ། ལེགས་ཉེས་ཀྱི་བུ་དཀའ་དཔའ་མཛངས་ཀྱིས་ཟན་འཕྱེད། ནོངས་ཀྱི་ཆད་པའི་དན། གཡོའི་ཁྲངས་སྟུབས། མཛངས་སྐྱ་ལྟའི་གསེར་གཡུ་དང་ཡིག་ཚང་གིས་སྐོར། དཔའ་སྐྱ་ལྟ་སེང་གེ་དང་གུང་སྟག་གིས་བརྒྱན། མགྱོགས་སྐྱ་ལྟ་མཆིབས་(ཕྱིབས)(*L* MS. ཕྱིངས)་མཛད་ནས་རྒྱུགས་སུ་སྟོ(*L* MS. སྟོ)། ཛྷེའི་བཀའ་ཁྲིམས་ནི་གདངས་ལ་ཉི་མ་ཟེར་བ་དང་འདྲ། མཛད་པ་ལས་སུ་སོ་ནང་ཙུ་ཟུ་ཟླ་སྲང་བཏབས། རྒྱ་འཁྲོག་དང་། བཙུན་སྐྱོད་ཅེད། ཚོང་དང་ཁེ་སྤྲགས་ལ་མི་ལྟ། རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཐམས་ཅད་བདེ་ཞིང་། མངའ་ཐང་ཐམས་ཅད་སྐྱིད་པས། དེ་ལྟར་ཆོ་ཆེ་ཞིང་ཁྲངས་བཙན་པ་ཡིན་ནོ།།

དེ་ཡི་སྲས་མུ་ཁྲི་བཙན་པོ།
དེ་ཡི་སྲས་དིང་ཁྲི་བཙན་པོ (*L* MS. དིང་ཁྲི་བཙན་པོ)།
དེ་ཡི་སྲས་སོ་ཁྲི་བཙན་པོ།
དེ་ཡི་སྲས་མེ་ཁྲི་བཙན་པོ།
དེ་ཡི་སྲས་གདགས་ཁྲི་བཙན་པོ།
དེ་ཡི་སྲས་སྲིབ་ཁྲི་བཙན་པོ།
(འདི་) བདུན་ལ་གནམ་གྱི་ཁྲི་བདུན་ཟེར།
དེ་ཡང་འཁོར་ལོ་སྣ་བདུན་ལས།
ཁྲི་བདུན་བང་སོ་གནམ་ལ་བཏབ (*L* MS. དབང་པོ་གནམ་ལ་བཏབ)།
ལྷ་ལུས་རོ་མེད་འཛའ་ལྟར་ཡལ།

ཞེས་དེ་དག་ལ་དབུ་ལ་འོད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་དག་ཡོད་པས། དགུང་ལ་མང་དུ་བཞུགས་ཤིང་། སྲས་འོག་མ་མཆིབས(ཕྱིབས)་ཁ་ཐུབ་ཙ་ན། ཡབ་གོང་མ་རྣམས་ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་འཛའ་ཡལ་བ་[ལྟར]་བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་སོ།།

སྲིབས་ཁྲི་བཙན་པོའི་སྲས་གྲི་གུམ་བཙན་པོ། དེའི་སྲས་ཤ་ཁྲི་ཉ་ཁྲི་བྱ་ཁྲི་གསུམ། བྱ་ཁྲི་ལ་སྤུ་དེ་གུང་རྒྱལ(སྤུ་ལྡེ་གུང་རྒྱལ)་དུ་མཚན་གསོལ་ནས། ཡུལ་ཡར་ཀླུངས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་མཁར་ཆེན་མོར་བཞུགས་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་དུས་སུ་ཡུང་ཟུང་གི་བོན་བྱུང་ངོ་། གཞན་ཡང་ཤིང་བསྲེགས་པའི་སྙིང་པོ་སོལ་བ། ཀོ་བ་ཞུ་བའི་སྙིང་པོ་ལ་སྤྱིན(སྤྲིན)་བྱུང་། ལྕགས་རྡོ་ཟངས་རྡོ་དངུལ་རྡོ་གསུམ་རྟེད་ནས།

སོལ་བས་རྡོ་གསུམ་ཞུས་ནས་
དངུལ་ཟངས་ལྕགས་གསུམ་སྟོན།

ཞིང་ལ་ཐུག་པ་ཐུད་ནས་
ཞོལ་དང་གཉའ་ཞིང་བཙོས།
མཐུན་གཉིས་གཉའ་རུ་སྦྱེལས་ནས་
ཐང་རྣམས་ཞིང་དུ་རྨོས།
5 རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཡུར་ལ་དྲངས་ནས་
རྩ་ལ་ཟམ་པ་འཛུགས།།

དེ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ལས་ཐབས་མང་པོ་བྱུང་། དེའི་སྲས་ཨ་ཤོ་ལེགས། དེའི་སྲས་ཨི་ཤོ་ལེགས། དེའི་སྲས་ . . . . . ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིས་པོ་ནི་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ལས་ཐབས་མང་པོ་བྱུང་། ... བོད་ཀྱི་དབང་ཐུག་རྩེ་བརྩིགས། པོ་བོད་སྐུ་མཁར་རྩིགས་པའི་སྔ་སོགས་དེ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེའི་སྲས་དེ་ཤོ་ལེགས། འདིའི་རིང་ལ་བླུ་དང་བློ་དར། དེའི་སྲས་གུ་རུ་ལེགས། དེའི་སྲས་འབྲོང་ཟེ་ལེགས། དེའི་སྲས་ཐོང་ཤོ་ལེགས། འདི་རྣམས་ལ་སའི་ལེགས་དྲུག་ཟེར།།
10 དེའི་སྲས་ཟིན་ལ་ཟིན་ལྡེ་དང་། ལྡེ་འབྲུལ་གནམ་གཞུང་བཙན། ལྡེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་བཙན། སེ་སྣོལ་ལམ་ལྡེ། སེ་སྣོལ་པོ་ལྡེ། ལྡེ་ལམ། ལྡེ་སྣོལ་པོ། སྤྲིན་བཙན་ལྡེ། འདི་རྣམས་ནི་སའི་ལྡེ་བརྒྱད་དོ།།
དེའི་སྲས་ཐོ་ཐོ་རི་ལོང་བཙན་ཞེས་བྱ་སྟེ། ཡབ་ཡན་ཆད་(*L* MS. མ་ཆད)་ཡུམ་ལྷ་མོ་དང་ཀླུ་མོ་ཡིན་ནོ། འདི་མན་ཆད་འབངས་དང་གཉེན་སྲས་དེ་ཐོ་ཐོ་རི་ལོང་བཙན་གྱི་སྣ་ཚོ་ཀླུ་རྒྱལ་ཞེས་པའི་སྲས་ཁྲི་བཙན། འདིའི་རིང་ལ་སྲང་(*L* MS. བསྲུངས)་དང་བྲེ་དང་། དེའི་སྲས་ཁྲི་ཐོག་རྗེ་ཐོག་བཙན། དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཐོ་ཐོ་རི་སྙེན་(*L* MS. སྙན)་བཤལ་ཞེས་པ་འཕགས་པ་ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང་པོའི་སྤྲུལ་པ་དེས།
15 དགུང་ལོ་དྲུག་བཅུ་རེ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བསྐྱང་སྟེ། མ་བཅིགས་ལྷུན་གྱིས་གྲུབ་པའི་ཕོ་བྲང་ཆེན་པོ་ཡུམ་བུ་རྫངས་མཁར་ལ་བཞུགས་པའི་དུས་སུ། བོད་དུ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་དར་བའི་སྔ་ལྟས་ལ། ནམ་མཁའ་ནས་ཟ་མ་ཏོག་ཅིག་བབས་པས། ཟ་མ་ཏོག་བཀོད་པའི་མདོ་དང་། པད་ཀོང་ཐག་རྒྱ་པ། སྙིང་པོ་ཡི་གེ་དྲུག་པ། གསེར་གྱི་མཆོད་རྟེན་ཁྲུ་གང་། ཙིན་ཏ་མ་ཎི་ཚ་ཚ་དང་། ཕྱག་རྒྱའི་ཐུག་རྒྱ་རྣམས་ཉི་མའི་འོད་ཟེར་ལ་འཁྲིགས་ཏེ། རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཕོ་བྲང་དུ་བབས་པས། བོན་(*L* MS. བོད)་ནམ་ཆོས་བསམ་ཅི་ཡིན་མ་ཤེས། གསེར་སྐྱེམས་དང་གཡུ་ཟུར་གྱིས་མཆོད་པས། སྨིན་ལྡབས་བྱུང་སྟེ། དགུང་ལོ་བརྒྱ་དང་ཉི་ཤུ་ཐུབ་པོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་རིང་ལ་དམ་པའི་
20 ཆོས་ཀྱི་དབུ་བརྙེས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ།།
དེའི་སྲས་ཁྲི་སྙན་བཟུང་བཙན་(*L* MS. ཁྲི་སྙན)། དེའི་རིང་ལ་འབྲོག་སྐྱོང་བ་དང་། ཞིང་གི་ཐུལ་སྦྱེལས་དང་།

མཚོ་ལ་སྐྱར་ཀ་བུས་ནས།
ཡུར་བར་དྲང་བ་དང་།
ཐུ་ཆུ་ཛིང་དུ་སྐྱིལ་ནས།
25 མཆན་ཆུ་ཉིན་ལ་དྲང་།

ལ་སོགས་དེའི་དུས་སུ་བྱུང་ངོ་། དེའི་སྲས་འབྲོང་སྙན་ལྡེ་རུ་(*L* MS. འགྲོང་སྙན་ལྡེ་རུ)། དེའི་སྲས་སྟག་རི་སྙན་གཟིགས། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་རིང་ལ་མཛོ་དང་དྲེའུ་སྤེ་བ། ནོར་གྱི་རིན་ཐང་གཅོད་པ། རིའི་རྩྭ་བ་ཆུན་པོ་བུ་བ་སོགས་བྱུང་ངོ་། དེའི་སྲས་གནམ་རི་སྲོང་བཙན། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་དུས་སུ་རྒྱ་ནག་ནས་སྨན་དང་རྩིས་བྱུང་། རྒྱ་གར་དང་སྦྲ་སྲུ་ཁྲུབ་ཕྲོགས། གཉའ་ཞུར་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་སོགས་པ་བཏུལ། ཐང་ནས་ཚྭ་བརྙེད། སྐུ་མཁར་ཁྲི་བརྩེགས་འཕྲུམ་གདུགས་བྱ་བ་མཛེགས་སོ།།

དེའི་སྐབས་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་སྤྲུལ་པ་སྲོང་བཙན་སྒམ་པོ(L MS. སྲོང་བཙན་གམ་པོ)། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་རིང་ལ། མཐའ་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཐམས་ཅད་དབང་དུ་བསྡུ་སྟེ།. རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་སོ་སོ་ནས་སྐྱ་སྐྱེས་འབུལ་ཞིང་། འཕྲིན་ཡིག་བསྐུར་རོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིས་མཛད་པ[འི]་ཕྱག་རྗེས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་མ་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་པ་མཛད་ཀྱང་། ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་འཕྲིན་ཡིག་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ལན་བཀྱུར་བ་ལ། བོད་ན་ཡི་གེ་མེད་པ་དང་། མེས་གྲོ་གྲོ་རེ་སྐྱེན་མཁལ་གྱི་མཆོད་གནས་སྐྱེན་པོ(གཉན་པོ)་གསང་བ་ཡང་། རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ཡི་གེར་འདུག་པས། བོད་ཡིག་ཏུ་བྱ་སྟེ། བསྒྱུར་དགོས་པར་དགོངས་ནས། ཐོན་མི་ཨ་ནུའི་བུ་ལ་གསེར་ཞེ་གང་བསྐུར་ནས། ཡིག་འཁོར་བཅུ་དྲུག་དང་བཅས་ཏེ། ཁ་ཆེར་ཡི་གེར་སློབ་ཏུ་བཏང་ངོ་། དེ་དག་གིས་ཟླ་ཟེ་ལི་བྱིན་ལས་ཡི་གེ་བསླབས། པཎྜི་ཏ་སེང་གེ་སྒྲ་བསླབ་སྟེ(L MS. པཎྜི་ཏ་སེང་གེ་ལས་སྒྲ་བསླབ་སྟེ)། བོད་སྐད་དང་བསྟུན་ནས། གསལ་བྱེད་ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་བཞི། དབྱངས་རིངས་བཅོས་ནས། གསུམ་བཅུ་མཛད། གཞན་ཡང་ཁ་ཆེ་ན་ག་རའི་ཡི་གེ་དང་བསྟུན་ནས་བསྒྱུར་རོ། དེ་ནས་ཐོན་མི་བོད་དུ་ཞེབས་ཏུས། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡུ་རུ་བཙུན་མོ་ཚལ་དུ་བཞུགས་པ་དང་མཇལ། རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཞལ་ནས། ཁྱེད་ཀྱིས་ཡི་གེ་དང་སྒྲ་ལོབས་སམ། སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་ལ་བསྟོད་པ་ཞིག་གྱིས་ཞེས་གསུངས་པས། ཐོན་མིས།

གཞལ་རས་གསལ་ལ་དད་མདངས(L MS. ངོ་མདངས)་གང་བ་བཟང་།

ཞེས་པའི་ཤློ་ཀ་ཞི་སྟེ། ཕུལ་བས། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཤིན་ཏུ་མཉེས་ཏེ། བྱིན་གྱི་ཁོད་མར་རྡོའི(L MS. བྱིན་གྱིས་གོག་མར་རྡོའི)་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཙིག་སྟེ། སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་མདུན་དུ་ཡི་གེ་འདི་རྡོ་ལ་བྲི་སྟེ་བཞག་གོ། བོད་དུ་ཡི་གེ་དང་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང(ལ)་ཐོ་བ་དེ་གཉིས་ཡིན་ནོ། དེ་ནས་བལ་པོ་ནས་ཁྲོ་གཉེར་མའི་སྤྲུལ་པ། བལ་མོ་བཟའ་ཁྲི་བཙུན། བློན་པོ་ཐོན་མི་སམ་བྷོ་ཊས་གདན་དྲངས། དེའི་ཇོངས་ལ། ཇོ་བོ་མི་བསྐྱོད་རྡོ་རྗེ། བྱམས་པ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ། ཙནྡན་གྱི་ཇོ་མོ་སྒྲོལ་མ་རྣམས་སྤྱན་དྲངས། རྒྱ་ནག་ནས་སྒྲོལ་མའི་སྤྲུལ་པ་རྒྱལ་མོ་བཟའ་ཀོང་ཇོ། བློན་པོ་རིག་པ་ཅན་གྱིས་གདན་དྲངས། དེའི་ཇོངས་ལ་ཇོ་བོ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ། གཞན་ཡང་། འཇིག་རྟེན་ལུགས་ཀྱི་འབྲས་ཚང་། ནས་ཚང་། མདོར་ན།

ཟས་ཀྱི་ཡོ་བྱད་ཚང་བ།
ཉོ་མ་ཉོ་རུ་བསྐུར་བ།
ཉོ་ལ་མར་དང་དར།
ད་ར་ཐུད་རུ་བསྐུར་བ།
ཁམས་[ཀྱི]་རྫ་རུ་བསྐུར་བ།
རང་ཐག་ཚ་[ཡིས་]བསྒྲོར་[བ]།
ཐགས་ཁྲི་ཐགས་[པ་]དང་[ཉི་]།

བཟའི་རིག་པ་མང་དུ་བྱུང་ངོ་། གཞན་ཡང་། ལྷ་སར་ར་མོ་ཆེ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པ་བཞེངས། དམར་པོ་རི་དང་ལྕགས་པོ་རི་ལ་པོ་བྲང་བརྟབ། རི་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ས་བར་ན། ལྕགས་ཐག་གིས་སྦྲེལ་བའི་ཞེམ་བརྩུགས། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དང་མཁར་དགུ་བརྒྱ་ཙམ་བཙིགས་སོ། དེའི་ཚེ་རྒྱ་གར་ནས་སློབ་དཔོན་ཀུ་ས་ར་དང་། བལ་པོའི་སློབ་དཔོན་ཤི་ལ་མཉྫུ་དང་། ཁ་ཆེའི་སློབ་དཔོན་ཏ་ནུ་ཏ (L MS. ཏ་བ་ཏ)་དང་ག་ནུ་ཏ (L MS. གྷ་ནུ་ཏ)་དང་། ཟླ་ཟེ་ལི་བྱིན་དང་། རྒྱ་ནག་གི་སློབ་དཔོན་ཧྭ་ཤང་མ་ཧཱ་དྷེ་བ་རྣམས་སྤྱན་དྲངས། ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་ཐོན་མི་དང་། དྷརྨ་གོ་ཤ་དང་། ལྷ་ལུང་དཔལ་གྱི་རྡོ་རྗེ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཆོས་ཅི་རིགས་སུ་བསྒྱུར་ཅིང་། གཞན་

ལ་སྦས། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་རིང་ལ། ཤར་ཆ་མི་དང་ཤིང་མི། ལྷོ་བློ་བོ་དང་ཞང་ཞུང་། བྱང་ཧོར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ལ་སོགས་པ་དབང་དུ་
བསྡུས་ནས། དམ་པ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་སྲོལ་གཏོད་པ་ཡིན་ནོ།།

དེའི་སྲས་མང་སྲོང་མང་བཙན།

དེའི་སྲས་གུང་བཙན (*L* MS. གུང་སྲོང་གུང་བཙན)།

དེའི་སྲས་གུང་སྲོང་འདུ་རྗེ (*L* MS. འདུ་སྲོང་འདུ་རྗེ)། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེའི་དུས་སུ། ཤར་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཇུ། ལྷོའི་བལ་པོའི་ཤིང་ཁྲན
5 (*L* MS. ཤིང་ཀུན)། བྱང་ཧོར་གྱི་ཡ་ཡག་དར་ཆེན། ནུབ་ལོ་བོ་ཚན་རིངས། སྦལ་ཉེའི་སྨང་གི་ནང་གོང་། སྨད་ཀྱི་ཤི་དཀར་ཚོན་
ཆད་མངའ་འོག་ཏུ་བསྡུ་སྟེ། རྒྱ་ནས་ཛ་དང་། བོཛ་དྷྭ་མལ (*L* MS. ཪྻོ་དྷྭ་མན)། ཟུར་ན། འཛུར་གྲོང་། རྒྱ་གླིང་ལ་སོགས་བྱུང་ངོ།
གཉན་ཡང་། རྩལ་པོ་ཆེའི་མི་བདུན་བྱུང་སྟེ། ཁྲི་བདུན་ཡུལ་བྱིན་གྱིས (*L* MS. ཁྲི་བདུན་ཡུལ་བྱིས)་སྟག་ཤོངས་འཇོམ་དགུ་ལ་
མཆོངས(འཇྱོངས)་བྱུས། གསལ་སྣང་ཏུང་གྲགས་ཀྱིས་གཡག་རྒོད་ཀྱི་རྐང་པ་ནས་སྣུན་བྱུས། ཨ་ཐོག་རྐོད་བཙན (*L* MS. རྐོད་བཙན)་
10 བྱིས་འདི་སེང་གེ་ལྤག་སྤུ་ནས་བཟུང་བྱུས། ཅོག་རོ་ཀླུ་གོང (*L* MS. ཀླུ་གོང)་གིས་ཤིང་སྦྲམ་འདོམ་དོ་ལ་མདའ་ཡིས་འབིགས་བྱུས།
འབྲོམ་ལྤག་བཟང (*L* MS. སྤག་བཟང)་གིས་མཁར་སྐྱ་ཚུས་འབེབས་བྱུས། འགོས (*L* MS. བགོས)་གཡག་ཚུང་གིས་ཤ་བའི་རྒྱུད་བྲུ་
གསེར་བྱིས་བཀང་ནས་གླུད་ལ་བསྐོར་བྱུས། ཟུ་གོང་བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣམས་ལས་མཐུ་སྟོབས་ཆེ་བ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ནོ།།

དེའི་སྲས་ཁྲི་ལྡེ་གཙུག་བརྟན་མེས་ཨག་ཚོམས་རྒྱལ་པོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་རིང་ལ། ལྷ་ས་ཁ་བྲག་དམར་ཟུ་ཁར (*L* MS. ཁ་བྲག་དམར་
ཟུ་ཁར)་བཏབ། མདོ་སྨད་སྤང་། གླིང་བཅུ་ཁྲི་རྩེ། བྲག་དམར་ཙ་ག་ཚུ་ཤར་སྒོ། ཐང་ཐང་ཀ་མེད། ཀ་ཆུ་པན་ཆུབ (*L* MS. ཀ་ཆུ་
15 པན་ཆུང་)། བྲག་དམར་མགྲིན་བཟང་ (*L* MS. འགྲིན་བཟང་)། ལ་སོགས་པའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་མང་དུ་བཞེངས། བྲག་ཁ་སུ་ཏྲུ་སྲེ་ཀ
(*L* MS. བྲག་ཁ་དབུ་སྲེ་ཀ)་དང་། སྐྱིགས་ཧྲུ་ན་ཀུ་མ་རས་ལོ་ཙཱ་བྱས་ཏེ། མདོ་གསེར་འོད་དམ་པ་དང་། ལས་བརྒྱ་པ་གཉིས་བསྒྱུར།
བི་ཤྭ་ཙན་ཏྲ་སྨན་སྤྱད་དང་ (*L* MS. བི་ཤྭ་ཙནྡྲ་ཡིས་སྨན་སྤྱད་དང་)། རྩིས་ལ་སོགས་པ་བསྒྱུར་ནས། ཆོས་སྲོལ་ཆེན་པོ་བཙུགས་སོ།།

དེའི་སྲས་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་འཇམས་དཔལ་གྱི་སྤྲུལ་པ། ཁྲི་སྲོང་ལྡེ་བཙན། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེས་རྒྱ་གར་ནས་མཁན་པོ་བོ་དྷི་
ས་ཏྭ (ཟླ་ཏ)་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ནས། ཁ་ཆེ་ཨ་ནན་ཏས་ལོ་ཙཱ་བྱས་ཏེ། དགེ་བ་བཅུ། ཁམས་བཅོ་བརྒྱད། རྟེན་འབྲེལ་བཅུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་
20 བཤད་པས། བོད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་སྲིན་འཁྲུགས་པས། དམར་པོ་རི་ལ་ཐོག་བརྒྱབ། ལང་ཐང་ཆུས་ཁྱེར། མི་ནད་ཕྱུགས་ནད་མང་པོ་བྱུང་བས།
མཁན་པོའི་ཞལ་ནས། ངས་ཆོས་བཤད་པ་ལ། བོད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་སྲིན་མི་དགའ་བར་འདུག་པས། ལྷ་སྲིན་འདུལ་བ་ལ། ཨོ་རྒྱན་གྱི་ཡུལ་ནས།
སློབ་དཔོན་པ་དྨ་འབྱུང་གནས་སྤྱན་དྲོངས། ད་སྐལ་གསུམ་སངས་རྒྱས་འོད་སྲུང་གི་མཆོད་རྟེན་གྱི་བྱང་དུ། སློབ་ལམ་གཅིག་པ་ཡིན་
གསུངས། ཟླ་གསལ་སྣང་དང་། ཅོ་རོ (*L* MS. བཅོག་རོ)་ཞེས་གྲྭ་གཉིས་བཏང་ནས། སློབ་དཔོན་གདན་དྲངས་ནས། བོད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་སྲིན་
ཐམས་ཅད་དམ་ལ་བཏགས་ནས། རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ཨོ་ཏནྟ་[ཟུ་]རིའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ལ་དཔེ་བྱས་ནས། བསམ་ཡས་མི་འགྱུར་ལྷུན་གྱིས་གྲུབ་
25 པའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཞེངས། རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་པཎྜི་ཏ་མང་པོ་དང་། ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་སད་མི་བདུན་གྱིས་སྡེ་སྣོད་གསུམ་དང་ (*L* MS.)། གསང་
སྔགས་རྒྱུད་སྡེ་དང་པོ་གསུམ་དང་ (*S* MS.)། མདོར་ན། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡོན་མཆོད་གསུམ་གྱིས་བོད་མུན་པའི་གླིང་འདྲ་བར། དམ་ཆོས་གཙང་
ལ་མ་ཉོར་བ་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས་པར་མཛད་དོ། འབངས་ཀྱི་ནང་ནས་སད་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་བ་ལའང་། ཞབས་འོག་གི་རྡེའུ་དབུའི་གཙུག་ཏུ་ཁུར་
བའི་ཁྲིམས་མཛད་ནས། བསམ་ཡས་ལ་བཀར་ར་དང་། འཆིང་བུ་ལ་སྒོམ་གྲྭ་བཙུགས། མོ་ཐང་ལྡུང་ཚུགས (*L* MS. ལྡུང་ཚུགས)་སྲུ་
གོང་ཁྲིར་སྐྱིད་པའི་འདུན་གནས་དང་། ཚངས་པའི་འདུན་གནས་གཉིས་བཏབ། དེའི་དུས་སུ། སློབ་དཔོན་པདྨ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་རིག་འཛིན་
30 གྱི་ཚེ་ཆུ་གནང་བས། བློན་པོ་རེ་ལ་མི་དགའ་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ། མོན་གྱི་སྨྱན་ཆུ་དུག་ཡིན་པས། མི་གསོལ་བར་ཞུ་ཞུས་པས།

རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡང་ཐེ་ཚོམ་དུ་གྱུར་ཏེ། མ་གསོལ། ནང་དུ་མཛེ་མི་ཡོད་པའི་ཕྱིར། ཀླུའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་མ་དྲོས་ཞིལ་ཆེན་དམ་ལ་བཏགས་ནས། རྡོ་རྗེ་སྦྱིན་པས། ཞིལ་ཆེན་ཁྱིའུ་ཞིག་ཏུ་སྤྲུལ་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་གྲོགས་པོ་བཙོལ་ནས། ཅི་འདོད་པའི་དངོས་གྲུབ་གཏེར་བར་ཁས་བླངས་པས། རྒྱལ་པོས་ཀླུ་དོ་ཆེན་མཛད་པས། ཐུགས་དམ་གློད་དོ། དེ་ནས་སློབ་དཔོན་ལྷ་ནུབ་ཛ་ཡབ་ཏུ་སྲིན་པོ་འདུལ་དུ་བཞུད་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེའི་དུས་སུ་བོད་ཐམས་ཅད་བདེ་ཞིང་སྐྱིད་པ། སྐྱེ་བོའི་ཚོགས་མང་བ། ལོ་ལེགས་པ། དུས་ཀྱི་ཁྲུག་པ་མེད་པ། མཐའ་བཞིའི་སྡེ་ཐམས་ཅད་མནན་ཏེ། ཤར་རྒྱ་ནག་དང་། ལྷོ་རྒྱ་གར། ནུབ་སྦལ་ཏི་དང་འབྲུ་ཞལ། བྱང་ཧོར་གྱི་སའི་ཚ་ཡོ་དོན་ཀས་དཀར་རྣམས་དབང་དུ་བསྡུ་སྟེ། ཆོས་ཁྲིམས་དང་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་གཉིས་ཀ་ཤིན་ཏུ་བཙན་པར་མཛད་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་རིང་ལ། བོད་སྐྱབས་ཤིང་། དམ་པའི་ཆོས་དར་ཞིང་། རྒྱས་པར་མཛད་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེ་ནས།

རྒྱལ་བའི་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་དམ་པ་ཞི་བ་འཚོ།
སྔགས་འཆང་བླ་མེད་དགེ་སློང་པདྨ་འབྱུང་།
མཁས་པའི་གཙུག་རྒྱན་ཀ་མ་ལ་ཤཱི་ལ།
ཁྲི་སྲོང་ལྡེ་བཙན་ལྷག་པའི་བསམ་པ་ཅན།
བོད་ཡུལ་མུན་པར་ཉི་མ་ཤར་བ་བཞིན།
དམ་ཆོས་སྣང་བ་ཕྱོགས་མཐར་རྒྱས་མཛད་པ།
བཀའ་དྲིན་འཁོར་མེད་དམ་པ་བཞི་ཀ་ལ།
བོད་རྣམས་རྟག་ཏུ་གུས་པས་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ།།

ཞེས་ཁ་ཏོན་ཡང་བྱས་སོ།།

དེའི་སྲས་མུ་ཁྲི་བཙན་པོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེས་ཡབ་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་རྫོགས་པའི་ཕྱིར་དུ། བསམ་ཡས་སུ་འདུལ་བ་མདོན་པ་མདོ་སྡེ་གསུམ་གྱི་མཆོད་པ་བཙུན། ཆོས་བྱེད་པ་འཚོ་བ་བླ་ནས་སྦྱར། བོད་ཀྱི་ཕྱུག་ལྷོགས་ལན་གསུམ་སྙོམས། རྒྱ་དང་གཉིས་ཀའི་ཚ་ནས། ཡབ་ལ་འདུད་པ་ཙམ་གྱིས་རང་མ་ཐུབ་ཀྱང་། བཟོད་མཛད། རྒྱ་དང་བོད་ས་སྒྲོས་བྱས་ནས། བོད་དབང་བའི་རྒྱ་ཐམས་ཅད་རྗེ་མོ་བོད་དུ་ལྷགས་ནས་སྐྱེས་སོ།།

དེའི་སྲས་སད་ན་ལེགས། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེས་རྒྱ་སྟེའི་སྐར་ཆུང་རྡོ་དབྱིངས་ཀྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཞེངས། པཎྜི་ཏ་ཀ་མ་ལ་ཤི་ལ་སོགས་གདན་དྲངས། (*L* MS.) གཉེགས་ཛྙཱ་ན་ཀུ་མ་རས། (*S* MS.) ལོ་ཙྪ་བས་ཏེ། ནུར་མེད་པའི་ཆོས་མང་པོ་བསྒྱུར་རོ།།

དེའི་སྲས་གཙང་མ། རལ་པ་ཅན། གླང་དར་མ། བཙུན་མོ་ཆུང་བ་ཞིག་ལ་ལྷ་རྗེ་དང་། ལྷུན་གྲུབ་གཉིས་དང་ལྔ་འཁྲུངས་སོ། སྲས་ཆེ་བ་གཙང་མ་ཆོས་ལ་དགའ་སྟེ། རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་ནས། མི་ཆོས་ལ་གདམས་པས། བསྟན་བཅོས་ཤིག་ཀྱང་མཛད། དར་མ་ནི་སྡིག་ལ་དགའ་སྟེ། རྗེའི་འོས་མ་ཡིན། བར་པ་རལ་པ་ཅན་ལ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་གཏད་དོ། དེས་ཅ་ཤང་ (*L* MS. ཅ་ཤ་) རྗེའི་གྲོང་ཁྱེར་བཏབ་ནས། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་རྒྱ་ཕིབས་གཡུ་སྔོན་ཅན་བཞེངས། སྔོན་ཡབ་མེས་ཀྱི་རིང་ལ་རྒྱ་དང་ལི་དང་། ཟ་ཧོར་དང་། ཁ་ཆེ་ལ་སོགས་པ་སྣ་ཚོགས་ནས་ཆོས་མང་པོ་བསྒྱུར་བས། བརྡ་ནི་འདྲ་བ་མང་པོ་འདུག་པས། ཆོས་སློབ་དཀའ་བ་ཡིན་གསུང་ནས། རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་པཎྜི་ཏ་ཛི་ན་མི་ཏྲ། སུ་རེནྡྲ་བོ་དྷི། དཱ་ན་ཤཱི་ལ་ལ་སོགས་པ་གདན་དྲངས། བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་ཙྪ་བ་སྐ་བ་ཅོག་གཉིས་དང་། བན་དྷེ་ཡེ་ཤེས་སྡེ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཐམས་ཅད་བསར་བཅད་ཀྱི། གཏད་ལ་ཕབ། ཐ་ན་སྐེ་སྐད་ལ་སོགས་པ་རྒྱ་གར་དང་མཐུན་པར་བཅས། རབ་བྱུང་རྣམས་རེ་རེ་ལ་འབངས་མི་ཁྱིམ་བདུན་བདུན་ཕུལ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དབུས་ལ་བཞུགས་པ་ལ། དབུའི་རལ་པ་གཡས་གཡོན་གྱི་སྣ་ལ་དར་ཕྱགས་བཏགས་ནས།

རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་བ་རྣམས་རིང་བསྒྲུགས་བརྒྱག་པ་དང་ | གཡས་གྲལ་གཡོན་གྲལ་དཀྱུང་གྲལ་དང་གསུམ | ཡོན་ཏན་ཅན་ལ་འདུས་བྱུང་བ་
ཡིན་ནོ | རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་རིང་ལ | ཤར་ཕྱོགས་སོ་ལོན་ཤན་གྱི་རི་བརྒྱུད་དང་དཀར་གྱི་ཡོལ་བ་འདྲ་བ་རྒྱ་ནག་པོ་ཟད་པའི་ས་མཚམས་
ལ་བཏུག་སྟེ་དབང་དུ་བསྡུས | རིར་ཏོ་རིངས་བརྩུག་སྟེ | འདི་མན་ཆོད་དབང་བ་ཡིན | ཞེས་པའི་ཡི་གེ་གྲི་སྟེ་བཞག | ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་བློ་
དང་མོན | རྒྱ་གར | ཞེ | ཟ་ཧོར | གཉའི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཕྱུགས་ཀྱི་པ་ཏ་གདོང་ཚུན་ཆོད་དབང་དུ་བསྡུས | ནུབ་ཕྱོགས་སྟག་ཟིག་གི་ས་
5 མཚམས་འབྲུ་ཤལ་སོགས་དབང་དུ་བསྡུས | བྱང་ཧོར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཐམས་ཅད་དབང་དུ་བསྡུ་སྟེ | ལྷོ་འཛམ་བུ་གླིང་གསུམ་གཉིས་ལ་
མངའ་མཛད་ཅིང་ | མཐའ་དབུས་ཀུན་ཏུ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བརྒྱ་རྩ་བཞེངས་སོ | འདི་ཡན་ཆད་བསྟན་པ་སྔར་དར་བ་ཡིན་ནོ ||

V

(*S* MS.) དེ་ནས་མངའ་བདག་དར་མ་དབྱིག་དུར་བཙན་གྱི་སྐུའི་རིང་ལ | ཆོས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་བསྣུབས་པ་ལ | བོད་ཡུལ་དུ་མངའ་
བདག་དཔལ་པ་ཅན་གྱི་པཎྜི་ཏ་མང་པོ་སྤྱན་དྲང་བ་དང་ | གསེར་བྲིས་བྲལ་བ་དང་ | བོད་དུ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་དར་བ་ལ |
མུ་སྟེགས་ཀྱི་བྲམ་ཟེ་བཞིས་མ་ཐེག་ནས | བོད་ཡུལ་བྱང་བའི་བྱང་འགོང་བཞིར་སྐྱེ་བར | སྨོན་ལམ་བཏབ་ནས | ཕྱིབས་པས་འདོད་པ
10 ཐུབ་སྟེ | མངའ་བདག་དར་མ་དབྱིག་དུར་བཙན་དང་ | ཅོག་རོ་(*L* MS. ཅོག་སྒྲོ་)ལེགས་སྒྲ་དང་ | དབས་དོ་རེ་སྟག་སྣ་དང་ | འབལ་
འབོར་(*L* MS. འབངས་འབོར་)ཞེས་ལེགས་པ་དང་བཞིའི་ཐུགས་ཡིད | བྱང་འགོང་ནག་པོ་དང་ | གནམ་ཐེའུ་དཀར་པོ་དང་ | ས་ཐེའུ་
ནག་པོ་དང་ | བཙན་རོང་གིས་ཏེ་བཞིའི་གདོན་ཞུགས་སྟེ | རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་བ་ཀུན་བབ | ལྷ་ཁང་ཀ་བ་རེ་ཙ་ལ་བཀལ་བ་ལ་སྨྲུལ་ཡང་མ
ཐུས་པས | ས་འོག་ཏུ་སྦས | ཐམས་པ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་ཐེ་མའི་འོག་ཏུ་སྦས | ལྷ་ས་བསམ་ཡས་འཕྲུལ་སྣང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྒོ་བཅིག་སྟེ |
ཞལ་བ་ཐུས་ཏེ | བསྟན་པ་ཆད་འབྱུང་བའི་ཡི་གེ་བྲི་སྟེ | བསྟན་པའི་རྟགས་ན་བོར་བ | ལ་ལ་སྒྱུགས | ལ་ལ་བྲོས | ལུས་པ་རྣམས་ལ
15 ཧ་ཤང་དང་ | མདའ་གཞུ་དང་ | ཁྱི་བཏང་སྟེ | ཤིངས་ལ་བཏང་བས | ལ་ལ་ཤན་པ་བཙལ | ཕྱིས་ཆོས་བྱེད་པའི་སློབ་མ་བཙུགས |
འབངས་རྣམས་ལཱང་ན་གནོངས་པའི་བཀའ་ཆད་བབ་པས | བཀའ་ཁྲིམས་མགོ་ནས་བཟིག | མངའ་རིས་མཐའ་ནས་འཁྲུས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ |
དེའི་ཚེ་རྒྱ་ན་བོད་དབང་བའི་རི་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་བརྡེབ | བོད་ནས་རྒྱ་ལ་འབབ་པའི་ཆུ་བོ་ཆེན་པོ་རྨ་ཆུ་རྒྱུད་(*L* MS. རྨ་ཆུ་རྒྱུད་)ཐུ་བ་
ཡར་ལ་ཞག་གསུམ་ལོག | དེ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ལྟས་ངན་མང་པོ་བྱུང་ངོ |

དེ་ནས་རིང་ཞིག་ནས | ལེར་བའི་(*L* MS. ལེར་པའི་)ལྷ་རི་སྙིང་པོ་ལ | ལྷ་ལུང་དཔལ་གྱི་རྡོ་རྗེ་སྒོམ་གྱིན་ཡོད་པས | ཚོར་ཏེ་
20 བཙན་པོ་ལ་སྙིང་རྗེ་ཁྱད་པར་ཅན་སྐྱེས་ནས | དགོངས་སྐད | དེ་ལྟར་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་བསྣུབས་པ་[ཡི]ན ||

VI

(*S* MS.) བསྟན་པ་ཕྱི་དར་གྱི་ཚུལ་ནི | གླང་དར་མའི་སྲས་འོད་སྲུང་ | ཁྲོང་གིས་ལྷ་ལུང་དཔལ་གྱི་རྡོ་རྗེ་ནས | སྨད་གླིའི་མཆོད་
སྒོག་ཤྲུས་ནས | སྨོན་ལམ་བཏབ | སྨད་གླིའི་ཕྱིན་བླ་བས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཀྱང་འཛིན (ཞིན) | མེས་པོང་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་དྲིན་ལྟར |
ཆོས་ཁྲིམས་དང་ | ཆོས་རྩིགས་དམ་དུ་བཞེས་ཏེ | མངའ་རིས་ཆོས་བཞིན་དུ་བསྐྱངས་སོ | གཞན་ཡང་ | རྩད་རབ་གསལ་དང | ཡོ་གེ་
འབྱུང་དང་ | དགེ་བ་རབ་གསལ་དང་ | སྨྲ་རབ་(*L* MS. སྨྲ་རབ་)སོགས་བཅུས་བསྙེན་པར་རྫོགས་ནས | སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ
25 དར་ཤིང་ | ཆུས་པར་ཟླར་ཏོ | གཞན་ཡང་ | གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གནམ་གྱི་སྐར་མ་ལྟ་བུ་བཞེངས་སོ ||

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷེ་དཔལ་འཁོར་བཙན། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་རིང་ལ། སྟོད་མངའ་རིས་ཀྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་སོགས་པ་གཙུག་ལག་[ཁང]་བརྒྱད་
བཞེངས་སོ། འབུམ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་གསུང་རབ་ཀྱང་མང་དུ་བཞེངས་ནས། ཆོས་ཅིགས་ཀྱི་དབུ་སྣང་བ་ཡིན་ནོ།།

(*A* MS.) དེའི་སྲས་སྐྱིད་ལྡེ་ཉི་མ་མགོན་དང་། ཁྲི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྩེགས་དཔལ་(*L* MS. ཁྲི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བརྩེགས་པ་དཔལ་)དང་གཉིས།
སྐྱིད་ལྡེ་ཉི་མ་མགོན་ནི་བོད་ཁྱིང་(*S* MS. ཁྱིད་)ཡོག་གི། འབལ་མ་ཟུག་བཙན། ཁྱང་མོ་ཉག་པ། ཨུ་ཀ་བརྡ་གསུམ་ཀྱིས་གཙོ་བྱས་
པའི་རྟ་པ་བརྒྱ། (*S* and *L* MSS. དཔལ་མ་ཟུག་གར། ཁྱུང་དཔལ་ལྡན་ཟུབ་དང་། མེ་ཉག་པ་ཨུ་ཀ་བརྡ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་གཙོ་བྱས་པའི་ 5
རྟ་པ་བརྒྱ།) སྟོད་མངའ་རིས་སུ་བྱོན་པའི་ལམ་ཁར། ཉ་དང་སྒོ་ང་གསོལ་དགོས་བྱུང་ནས། དེར་རས་ཀྱིས་ཟུར་ནས། ཟངས་པས།
ད་ལྟ་ཁ་བྱང་རས་བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ལུགས་སུ་སོང་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེ་ནས་ར་ལའི་རྒྱུད་དུ་ཞེབས། རྟའི་ལོ་ལ་ར་ལ་མཁར་དམར་རྩིགས།
ཕུག་གི་ལོ་ལ་རྩེ་གྲོ་རྒྱུ་རི་(*L* and *S* MSS. རྩེ་གྲོ་རྒྱུ་རི་)རྩིགས་ནས། དམ་ལག་གི་གཞུང་རྣམས་ལ་ཡུལ་དང་གྲོང་ཁྱེར་མང་པོ་
བཏབ་དགོངས། མར་ཡུལ་ལ་གནོད་པ་མ་མཛད། དེའི་དུས་སུ་མར་ཡུལ་ལ་དྭགས་སྟོད་གེ་སར་གྱི་བརྒྱུད་པས་འཛིན། སྐད་རྣམས་དང་
དགའི་སིལ་བུར་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེའི་ཚེ་དགེ་བཤེས་བཙན་(*L* MS. དགེ་ཤེས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བཙན་)ཀྱིས་ཟླ་ཧྲངས་སུ་ཕྱུ་སྒྲེ། འགྲོ་ཟ་འཁོར་ 10
སྐྱོང་བཙུན་མོར་ཟུལ་བ་ཁབ་ཏུ་བཞེས་པ་ལ། སྲས་གསུམ་བྱུང་ཞིང་། སྐུ་མཁར་ཉི་ཟུངས་རྩིག་སྟེ། རྒྱལ་ས་བཏབ་ནས། མངའ་རིས་
སྐོར་གསུམ་ཆབ་འོག་ཏུ་བསྡུས་ནས། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཆོས་བཞིན་དུ་བསྐྱངས་སོ།།

སྲས་གསུམ་ནི། ལྷ་ཆེན་དཔལ་གྱི་མགོན། བཀྲ་ཤིས་མགོན། ཆུང་བ་ལྡེ་གཙུག་མགོན་དང་གསུམ་མོ། དེ་ནས་སྲས་གསུམ་
ལ་མངའ་རིས་སོ་སོར་གནང་སྟེ། ཆེ་བ་དཔལ་གྱི་མགོན་ལ། མངའ་རིས་མར་ཡུལ། འབངས་གཞུ་ནག་ཅན། ཤར་རུ་ཐོགས་དང་།
གསེར་ཁ་འགོག་ལད་ཀྱི་ལྡེ་མཆོག་དཀར་པོ། མཚམས་ཀྱི་ར་བ་དམར་པོ། ལྷམ་ལེ་ཡི་མིག་གི་ས་བོད་ལ་མགོ་བར། (*L* MS. གཡག་ 15
ལྡེར་) ནུབ་ཁ་ཆེའི་ལ་རྩ། རྡོ་ཟུག་པ་ཅན་ཡན་ཆད། ཤང་གསེར་ཁ་(*L* MS. མགོན་པོ་)འགོག་པོ་ཚུན་ཆད་ཀྱི་ས་རྒྱ་ལ་གཏོགས་པ་
རྣམས་ཡིན་ནོ།། བར་པ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་མགོན་ལ། གུ་གེ་ཟླ་ཧྲངས། རྩེ་དང་བཅས་པ་ལ་མངའ་མཛད། ཆུང་བ་ལྡེ་གཙུག་མགོན་ལ། ཟངས་
དཀར་སྤོ་གསུམ། སྤྱི་ཏི། སྤྱི་ལྕོགས་དང་བཅས་པ་ལ་མངའ་མཛད།།

ཆེ་བ་དཔལ་གྱི་མགོན་གྱི་སྲས་འགྲོ་མགོན་དང་། ཆོས་མགོན་གཉིས།།

འགྲོ་མགོན་གྱི་སྲས། ལྷ་ཆེན་གྲགས་པ་ལྡེ།། (*S* MS. ཟླ་ཆེན་གྲགས་པ་ལྡེ་) 20

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ།། (*S* MS. ཟླ་ཆེན་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ)

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་རྒྱལ་པོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་དུས་སུ། ཀླུ་འཁྱིལ་(*L* and *S* MSS. ལི་ཁྱིར་)ཀྱི་དགོན་པ་བཏབ་ནས། དགེ་འདུན་
ཀྱི་སྡེ་བཙུགས། གདངས་རི་མཚོ་གསུམ་དུ། མང་དུས་ལྔ་བརྒྱ། ཉུང་དུས་བརྒྱ་ཙམ་རེ་སྦྱིན་པ་མཛད་པ་ལ། འཚོ་བའི་ཡོ་བྱད་སྐྱོ་དུབ་
མེད་པར་ཡུན་རིང་དུ་མཛད་དོ།།

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་ཨུཏྤ་ལ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེའི་དུས་སུ། ལ་དྭགས་སྟོད་གཤམ་(*L* MS. ཤམ)གཉིས་ཀྱི་དམག་བསྡོངས་ནས། ཉུང་ཏི་ 25
ལ་བརྒྱབ། ཉུང་ཏིའི་རྒྱལ་པོས། ཏི་སེ་ནམ་ཕྱུ་དང་། མ་ཟམ་(*L* MS. མ་བང་)ནམ་སྐམས་བར་དུ། མཛོ་དང་ལུགས་ལ་སོགས་པའི་
ཁལ་དང་དཔྱ་འབུལ་བའི་མདའ་བྱས་ནས། དུས་ད་ལྟའི་བར་དུ་འབབ་ཡོད་དོ། གཞན་ཡང་། བློ་བོ། ཟུ་རྟངས་(*L* MS. བློ་བོ་ཟུ་རངས་)
མན་ཆད། ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་ཞི་སྣང་གི་ཡུལ། ཆུ་ལ་མེ་འབར་ཚུན་ཆད། ནུབ་ཕྱོགས་ར་གན་འགྲེང་ཤིང་(*L* MS. ར་གན་འགྲེང་ཞིང་)།
སྐྱག་ཁ་ཚུར་ཡན་ཆད། ཤར་ཕྱོགས་ཀ་སྐུས་(*L* MS. ཀ་བཟུས་)ཡན་ཆད་མངའ་འོག་ཏུ་བསྡུ་སྟེ། (*S* MS. ཤར་ཕྱོགས་ཀ་ཟུས་ཡན་
ཆོད་ཆབ་འོག་ཏུ་བསྡུ་སྟེ།) ལོ་རེ་ལ་ཁལ་ཁལ་སོགས་འབུལ་ཞིང་། ད་ལྟ་དུ་ཡོང་བ་ཡོད་དོ།། 30

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་དག་ཕུག། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེས་སྟག་གི་ལོ་ལ་ལྷན་ལར་མཁར་རྩིགས། འབྲུག་གི་ལོ་ལ་ཁ་ལ་རྩེ་རྩིགས་སོ
(*L* MS. ཁ་ལ་ཙེ་མཁར་བརྩིགས་སོ) ||

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་དགེ་སྒྲེ་(*S* MS. ལྷ་ཆེན་དགེ་སྒྲེ་)དང་། དགེ་འབུམ || (*L* MS. དགེ་བ་འབུམ |)

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་ཇོ་ལྡོར ||

5 དེའི་སྲས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་མགོན ||

(*S* MS.) དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་རྒྱལ | (*A* MS.) རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིས་རྒྱུད་རྡོ་རྗེ་རྩེ་མོ་དང་། ངན་སོང་སྦྱོང་བའི་རྒྱུད། རྒྱུད་འབུམ་ཚང་བ་
གསེར་ལ་བཞེངས་སོ ||

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་ཇོ་དཔལ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིས་ཆོས་ཁྲིམས་དང་། རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་མཛད་པ་མཐར་ཕྱིན་པར་མཛད་དོ ||

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་དངོས་གྲུབ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེའི་དུས་སུ། རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་བ་དབུས་གཙང་དུ་འགྲོ་བའི་སྲོལ་བཙུགས་ནས། ཡབ་མེས་ཀྱི་
10 གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་རྣམས་ཞིག་གསོས་མཛད་པ་དང་། ཁྱད་པར་དུ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྗེ་འཇིག་རྟེན་གསུམ་གྱི་མགོན་པོའི་ཞབས་དྲུང་དུ། གསེར་དངུལ་
ཟངས་བྱི་རུ་མུ་ཏིག་ལ་སོགས་པའི་བརྒྱ་འབུལ་དང་། བཀའ་འགྱུར་ཚར་གཉིས་དང་། གསང་སྔགས་ཀྱི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་མང་དུ་
བཞེངས་སོ ||

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་རྒྱལ་བུ་རིན་ཆེན ||

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་ཤེས་རབ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེའི་རིང་ལ། ས་བུའི་རྟང་རྩེ་མོ་ཞེས་པའི་ཁ་ལ། གྲོང་ཁྱེར་སེང་གེ་སྒང་ཞེས་པ་རྩིགས་ནས།
15 མར་ཡུལ་ས་བུ་སྟོད་མཁར་དུ་བཏགས་སོ ||

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་ཁྲི་གཙུག་ལྡེ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེས་གླིལ་དུ་(*L* MS. གླིས་དུ་)མཆོད་རྟེན་བརྒྱ་རྩ་བཞེངས། ས་བུ་རུ་བརྒྱ་རྩ་གཉིས་
བཞེངས་སོ ||

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་གྲགས་འབུམ་ལྡེ་དང་། གྲགས་པ་འབུམ་གཉིས། གྲགས་འབུམ་ལྡེས་གླིལ་(*L* MS. གླི་)ལ་སོགས་པ་ལ་མདའ་
མཛད་ནས། རྒྱ་མ་ཕྱག་རྗེས་སུ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་(*L* MS. མང་པོ་)དམར་པོ་བཞེངས་ནས། རྒྱལ་བ་བྱམས་པ་མགོན་པོ་དགུང་ལོ་བརྒྱད་
20 པའི་སྐུ་ཚད་དང་། གཡས་གཡོན་གཉིས་སུ་འཇམ་དབྱངས་ཕྱག་ན་རྡོ་རྗེ་གཉིས་ཐོག་ཚད་རེ་བཞེངས། ལོགས་བྲིས་རྣམས་ལ་བདེ་བར་
གཤེགས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་འདྲ་སྐུ་དང་། རྟེག་རྟེན་བརྟན་པ་བཞག་དང་། རང་ཉིད་མོས་པའི་ལྷ་རྣམས་ཚང་བ་དང་། ལྷ་ཁང་གསུམ་རྩིགས་མཐོ་
གླིང་གི་དཔེ་རུ་བཞེངས། གསུང་གི་རྟེན་དུ་གཟུངས་འབུམ་ཆེན་མོ་དང་། དཀོན་མཆོག་རྩེགས་པ་ལང་ཀར་གཤེགས་པ་ལ་སོགས་བཞེངས།
ཐུགས་ཀྱི་རྟེན་ལ་ཏེ་ཙ་གསེར་པོ། གླིའི་ཡུལ་ལ་གནོད་པ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པས། ག་རུམ་ནས། ཕྱི་མཆོད་རྟེན་གྱི་ཚུལ་ལ། ནང་ལྷ་ཁང་བརྒྱ་རྩ་
ཡོད་པ་བཞེངས། མཆོད་རྟེན་གྱི་མིང་ཏེ་ཙ་(*L* MS. ཏེ་ཙ་)བཀྲ་ཤིས་འོད་འབར་ཟེར། གཞན་ཡང་། གླིའི་མདོ་དེ་ན་ཏེ་ཙ་སྤང་པོ་ཆེ་འདུ་བ་
25 ཡོད་པ་ལ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེས་རི་མ་གི་ལ་དགེ་སློང་བའི་སྡེ་གཅིག་བཙུགས་ནས། མི་ཡང་། འགྱུར་པ་མེད་གསུང་བ་ལ། སྙིགས་དུས་ཀྱི་ཀུན་
མཁྱེན་ཙོང་ཁ་པ་ཆེན་པོ་བློ་བཟང་གྲགས་པས། རང་གི་མདངས་ཁྲག་ལ་འབྲུང་བའི་ཚེ་དཔག་མེད། མཐེབ་ཚིགས་ཙམ་ཡོད་པ། ཐུ་སྲལ་
གཉིས་ལ་བསྐུར་ནས། ཡང་ན་གྲགས་པའི་མཚན་ཅན། ཡང་ན་ལྡེའི་མཚན་ཅན་ཕྱག་ཏུ་ཕུལ་གསུང་བ་ལ། ཁོང་གཉིས་མར་ཡུལ་དུ་
བསླེབ་ནས། ཐུས་ར་ན་གྲགས་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ཡོད་པ་ལ། ཁོང་གི་ཐུང་དུ་ཕྱིན་པས། ཐུ་སྲལ་གཉིས་ལ་སྤྱན་མིག་ཙམ་ཀྱང་མ་གཟིགས་
པར། སླེབ་དུ་ཡོདས། དེའི་ཕྲོ་ངས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཞལ་ནས། དེ་རིང་ངའི་ཞལ་ལྟ་བ་ལ། ཐུ་སྲལ། སྡེ་ར (*L* MS. སྡེ་ར་བ) | མོན |
30 ཉི་མི། སུ་ཡང་མ་བཀག་གསུང་བས། ཐུ་སྲལ་གཉིས་བྱུང་བར། རྒྱལ་པོ་བཞེངས་ནས། ཐུ་སྲལ་གཉིས་ལ་བསུ་བ་མཛད། ཐུ་སྲལ་

གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཁྱུང་སྐུ་སྐྱེས་ཐལ་བས། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཤིན་ཏུ་དགེས་ཏེ། སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་དཔེས་ནས། དཔེ་ཐུབ་ཀྱི་དགོན་པ། མ་ཙིགས་ལྷུན་གྱིས་གྲུབ་པ་དེ། ཙིགས་ནས། དགེ་འདུན་གྱི་སྡེ་མང་པོ་བཙུགས་སོ།།

དེའི་སྲས་བློ་གྲོས་མཆོག་ལྡན། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་དུས་སུ། གུ་གེ་ནས་དཔུ་ཁྲབ་ཟིལ་པ། མ་མོའི་ཟླུན་གྲིབས། ཁྲབ་ཆུང་དཀལ་རྩ། ལྷ་ཁབ་དཀར་པོས་གཙོ་བྱས་ཁབ་བཅོ་བརྒྱད། ནམ་མཁའ་ཁྲག་ལྷག་འཁོར་རྩེ་རིངས། སློག་དམར་མེ་གསོད་ལ་སོགས་པའི་རལ་གྲི་བཅོ་བརྒྱད། བདུད་གྲི་ནག་པོ། དམ་གྲི་གཞུང་བརྒྱད་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་མགོ་བྱས་པའི་སྐྱེད་གྲི་བཅོ་ལྔ། ལྷ་གཡུ་འོད་ལྡན། ལྷ་གཡུ་དཀར་པོ་ [གཉིས་ཀྱིས་]གཙོ་བྱས་གཡུ་བཅོ་ལྔ། སྐྱ་མ་ཧི་ཞི་སྙིངས། བཀྲ་ཤིས་འོད་ལྡན་སོགས་སྐྱ་ཉི་ཤུ། ཆིབས་གྲོ་བོ་ལྔ་བཅུ། ངང་པ་ལྔ་བཅུ། འོལ་བ་ཉི་ཤུ། ཁྲ་བོ་གསུམ་བཅུ། འབྲི་ཟལ་མོ་ཉི་ཤུ། གཡག་ཀམ་པ་ཉི་ཤུ། ལུག་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ཁལ་དཔྱ་འབུལ་བ་མང་པོ་དང་། མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ་ཚལ་འོག་ཏུ་བསྡུས་ནས། དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ།།

VII

(*A* MS.) ལྷ་ཆེན་གྲགས་པ་འབུམ་གྱིས། རབ་བརྟན་ལྷ་རྩེ་དང་། གཏེ་ཡ་(*L* MS. ཏེ་ས་)སོགས་ལ་མངའ་མཛད། རྒྱལ་ས་གཏིང་སྒང་ཙིགས།།

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་བྷ་ར།།

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་བྷ་གན། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་འཁྲུག་པ་ལ་ཤིན་ཏུ་དགའ་བ་ཅིག་ཡོད་པས། ཤེལ་པ་(*L* MS. ཤེས་པ་)དང་བསྡོངས་ནས། གླེའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་གྲགས་འབུམ་ལྡེའི་སྲས་བུ་བློ་གྲོས་མཆོག་ལྡན། དྲུང་པ་ཨ་ལི། སྤྱན་བསྟན་དར་རྒྱས་རྣམས་(*L* MS. སྤྱན་བརྟན་རྣམས་) བབ་ནས། མངའ་འོག་ཏུ་བསྡུས།།

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་ལྷ་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གཉིས། ལྷ་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དེ་སྐུ་སྟོབས་དང་སྒྱུ་རྩལ་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་བ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་ལ། ཆུང་བ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གཡོ་ཆེ་བ་ཡོད་པས། ཇོ་བོའི་སྤྱན་བཏོན་ནས། གདུང་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཕྱིར། བཙུན་མོ་དང་བཅས་ནས། ཡིངས་སྐྱིད་དུ་བཞག་གོ། དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་ཚེ་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། རྣམ་རྒྱལ་མགོན་པོ། འཇམ་དབྱངས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དང་གསུམ་འཁྲུངས་སོ། སྲས་གསུམ་པོ་དེ་སྐུ་སྐྱིད་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་བས།

གཞན་གྱི་ལོ་སྐྱིད་པས།
ཁོང་གི་ཟླ་སྐྱིད་ཆེ།
གཞན་གྱི་ཟླ་སྐྱིད་པས།
ཁོང་གི་ཞག་སྐྱིད་ཆེ།

བར་བྱུང་ངོ་། དེའི་དུས་སུ། རྒྱལ་པོ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་མཛད་དོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེས་ཧུ་རིག་ཕྱིན་ཆད། གྲོ་ཤོད་མན་ཆད་མངའ་འོག་ཏུ་བསྡུས་ནས། ཏ་ཛི་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་པ་ཐོངས། སྐུ་མཁར་སྒྲོལ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་རྩེ་མོ་དང་། རྩ་སྤྱི་ཏི་(*L* MS. རྩ་ཏི་)གྲོང་ཁྱེར་བཏབ། ཧོར་གྱི་དམག་བྱུང་བ་ལ་འཐབ་པས། ཧོར་མང་པོ་བསད། རྣམ་རྒྱལ་རྩེ་མོར་མགོན་ཁང་བཞེངས་ནས། ཧོར་གྱི་རོ་ཐམས་ཅད་མགོན་པོའི་ཞབས་འོག་ཏུ་མནན། (*B* MS.) གཞན་ཡང་། མགོན་ཁང་བཞེངས། མཐའ་དམག་ཟློག་པའི་སྐུ་མནན། (*A* MS.) འབྲི་ཁུང་ནས་ཆོས་རྗེ་ལྡན་མ་ཞེས་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་དངོས་དེ་གདན་དྲངས་ནས། སྒང་སྔོན་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཆོས་རྫོང་ཞེས་པའི་དགོན་པ་བཏབ། ཕྱག་

ཡུལ་ནས་བཙུན་ཁྲལ་བཏབ་ནས། བསྒྲུབ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་བཙུགས། དགོན་པ་མཐོང་བའི་ས་མཚམས་སུ་དར་ཆེན་འཕྱར་ནས། འདིའི་
མཏུན་ཏུ་ཀྲུན་མ། ཇུན་མ། མདོར་ན་རྒྱལ་པོའི་སྐུ་མཁར་སྐུ་སྲོག་ལ་བསྐོས་པའི་མི་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། དེའི་མཏུན་ཏུ་ཚུད་པ་ཙམ་གྱིས།
གནག་ལས་ཐར་བར་མཛད་དོ། གཞན་ཡང་། འབྲི་ཁུང (L MS. འབྲི་གུང)། ས་སྐྱ། དགེ་ལུགས། ལྷ་ས། བསམ་ཡས་རྣམས་སུ་གདན་
བཞུགས། གསེར་ཚབ། དར་ཆེན། མང་ཇ། བརྒྱ་འབུལ་སོགས་དང་། བཀའ་འགྱུར། བསྟན་འགྱུར། གཞན་ཡང་གླེགས་བམ་མང་
5 པོ་དང་། མཆོད་རྟེན་མང་པོ་བཞེངས་སོ།།

དེ་ནས་སྤྲུལ་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚེ་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དེ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ་མངའ་གསོལ་ནས། སྐུ་ན་གཞོན་དུས་དམག་མཛད་པས། ཤར་
(L MS. བྱང་)ངམ་རིངས་མན་ཆད། གློ་བོ་དང་། ཟུ་རྟངས། གུ་གེ་ལ་སོགས་པ་མངའ་འོག་ཏུ་བསྡུས། ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་འཛུམ་ལང་།
ཞུང་ཏི་གཉིས། ནུབ་ཕྱོགས་ཤི་དཀར་དང་། ཁ་དཀར་(L MS. ཁབ་གར་)ཚུན་ཆོད་མངའ་འོག་ཏུ་བསྡུས། བྱང་ཧོར་ལ་དམག་ཧྲུབ་
གསུང་བ་ལ། ནུབ་ར་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཞུ་བ་ཕུལ་ནས། མ་མཛད། གཞན་དེ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རྫི་ཀུན་(S MS.)དང་། ངན་མེད་པའི་བཀའ་
10 བྱས་(A MS.) གཏེ་པ་ལ་བྱོངས། མཁར་རྣམས་ལ་སྐུ་ཚབ་བཞག་ནས། མང་ཡུལ་ཐམས་ཅད་དར་ཞིང་། རྒྱས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། གུ་གེ་ནས་
ཁྲལ་དང་དབྱ་འབུལ་བ་ལ། ལོ་རེ་ལ་གསེར་ཞོ་གསུམ་བརྒྱ། (S MS.) དངུལ་དང་། ཚོད་མོ་བརྒྱ་དང་། ཆིབས་གཅིག། (A MS.)
ཟ་ཕྱོགས་ནས་གསེར་ཞོ་ཉི་བརྒྱ་དང་ཐུག་བཅུ། ཚོད་མོ་བརྒྱ། ཆིབས་གཅིག། བཙོས་ཀྱི་སྐྱལ་པ་བཅུ། ཞཀར་ཤོ་ལྷོད་དང་། ཞིང་དར་
ཆེན་དར་ཆུང་རྣམས་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་ཁལ་དབྱ་ལ་སོགས་ཕྱོགས་ཕྱོགས་ནས་འབུལ་བ་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་བོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེའི་ཐུགས་
དགོངས་ལ། ལྷ་ས་དང་། གུ་གེའི་མཐོ་གླིང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཐེག་ཚོད་བྱས་ནས། སྔར་ཡབ་མེས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་མདངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་གླང་པོའི་གཏུང་
15 ཡང་རྩེ་མོར་བཞག་པས། མི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་མཛལ་ཁ། ཕྱག་མཆོད་པ། སྐོར་བ་སོགས་མི་འགྲོ་བ་འདུག་པས། (S MS.) འགྲོ་བ་སེམས་
ཅན་གྱི་དོན་དུ། (A MS.) ད་ངས་དེའི་ཚབ་ལ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཞེངས་ནས། སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་ནེས་རལ་པ་ཅན་ཕྱ་ཟླ་ཅིག་
བྱེད་དགོས་དགོངས་པ་ལ། སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་ལས་ཟད་པས། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་སྐུ་བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་སོ། དེ་དང་རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་རྣམས་ཕྱོགས་ཕྱོགས་
ནས་ལངས།།

དེ་ནས་འཇམ་དབྱངས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་མཛད། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེའི་དུས་སུ། ཟླ་རིག་གི་རྗེ་གཉིས་མ་མཐུན་ནས། ཚེ་རིང་མ་
20 ཞིག་ཟེར་བ་ཅིག་གི་དབང་ལ། ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་དམག་ཁྲིད་ནས། དུས་ཀྱི་འགྲིབ་དུས་དང་། རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་ཉམས་དུས་ལ་བབ་པས།
ཧང་གོང་(S MS. སྐར་རྡོ)དམག་དཔོན་ཨ་ལི་མིར་གྱི་དམག་རྡོལ་བ་དང་ཐུག། ཁོ་ཡིས་གཡོ་བྱས་ནས། ཞག་ཅི་འགྲོ་བྱས། དེ་དང་ལ་
ཤུང་ཐམས་ཅད་ཁ་བས་བཀག་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་དམག་དང་བཅས་པ་གར་སོག་ལ་ཡལ། ལ་དྭགས་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་སྤྲལ་ཏེ་ཞུགས་ནས། གསུང་
རབ་ཐམས་ཅད་མེ་ལ་བསྲེགས། ལ་ལ་ཆབ་ལ་བསྐྱལ། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ཐམས་ཅད་བཤིག་ནས། རང་གི་ཡུལ་ལ་ལོག་སོང་། དེ་ནས་ཨ་
ལི་མིར་ཤེར་ཁན་གྱི་སྲས་མོ་རྒྱལ་ཁ་ཐུན་(L MS. རྒྱལ་ཀ་ཐུན་)ཞེས་པ་སྒྲོལ་མ་དཀར་མོའི་རྣམ་སྤྲུལ་པ་དེ་འཇམ་དབྱངས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་
25 ལ་བཙུན་མོར་ཕུལ་ནས།

(B MS.) བཞུགས་པའི་རིང་པོ་མ་ལོན་པར།

ཨ་ལི་མིར་གྱིས་རྨི་ལམ་དུ།

ཁོང་རང་གི་མཁར་ཡོག་གཙང་པོ་ལས་སེང་གེ་ཅིག་ཐོན་ནས་རྒྱལ་ཁ་ཐུན་ལ་[ཐིམ་]པར་མཐོང་བ་དང་། དུས་མཚུངས་རྒྱལ་ཁ་
ཐུན་ལ་སེམས་ཅན་དང་ལྡན་པར་གྱུར། དེ་ནས་ཨ་ལི་མིར་གྱིས་འཇམ་དབྱངས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ཞི་སྐྱིད་དུ་བཞུགས་སུ་གསོལ། དམག་རྣམས་
30 ལ་སྟོན་མོ་བྱས་ནས། རྒྱལ་ཁ་ཐུན་ཀྱང་རྒྱན་དུ་མས་བརྒྱན་ཏེ། ཨ་ལི་མིར་གྱིས་གསོལ་པ།

ཁ་སང་ང་ཡིས་རྨི་ལམ་དུ།
(མདུན)་མཚོ་ནས་སེང་གེ་(ཅིག་)ནར་གྱིས་མཐོང་ས་(ནས)།
རྒྱལ་ཁ་ཐུན་ལ་ཐིམ་པར་མཐོང་།
དེ་དང་དུས་མཚུངས་བུ་མོ་འདི་(ལའང་)།
སེམས་ཅན་དང་[ནི]་ལྷུན་པར་བྱུར། 5
འདི་ལ་བུ་ཞིག་ངེས་པར་སྐྱེ།
མིང་དུ་སེང་གེ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ཐོགས།

ཟེར་ནས། ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་དམག་དང་བཅས་གནང་ནས། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ་དབང་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། (A MS.) དེ་ལ་སྲས་གཉིས་འཁྲུངས་ཏེ། སེང་གེ་
རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དང་། ནོར་བུ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གཉིས་སོ། དེའི་དུས་སུ། འཇམ་དབྱངས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ཐུགས་དགོངས་ལ། དང་པོ་དགས་བུ་རིག་ཚེ་
རིང་མ་ཞིག་གི་དབྱང་ལ་དམག་ཁྲིད་བའི་ལན་ལ། ལ་དྭགས་ཐམས་ཅད་བཞིག། ད་དགས་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་དར་བའི་ཐབས་ཤིག་ 10
ཅི་བྱས་ནས། རར་བར་བུ་དགོངས་པ་ལ། སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་མི་སྡེ་ལ་རག་ལུས་པ་ཡིན་པས། ད་དགས་མི་སྡེ་ལ་ཁྲལ་ཐུད་སོགས་
མེད་པ། བུ་བཞིན་བསྐྱང་དགོས་སྙམ་ནས། ཞུག་ལྷོགས་ལན་གསུམ་སྐོམས་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིས་བུ་རིག་ཅྱེན་ཅད། ནང་རྩེ་མན་ཆོད་
མདའ་འོག་ཏུ་བསྡུས་ནས། རྒྱལ་ཁ་ཐུན་གྱི་སྔོན་དུ་འཛིག་རྟེན་དབང་ཕྱུག་གི་སྲས་མོ་ཚེ་རིང་རྒྱལ་མོ་ཁབ་ཏུ་བཞེས་པ་ལ། སྲས་དག་
དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དང་། བསྟན་འཛིན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གཉིས་འཁྲུངས། གཞན་ཡང་། སྲས་འདི་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་དབུས་གཙང་དུ་རྗེ་བོ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་
རྗེད་དུ། གསེར་ཆབ། གདན་བཞུགས། འབྲས་སྤུངས། ར་ལུང་རྣམས་སུ། གསེར། དངུལ། ཟུ་ཏིག། ཅི་རུ། སྤྲིན་ཤེལ། ཅབ་དར། 15
མང་ཇ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་བརྒྱ་འབུལ། དེ་རྣམས་སུ་དར་ཆེན་དང་། འབྲུག་པ་སྤྲུལ་སྐུ་གདན་འདྲེན་པའི་ས་ཀུ་སོགས་ཀྱང་བཟུངས་སོ།
སྐུའི་རྒྱ་མར་རྒྱ་ཧོག་གསེར་གསུམ་དང་། དཀར་རྒྱུད་གསེར་འབྲེང་སོགས། གསེར་དངུལ་ཟངས་གསུམ་ལ་བཏིངས་ནས། རྒྱ་མ་བྱུག་
རྫེས་སུ། སྤྲུལ་ཏིས་མེ་ལ་བསྲེགས་པ་རྣམས་སྲུར་དེའི་ཚབ་བཞེད་པའི་ཐུགས་བསམ་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་བ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། སྐུ་ཚེ་ཐུང་བས། བདེ་བར་
གཤེགས་སོ།།

དེའི་སྲས་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སེང་གེ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་འདི། ཚུང་ངུའི་དུས་ནས་སྐུ་སྟོབས་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་བས། རྒྱུར་དང་། བང་དང་། མཆོང་ 20
དང་། མདའ་དང་། གླིག་དང་། རྟ་རྒྱུ་དང་། སྒྱུ་རྩལ་ཐམས་ཅད་སྔོན་གྱི་ཟམ་གཙང་སྲས་པོ་དོན་གྲུབ་ལྟ་བུའོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེས་སྐུ་ན་གཞོན་
ཏུ་ལ། ཀྲུ་གེ་ཁྲི་འཁོག་ལ་དམག་མཛད་ནས། ཏི་སེའི་བྱང་རྒྱབ་ཙུན་ཆོད་ལ་བཀྱབ། རྟ། གཡག། ར། ལུག་ལ་སོགས་པ་ས་གའི་
བཀང་ནས་ཕྱིངས། དེའི་རྗིད་ཀྲུ་གེ་ནང་ལ་དམག་མཛད་ནས། ཤ་ལྦང་དང་། ཉ་ཡེ་(L MS. ཉ་ཡས་)གཉིས་[ད]མར་རྡག་ལ་བཏང་ནས།
ལ་དྭགས་ཐམས་ཅད་གཡག་ལུག་གིས་ཁེངས། ཙ་མོད་བདག་མོ་བསྐལ་བཟང་སྒྲོལ་མ་རྒྱལ་མོ་ཁབ་ཏུ་བཞེས། གྲུབ་ཐོབ་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྟག་
ཚང་རས་ཆེན་ཞེས་བྱ་བ། རྒྱ་གར(L MS. རྒྱ་དཀར་ནག)། ཨོ་རྒྱན། ཁ་ཆེ་སོགས་དང་། གྲུབ་ཐོབ་བརྒྱད་བཅུ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ 25
མངོན་སུམ་དུ་གཟིགས་པའི་འཛམ་ལུས་གྲུབ་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་དེ་གདན་དྲངས་ནས། ཡབ་ཀྱི་དགོངས་རྫོགས་ལ། བབ་སྙོར་གསེར་ཟངས་
ཀྱི་བྱམས་པ། དཀྱུང་ལོ་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྐུ་ཚད། རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྣ་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་སྤྲས་པ་དང་། (C MS.) གཙུ་ཏི་ཙའི་རྒྱན་སོགས་བྱས།
(A MS.) རྒྱ་གར་ཤར་ནུབ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་ལྷ་ཐམས་ཅད་གདན་དྲངས་ནས། རྒྱུན་ཆོད་དགེ་སློང་ལྔ་བསྐལ་པ་ནམ་གནས་སུ་བཙུགས་
ནས། མཆོད་པ། མར་མེ་ཉིན་འབར་མཚན་འབར། རྒྱ་གོས་ཡ་མཚན་པ་མང་པོའི་བན། རྒྱལ་མཚན། དར་ཆེན་ལ་སོགས་པ་བཙུགས།
གཞན་ཡང་། འབགས་པ་རབ་འབྱོར་གྱི་སྐུའི་སྐྱེ་བ། པཎ་ཆེན་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱི་སྐུ་ཚུང་དུ། ཡུམ་གྱི་དགོངས་རྫོགས་ལ། གསེར་ 30

ཀྱི་འབུམ་ཚོང་དང་། དངུལ་གྱི་འབུམ་ཚོང་། སྤྲིན་ཤེལ་ཀུ་སུ་ཙམ་བརྒྱ་ཙ། དེ་ནས་ཟླ་བ་བརྒྱ་ཙ། ཏི་ཙ་བུ་མོའི་སྒོ་ང་ཙམ་བརྒྱ་ཙ།
ཙུ་ཏིག་རྒྱ་ཤན་ཙམ་བརྒྱ་ཙ་དང་། གཉན་ཟླ་མོ་མང་པོ་དང་། (*B* MS.) (one word illegible) ལྷུ་ས། ཁྲ་འབྲུག། བསམ་ཡས་སོགས་
ལ་སྐྱོང་མཆོད། དགེ་འབྲས་སེར། འབྲུག་ར་ཤུང་། ས་སྐྱ། གཉན་ཡང་དགོན་སྐྱེ་ཚེ་ཟླ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ། བརྒྱ་འབུལ་མང་སྐྱོལ་བཅས་རྒྱ་
ཚེ་བ་དང་། (*C* MS.) ལྷམ་ལེ། ཉོར་ཡུལ། ཁ་དག། གཙང་དམར། སྐྱུ་དམར་ནང་། མེ་ཙ། དར་རྩེ། སོགས་ཀྱི་མི་སེར་གང་པོ་དང་།
5 གཉན་ཡང་། ལ་དྭགས་སྟོད་གཡམ་དང་། མངའ་ཞབས་གང་ཡོད་ན། མཆོད་གཉིས། ས་བྱང་དུ་བསྐལ་པ་ནམ་གནས་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་ཐུལ།
(*A* MS.) གྲུབ་ཐོབ་སྟག་ཚང་རས་ཆེན་དེ་ཉིད་ལ། རང་ཞབས་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་ཁག་སོ་སོ་ནས་ས་བྱང་མཆོད་གཉིས་སོགས་རྒྱ་ཆེ་བ་འབུལ་
ནས། སྟག་ཚང་རས་ཆེན་གྱིས་ (*S* MS.) ཧེ་མི་བྱང་ཆུབ་བསམ་གླིང་དགོན། ལྕེ་བདེ་ཐེག་མཆོག་དགོན། ཁྲམ་ལེ་བདེ་ཆེན་དགོན་བཅས་
དགོན་ཆེན་གསུམ་གྱི་གཙོ་བྱས། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དཔག་མེད། (*A* MS.) བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྒང་སོགས་པའི་དགོན་སྡེ་རྣམས། ཡབ་སེང་གེ་རྣམ་
རྒྱལ་དང་། སྲས་བདེ་ལྡན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གཉིས། ཡབ་ཀྱི་སྐུ་ཚེ་སྨད་དང་། སྲས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་ཚེ་སྟོད་སྐབས་སུ། ཞིགས་པར་བསྐྱུབ་ནས། སངས་
10 རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས། (*C* MS.) གྲུབ་ཐོབ་ཆེན་པོ་སྟག་ཚང་རས་ཆེན་མཆོག་ཏུ། རྟ་༡༠༠། གཡག་༡༠༠། གླང་༡༠༠།
ལུག་༡༠༠༠། ར་༡༠༠༠། དངུལ་༡༠༠༠། གསེར་ཞོ་༡༠༠། འབྲུ་ཁལ་༢༠༠༠། ཙུ་ཏིག་གི་ཕྲེང་བ། ཏི་ཙའི་ཕྲེང་བ། གཡུའི་ཕྲེང་བ།
མེ་མདའ་༢༥། མདུང་༢༥། རལ་གྲི་༢༥། ཁྲབ་༡༥། གོས་ཆེན་ཡུག་༢༥། རྒྱན་ཁབ་ཡུག་༡༠། མེན་གླིང་ཡུག་༢༥། ཁ་བཏགས་
ཨ་ཤེ་ཡུག་༢༥་བཅས་འབུལ་བ། བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་པ་ཕུལ། དེ་ནས་སློབ་ཆེན་དཔལ་མཁར་དགུ་ཐོག་ལོ་དོ་གསུམ་ནང་བཞེངས་བསྐྲུནས་
ནས། ནང་རྟེན་གསེར་དངུལ་ལ་རྒྱ་བཅས་མང་པོ། གསེར་དངུལ་ཟངས་གསུམ་གྱི་བཀའ་འགྱུར་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་། གླེགས་བམ་པོ་ཏི་
15 མང་པོ་བཞེངས།། (*S* MS.) གཉན་ཡང་། ཐོག་ཚད་ཟུག་གི་སྐུ་གདུང་ཆོས་འཁོར་གསེར་ཟངས་ཅན། སློ་ཙ་མན་ཐང་གསུམ། ཟངས་
མཁར་དུ་གཅིག་བཅས། སྨོན་ཏུ། མ་ཧེ་ཏུང་བྱུར། སྤྲིན་འཛིན་ལ་དཀར་རྒྱུད་གསེར་ཕྲེང་གི་སྐུ་དང་། ཤེལ་གྲུབ་ཆེན་བཙོམ།
སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྐྱེ་དགུ་ཡོངས་[ཀྱི་དོན་དུ]། ཉི་མ་ཤར་བ་བཞིན་མཛད་དོ།། (*B* MS.) རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཐམས་ཅད་
དགེ་བཅུའི་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱིས་འཚོ་ཞིང་། འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་ཁམས་སུ་ཡང་རྒྱལ་པོ་སེང་གེ་འདྲ་བ་ལ། བླ་མ་སྟག་འདྲ་བ། མཆོད་ཡོན། ཉི་ཟླ།
ཟུང་གཅིག། ཅེས་གྲགས་པས། ས་སྐྱེང་ཁྱབ་པར་གྱུར། དེ་ནས་སེང་གེ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་དགོངས་པ་ལ། ཡབ་ཆེན་ཚེ་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་
20 ཤར་ཕྱང་ངམ་རིངས་ཚུན་ལ་མངའ་མཛད་ཀྱང་། སྐུ་ཚེ་ཐུང་བས། ཡབ་འཇམ་དབྱངས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་དུས་སུ། རྒྱལ་ཁྲིད་ཐམས་ཅད་
འདས་འདུག། སླར་ཡང་། བྱང་ངམ་རིངས་ཐུག་ཉམ་ལ་ཆས་པས། ཤེ་རི་དཀར་མོར་ཚགས། དེ་ནས་བོད་ནས་སོ་ཕ་འགྱུར་ནས།
སྟོད་ཀྱི་གཙོད་མཚམས་ན་དབུ་གཙང་སོ་ཙུན་མདའ་ཞབས་སུ་བསྡུས། ཕྱིར་ལོག་ཞེབས་སྐབས་སུ། ལྷམ་ལེར་སྐུ་བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་སོ།།
(*L* MS.) གཉན་ཡང་[རྒྱལ་པོ་རེས་]ཟླ་མོ་མང་པོ་དང་། བུར་བུམ་ཁལ་དང་། ཁྲད་རས། ཅག་དར་སོགས་ཀྱི་བརྒྱ་འབུལ་མང་པོ་དང་།
གསུང་གི་རྟེན་དུ་སྟོང་ཕྲག་བརྒྱ་པ། མདོ་སྡེ་བསྐལ་བཟང་། ཐམས་ཆོས་སྡེ་ལྔ་ཚང་ལྔ། བརྒྱ་ཏོག་གསེར་གསུམ་ཚད་གཉིས། སྟག་
25 ཚང་རས་ཆེན་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར། མགུར་འབུམ་རྣམས་གསེར་དངུལ་བཟངས་གསུམ་ལ་བཞེངས་ནས། མ་ཧེ་ཏུང་བྱུར་སོགས་མང་དུ་
མཛད་ཅིང་། དེ་རྣམས་ལ་བརྒྱ་འབུལ་དང་སྟོང་འབུལ། གཉན་ཡང་སྟག་སྣ་[ལ་སོགས་པའི་དགོན་པ་]མ་བཙིགས་ལྷུན་གྱིས་གྲུབ་པ་དེ་
བཙིགས་ནས། བསྒྲུབ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་བཙུགས། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེའི་དུས་སུ་སྤྲལ་ཉིའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཨ་དམ་མཁན་གྱིས་པད་ཚ་ཤ་འཇིན་གྱི་དམག་
ཁྲིད་ནས། མཁར་བུ་ལ་འཐབ་མོ་མང་པོ་སོང་ནས། ཧོར་མང་པོ་བསད་ནས། དགྲ་ལས་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བ་ཡིན། གུ་གེ་ལ་དམག་
དྲངས་ནས། རྫོ་བོ་བདག་པོ་ཟིན་ནས། གུ་གེ་རྩ་བྲང་དང་ཡོས་ཐོང་ཕྱག་ཏུ་བཞེས། ཙ་ཧྲོག་གི་ཨང་པ་ཡང་ཟིན་ནས། ཙ་ཧྲོག་ཡང་
30 ཕྱག་ཏུ་བཞེས། དབུས་གཙང་ལ་དམག་མཛད་ནས། ཤེ་རི་དང་ཀུར་ཀུར་སྐར་ཆག་ལ་བཏང་ནས། དབུས་གཙང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྐྱེ་བ་

གཙང་པས་གསེར་དངུལ་ཟ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཛེའུ་ཝི་སྐྱལ་མང་པོ་ཕུལ་བ་ལ། ཐུགས་འགྱུ་ནས་ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་དམག་དང་བཅས་ཕྱིར་ཐེབས་ཀྱི།
ལྷོ་མོ་སྣང་མདའ་འོག་ཏུ་བཅུག། ཟླ་རང་ཀུ་གེ་ཟངས་དཀར་སྤྱི་ཏི་ཟླ་རིག་ཡན་ཆད། ཤར་ཕྱི་མར་ཡུམ་ལ་མན་ཆད། ཅུ་ཤོག་དང་
གསེར་ཁ་མན་ཆད་མདའ་འོག་ཏུ་བསྡུས་ནས། ལ་དྭགས་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས་པ་ཡིན།།

VIII

(*B* MS.) དེའི་སྲས་བདེ་ལྡན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། ཨིན་ཊ་བྲོ་ཏི་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། བདེ་མཆོག་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གསུམ་འཁྲུངས་སོ། བདེ་ལྡན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་
རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ་དབང་བསྒྱུར། (*S* MS.) གཉེན་ཟླ་ཉིད་ན་དགེ་བཅུའི་དཔལ་ལ་སྤྱོད་ཅིང་། ཆབ་འབངས་རྣམས་ཆོས་བཞིན་བསྐྱངས། 5
ཡབ་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་ཚུལ་བཞིན་མཛད་ནས། གཉན་ཁྲིད་མི་འཛེག་པ། དཔའ་བའི་རྟུལ་སོད་ཆེ་བ། (*B* MS.) ཨིན་ཊ་བྲོ་ཏི་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་སྟག་
སྣ་ཆོས་རྗེ་སྨུག་འཛིན་ཇུང་དུ་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་། སྟག་རབས་ཀྱི་སློབ་མའི་གཙོ་བོར་གྱུར། ཧེ་མི་དང་ཐེག་མཆོག་བཞེངས་ཟུས། བཀའ་བཀོད་
ལ་བརྟུགས། བསྟན་པ་གཅེས་པའི་བརྩོན་པའི་མཆོག་ཏུ་གྱུར། (*L* MS.) དཔོན་སློབ་སྟག་ཚང་གི་བཀའ་གདང་བཞིན། (*B* MS.) ཀུ་གེ་
ལ་མདའ་མཛད། སྲས་ཚུང་བ་བདེ་མཆོག་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལ་སྤྱི་ཏི་དང་། ཟངས་དཀར་བཀྲད་ནས། མདའ་མཛད། དེ་ནས་བདེ་ལྡན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་
དཔར་ཟུས་ཅུ་ཤོག་དང་། དཔུན་ཤོག་ལ་དྭགས་ལ་བཅུགས། ཟླ་རིག་ནས་[ར]མར་ཡུལ་ (*L* MS. མར་ཡུམ་) གྲུག་ལ་མདའ་མཛད། 10
(*C* MS.) མདའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ། ཀུ་གེ། ཅུ་ཤོག། མང་ཡུལ། སྤྱི་ཏི། ཟངས་དཀར། ཟླ་རིགས། ཧེམ་བབ། སྐར་རྡོ། ཤེ་ཀར།
ཟླ་ཁྲི་ཡུལ་ཐམས་ཅད་དབང་དུ་འདུས་སོ། ཟླ་ལྷོར་བསྐྱུང་ནས། བདེ་བར་གྱུར། (*B* MS.) ཡབ་ཀྱི་དགོངས་རྫོགས་ལ། ཤེལ་ཐུབ་
པའི་སྐུ་གསེར་ཟངས་ལ་ཤོག་ཚད་གསུམ་བཞེངས། གདུང་རྟེན་ཤོག་ཚད་ལྔ་ཡོད་པ། བཅུ་གསུམ་འཁོར་ལོ་དང་། གདུགས་ཟ་ར་ཚག་
རྣམས་གསེར་ཟངས་ལ་བཞེངས། ཡུམ་གྱི་དགོངས་རྫོགས་ལ། (*C* MS.) ལྷེ་བར་རྫོང་འགོའི་ཐང་ལ། མ་ཎི་རིང་མོའི་རིང་ལ་གོམ་
པ་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་ཡོད་པ། (*B* MS.) མགོ་མཇུག་གཉིས་ལ་གདུང་རྟེན་ཅང་ཆུབ་ཆེན་པོ་དང་། རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ཆེན་པོ་རེ་བཞེངས། ཤེལ་མཁར་དུ། 15
ཐུབ་པའི་སྐུ་ཤོག་ཚད་གཉིས་གསེར་ཟངས་ལ་བཞེངས། ཡབ་ཀྱི་ཐུག་སྤོལ་ལྷར། ལྷུམ་ར། ཟངས་དཀར། བ་མགོ་ (བབ་སྒོ) | གཏིང་
སྒང་སོགས་ལ། མ་ཎི་ཏུང་འབུར་འདོན་པའི་དགེ་སློང་བརྒྱ་རྩ་རེ། ལོ་རེ་ལ་ཆག་མེད་མཛད། གཉན་ཡང་། རྒྱ་མ་ཐུག་རྫེས་ལ།
སྟེལ་ཏུ་སྨན་རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་གསེར་ཟངས་ལ། (*C* MS. དངུལ་གྱི་སྨན་རས་གཟིགས) ཤོག་ཚད་གཉིས་དང་། འདུ་ཁང་བཞེངས།
དངུལ་གྱི་གདུང་རྟེན་ཤོག་ཚད་གཉིས། (*C* MS. ཤོག་ཚད་གསུམ)་བཞེངས།། གཉན་དེ་ཟུས་ལ། བློན་པོ་ཤཱ་ཀྱ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་དམག་འགོ་ཟས།
རྒྱ་མི་གླང་ལོ་ལ། ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་དམག་ཐྲུག་ནས། [མ]ཁར་ཟླ་ནས་ནོ་མོ་མང་པོ་བཙོན་དུ་ཕྱིངས། ཧེ་ནས་ཀུ་དང་། སྟག་རྩེ་ཡང་བབ། 20
མདའ་འོག་ཏུ་བཅུག། རྫེས་ལ་ཅིག་གཏན་ཤ་དཀར་ (*L* MS. ཤ་གར་) བཅག་ནས། སོད་པ་ས་རི་ལ་དམག་ཁྲིད། སོད་མཁར་དང་།
ཞིང་གི་སྟོན་ཤོག་རྣམས་བསྡུས་ནས། ལོག་སྟེ་[སོང་]བ། ཐུམ་འཐུང་ལ་དམག་ཐྲུབ་ནས་བབ། དེ་ནས་དཀར་རྩེ་ལ་དམག་ཐྲུབ་ནས་
བབ་སྟེ། ཇོ་ཁྲི་ཐུལ་ཏན་འཁྲིད་ཕྱིངས། ཤིང་པོ་སྟག་ལོར་ཁ་ཟླ་ཕུར་དམག་ཐྲུབ་ནས། ཚོད་འབབ་ (ཚོས་འབབ) | མགྲོ་རྩེ་མཁར་
བབས། ཡུལ་རྣམས་ཏ་ཥམ་ཁན་ (ཏེ་ཏན་ཁན) དང་ཐུལ་ཏན་ཁན་ (*L* MS.) ཨ་ལི་ཁན་ (*B* MS.) གསུམ་ལ་བགོས་ནས་གནང་བ་ཡིན།
སྐར་རྡོའི་ཇོ་དང་། ཐུལ་ཏི་ཐམས་ཅད་འཁོར་གཅིག་གིས་ན་ལྷུབས་སུ་ཤུས། ཁྲི་ (ཁྲ?་) ཟས་ཏོར་དམག་འབུམ་ཚོ་གཉིས་པ་ས་རི་(ང)་ལ་ 25
བསྒྲིབས་པས། ལ་དྭགས་ནས་བློན་པོ་འཁྲུག་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དང་། དམག་དཔུང་ [མཁར་] ནང་ནས་ [ཐུང་བ]། ཡོད་པའི་རྟོད་དམག་དང་
འཐབ་པས། རྟོད་མང་པོ་བསད། འགྱུར་དར་དང་། ཏ་རིབ་རྣམས་ཐོབ་ནས། དགྲ་ལས་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་ལོ།།

དེའི་སྐབས་བདེ་ལེགས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་རྒྱལ་སར་བཞེས། དེ་སྐབས་སུ། ལྷོ་འབྲུག་པ་དང་། བོད་པ་འཁྲུགས་པར། ལྷོ་འབྲུག་ལ་དྭགས་
རྒྱལ་པོའི་དབུ་ལྷ་ཡིན་པར། དེའི་རྒྱབ་ཙ་བྱ་བར་བོད་ལ་ཡི་གེ་བཏངས་པས། བོད་པས་རྗོག་དཔྱོད་བྱས་པར། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེའི་དབུང་སློན་
ཏུ་འདིར་བྱུང་ན། མིང་དང་མཐུན་པར། སྐྱེ་བརྟགས་འགྲོ་བས། དེས་ཀྱང་སློན་ཏུ་དམག་སྐྱེགས་དགོས་ཀྱི་གྲོས་འཆམས། སོག་པོ་དགའ་
ལྡན་ཀྱི་ཁྲ་པ། མིང་ལ་ཚེ་དབང་ཟེར་བ་དེ། རྩིས་སུ་བབ། བྲུ་ཤོག་བྱས་ནས། སོག་པོའི་རིགས་དང་། དམག་རྫོང་ཆེ་བ་བཅས་ཡོངས་
5 པའི། ཐོག་མར་ནུ་དམར་གླིང་ཏུ་འཐབ་པའི། རིམ་པ་བཞིན་སོག་དམག་བ་མགོ་ཐུག་བསྒྲིབས། དེ་སྐབས། རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉིད་སྒང་མཁར་
ཏུ་བཞུགས། ལ་དྭགས་དམག་དཔོན་འདེར་དམག་ཁ་ཤས་བ་མགོའི་མཁར་བཟུང་། ལོ་ངོ་གསུམ་འཐབ་ཀྱང་། སོག་དམག་མ་ཐོག་པར།
ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིས་ཁ་ཆུལ་ན་ལྷུབ་ལ་སོ་ཀ་བཏངས་པར། དེ་ནས་དབུང་དམག་གཡོར་ཆེ་བ་ཐོན་ནས། བ་མགོའི་བུ་རྒྱལ་ཐང་ཏུ་
འཐབ་པས། བོད་དམག་རྣམས་ཤོར། ཁབ་དང་མདའ་གཞུ་མང་པོ་ཤུས། དཔེ་ཐུབ་ཐུག་རིམ་གྱིས་བཅག་པས། སོག་དམག་རྣམས་ཤོར་
ནས། བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྒང་ཏུ་བསྒྲིབས། རེར་མཁར་བཅས། མཐའ་ལྷུགས་རི་བཅད། ཆུ་ཡིས་མཐར་ནས་བསྐོར། ནང་ཏུ་དམག་གིས་མི་
10 ཚུགས་པ་བྱས་རེར་བསྡད། དེ་ནས་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་དབུང་དང་བཅས་པའི། ད་དུང་དམག་འབྱུང་བའི་དོགས་པའི། སྐྱེ་པ་གཞུང་ནས
འབྲུག་པ་མི་འབམ་དབང་པོ་ལ། བཟང་བསྒྲིག་པར་འབེབ་དགོས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་བཞིན། འབྲུག་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཆེད་པ་གཉིད་སྐར་ཐུག་ཞེབས།
དེ་མཉམ། གདན་ཡང་བོད་པའི་སོ་ཀ་སོགས་བྱུང་ནས། (*C* MS.) ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡབ་མེས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དབུ་བླ་རྩ་བའི་བླ་མ་སྐྱོད་ཤེས།
ཁོང་གཉིས་ཀ་ཅི་གསུངས་བྱེད་ཀློག་མ་མཛད་པ། ཐོག་མར་ཉི་མ་མགོན་གྱི་སྐུས་སོ་སོ་ལ་ཡུལ་ཁང་གནང་བ་ལྟར། ཆ་བཞག།
(*B* MS.) བོད་ནང་པ་དང་། ཁ་ཆུལ་ཕྱི་པ་སོགས་ནི། ཕྱི་ནང་གི་ཆོས་ལུགས་སོ་སོར། དབྱེ་ཡིན་པས། ས་མཚམས་སུ་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་
15 པོ་མ་བདེ་ན། བོད་མི་བདེ་བ། བོད་པའི་ཡིད་ལ་དགོངས་ནས (གྲོངས་ནས ?)། ད་བར་ཅི་ལྟར་སོང་ཀྱང་། ཐབ་ཚོད། ཇེམ་སུ་ཕྱི་ནང་
གི་ས་མཚམས་སྲུང་བར། རྒྱལ་པོ་རང་གིས་གན་(འགན ?)་ལེན་མཛད་དེ། སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་ལ་དགོངས་ནས། མཐའ་དམག་མི་
ཐེན་པའི་ཐབས་སུ་[བྱེད་དགོས] ।। ཁ་ཆུལ་དགོས་བྱེད། མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ་གྱི་ལེ་ན་སོགས། ཡུལ་གཞན་ལ་འཚོང་མི་ཆོག་པ་དང་།
ལེ་རིན་ཡང་ཆེ་རལ་ཉག་བརྒྱད་བཅུ་ལ་དངུལ་དམར་ཞོག་གཉིས་རེ་བཏང་རྒྱུ་དང་། (*C* MS.) ལེ་རིན་ཆེ་རལ་ཉག་ ༨༠ ལ་རིན་
དངུལ་གཅིག་རེ་གཏང་རྒྱུ། (*B* MS.) རྔོང་བའི་ཉག་ལ་བྱང་པས་འཆད་མི་ཆོག། བྱང་པའི་ལེ་ན་[ལ]་ས་རྫོ་ཚུ་སོགས་འདུག་ཞེར་
20 ལོ་མེད་པ་དང་། ཏུ་ཐོག་དང་ལ་མཁར་འཚོང་པ་མ་གཏོགས། འགྲོ་མི་ཆོག་པ་བྱས། ལེ་ན་རྣམས། ཁ་ཆེ་(ཚོ)་འཚོང་པ་མི་བཞི་དཔེ་
ཐུབ་ཏུ་བསྡད་ནས། ཀ[ཤ]་མིར་ཁ་ཆེ་དང་མཉམ་འཚོང་བྱས། ཁ་ཆུལ་འགྲོ་རྒྱུ་བུ་བ་མ་གཏོགས། ཁ་ཆུལ་ཁ་ཆེ་བྱང་ཐང་ལ་འགྲོ་
མི་ཆོག། བྱང་ཐང་འགྲོ་བའི་ལ་དྭགས་ཁ་ཆེ་ཡིས། ཁ་ཆུལ་ལ་རང་ལེ་ན་འཁྱེར་ཏེ། འགྲོ་མི་ཆོག། མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ་བཞིན།
མི་འབམ་དབང་པོའི་བཀའ་ལས། ལྷ་སར་མཆོད་མེ་དང་སྨོན་ལམ་མཐུན་རྐྱེན་སྒྲུར་ན། མེད་སེར(*C* MS. སྨོན་ཆོར)་གངས་མཆོ་ལ།
ལ་དྭགས་པས་དཀར་མེ་ཚོགས་མཆོད་འབུལ་རྒྱུ་དང་། ས་སྲུང་ཏུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་རང་གིས་བདག་མཛད། དེ་མིན་པར། མཚམས་བདེ་མཆོག་
25 ལྷ་རི་ཚ་ནས་ཚུན། བོད་ནས་གཞུང་འཚོང་ཁལ་མ་ཉི་བརྒྱའི་ཇ་དང་བཅས་ཡོང་རྒྱུ་དང་། ཇ་པག་བྲུ་བཞི་འདི་ལ་དྭགས་མ་གཏོགས།
ཉིན་མཐའ་ལ་གཏོང་མི་ཆོག། གཞུང་འཚོང་ལོ་ལྟར་མ་ཡོང་ཚེ། སྔར་གྱི་ཚད་དོན་ལ་མི་གནས་པ་ཐུས། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་བོད་ཏུ་
ལོ་ཕྱག་སྐུབས་འཇུག་ཕུལ་རྒྱུ། (*C* MS.) ལ་དྭགས་ནས་བོད་ལ་རྟེན་དང་བཅས་ལོ་གསུམ་བར་ཏུ་གཏང་དགོས། (*B* MS.) བླ་ཁག་
སོགས་ལ་རྒྱས་སྐྱས་ངེས་པ་མེད་ཀྱང་། བླ་བྲང་ཕྱག་མཛོད་ལ། གསེར་སྲང་ཉི་བཅུ། (*C* MS.) སྲང་ཉི་ཤུ (ཉི་ལ་༡༠)། (*B* MS.)
ཉི་བཟང་སྲང་བཅུ། (གུར་གུམ)། རྫོང་ཤོག་འབུབ(*C* MS. ཕྱག)་ཐུག། བབ་སྐྱ་འབུབ་གཅིག་ཕུལ་ནས། སྤྱོད་རིང་པར། ཡོགས་ཐོབ་
30 དང་། ལམ་ཐོག་དོས་ཁལ་གཉིས་བརྒྱ། (*C* MS.) ཏ་ཉིན་ཉེར་ལྔ། ཏ་ཐབ་ཉིག་བཅུ། (*B* MS.) ཏ་ཐལ་བཅོ་ལྔ། ཉིན་པ་བཅུ།

ཀྟ་ཐབ་ཡོད་མི་གསུམ། དེར་ཀྟ་ལ་ཁ་རྩ་བཀག་མེད། འཁྲིག་སྐྱེ་འགྲོ་མིན་༡། བསྡུགས་ཐབ་མཛོད་བཅས་ལ་གྱུར། ཀྟ་ཁལ་རྣམས་ཀྟ་ཟམ་ (C MS.) ཀྟ་ཟུམ་གྲོག་དང་། ཟོང་སྐྱེལ་བར་བྱེད་དང་། (B MS.) ལོ་ཐུག་རེ་དང་། མདའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ་རེ་ (C MS.) མི་འབམ་དབང་པོར་ (B MS.) བསྒྲིབ་རྒྱ་ཅན་ཀྱང་། མི་འབམ་དབང་པོའི་བཀའ་བཞིན་མ་ཤུས་ཀྱང་། སྐྱེ་པ་གཞུང་ནས་མི་འབམ་དབང་པོ་ལ་མདའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ་ཚན། བོད་ན་རྫོང་ཁག་གསུམ་སྐྱུལ་ཚེ། མདའ་རིས་ལ་སྐྱད་མེད་ཤུས་པས། སྐྱེ་པ་གཞུང་ནས་གཉིས་ཁ་གསུམ་མི་འབམ་དབང་པོར་ཐུལ་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། (C MS.) གནན་རུ་ཐོག་ཀྱུ་བེ་སོགས། ལྷ་སར་མཆོད་མེ་དང་། སྨོན་ལམ་ཐུན་རྒྱུན་དུ་སྦྲར་ནས། དེ་ནས་ཁ་ཆུལ་ན་ལྷུབས་དམག་དབུང་ཀྱང་ཕྱིར་ལོག་བཏང་། ན་ལྷབ་དང་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉིས་མཛའ་བོའི་ཚུལ་བཟུང་ནས། (B MS.) ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོས་ལོ་གསུམ་བར་ལ་ཁ་ཆུལ་ལ་ཟུ་སྐྱེ་གཏོང་རྒྱུ་མཉམ། ཀྟ་ཁྲ་ལོ་བཅོ་བརྒྱད། བླ་རྩི་ལྤྱི་བ་བཅོ་བརྒྱད། གཡག་གི་ཧྭ་མ་དཀར་པོ་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་ (C MS. ལོ་རེ་ལ་ཐུག) ཐུལ་རྒྱ་ཅན། ཁ་ཆུལ་ནས་ན་ཀྱུ་ཤ་ཏར་དེ་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ཛ་གིར་རུ་རྒྱུང་བའི་ཞལ་འབྲས་སྤྲིག་ལྔ་བརྒྱ། (C MS. ལོ་ལྟར་འབྲས་སྤྲིག་གསུམ་བརྒྱ་)། ལོ་ལྟར་རུ་ཡོང་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་སོགས་ཅན་ནས། རུས་འབྲས་འདི་དག ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་སིང་པ་ལ་ཡལ་རུས་སུ། མིན་པ་མེད་པ་(མ)་སོང་། འཛམ་བདེ་འཛག་ཏུ་གྱུར་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོའི་མཛད་དགོངས་བླ་ན་མ་མཆིས་པའི་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ།། (S MS.) བདེ་ལེགས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དེ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་འཛིན་སྐབས། སོག་པོ་དགའ་ལྡན་ཚང་། ཐ་མིག་ཅན་གྱིས་དམག་དྲངས།

རྒྱལ་པོ་བབ་སྐོར་བཙུགས་ཤིང་།
ཁ་ཆུལ་(གྱི)་དམག་དང་བཅས།
སོག་པོ་[རྣམས་ལ་]བརྒྱབ་པས།
སོག་བྲོས་ཐབས་སུ་སོང་།

བྲར་ཡང་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་སྔར་བཞིན(ཞིང?)་དར་རྒྱས། དགེ་བདེའི་དཔལ་དར་པར་གྱུར།།

(B MS.) དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་ཉི་མ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། ངག་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། (L MS. ང་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ)། དབང་ཕྱུག་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། (L MS.) དོན་གྲུབ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། (B MS.) དགའ་ལྡན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། སྐུ་ཆེད་བཞི་(ལྔ་)ལས། ཉི་མ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ་མངའ་གསོལ་བའི། (S MS.) ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སེམས་དཔའ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཐུགས་སྨོན་ལམ་ཆེན་པོས། སྐུ་གསུང་ཐུགས་རྟེན་ལ་སོགས་འགྲོ་བ་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་བསོད་ནམས་བཞིན་དུ་མང་དུ་བཞེངས། (B MS.) མེས་པོ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣམ་ཐར་ཚུལ་བཞིན་འཚོང་བ་ཞིག་བྱེད་དགོས་གསུང་བ་བཞིན།

བཟང་པོ་རྣམས་ལ་ཡར་སྐྱོད།
ངན་པ་སོགས་ཀྱང་གཉའ་མནོན།

རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་རྣམས་ཀྱང་རང་བློ་ལ་གང་ཤར་གྱིས་མཛད་པ་ཡེ་ནས་མི་གནང་ཞིང་། སྐུ་དྲག་སོགས་དང་བཀའ་གྲོས། ཡུལ་ཡུལ་ནས། བློ་གྲོས་ལྡན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པ་གྲན་པོར་བཞག་ནས། ཞིང་ཁང་གི་བཀའ་ཤོག་སོགས་གནང་དགོས་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ཞུ་དོ་དང་། ཕྱོགས་འཛིན་བའི་དབང་མ་བཏང་བར། སྐུ་དྲག་གྲན་གསུམ་ཅན། རྟེན་གསུམ་དཔང་དུ་བཞག ཐུར་གྱི་འབྱུང་ཁུངས་ཀྱི་རྫིས་བཅད། ཕྱིས་སུ་བརྗོད་ཅ་འབྱུང་རྒྱུའི་ཚ་བ་བྱུང་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་རིམ་བྱོན་ཐམས་ཅད་ལས་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱི་བཀའ་ཤོག་བཙན་པོ་ཡིན་ནོ།།

(C MS.) བཟང་པོ་རྣམས་ལ་ཡར་སྐྱོད།
ཡོན་ཏན་ཅན་ལ་ཅིས་འཛག།

ཟན་རབ་རྣམས་ལ་བཀུར་སྟི།
བླ་མ་རྣམས་ལ་མོས་པ།
ངན་པ་རྣམས་ལ་གཉའ་གནོན།
བཀའ་ཁྲིམས་[རྣམས་ལ]་གཙང་བ།
5 སྐུ་ནག་(རྣམས་ལ)་ཉེ་རིང་མེད་པ།
འབངས་(རྣམས)་ལ་བུ་ལྟར་བརྩེ་བ།
ཕྱོགས་མི་རྣམས་ལ་བདག་རྐྱེན།
ཡར་དཀོན་མཆོག་ལ་མཆོད་པ།
མར་ངན་སོང་ལ་སྦྱིན་པ།།

10 སོགས། ཐུས་རྒྱུན་ཆད་མེད། ཉིན་ཞེང་མཆོད་ཞེང་ལ་སོགས་པ་གྲངས་མེད་དང་། ལྷ་ས་ཞྭ་ཆེན་ཁག་ལ་བརྒྱ་འབུལ་དང་། སྟོད་ཏུ་
དང་། རང་ཞབས་ཀྱི་དགོན་ཁག། སྟེ་ལ་ཉེ་རིང་མེད། ཐུགས་རྗེ་བདག་རྐྱེན། ཕྱིས་སུ་བཞོད་ཟ་ངན་པ་འབྱུང་བའི་སྐྱོང་པོའི་རྩ་བ་
སྐྱོན་ནས་ཟུང། ཚབས་སུ་བཟང་པོའི་བཞོད་ཟ་གསར་དུ་བཙུགས། (*B* MS.) ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱིས། ལྷ་ས་བསམ་ཡས་ཀྱི་
བཙོས་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་གསེར་ཆབ། དཀར་མེ། བླ་ན་རིས་མེད་སྐྱབས་རྗེན། དགེ་འདུན་སོགས་ལ་མང་སྐྱོལ།
རང་ཞབས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་སྡེ་ཚེ་ཆུང་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ། བསྙེན་བཀུར་རིས་མེད། གསེར་དངུལ་གྱི་རྒྱུ་ལས། རང་མོས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་སྐུ། གསུང་རབ།
15 ཛ་ནང་གི་ས་ཉི་རིང་མོ། སྐུ་གསུང་ཐུགས་རྟེན་བཞེངས་རྒྱུའི་གཟུང་བར་རྒྱས(པར་རྒྱབ ?)་བསྟུས། འཛམ་སྟུད་བཟང་གསུམ། འཛམ་
དབྱངས་བསྟོད་པ་གང་བློ་སྨོན་ལམ། ཤེས་ཟ་ཁ་དབྱིངས། གསེར་འོད་གཡང་སྐྱབས། བཀའ་སྲུང་རྡོ་ཅོག། ལེ་བདུན། པར་བྱས་
ལེགས་པར་བསྒྲུབ་ནས། སྐྱེ་སེར་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་ཆོས་སྦྱིན། གསེར་དངུལ་ཟངས་གསུམ་གྱི་ས་ཉི་ཐེན་སྐོར། (*C* MS.) ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱང་
བར་སྣ་མང་བསྒྲུབ། མང་ཡུལ་ཉོ་ལྡར་ཆགས་བདེ་བར་བྱུར། (*B* MS.) གཉན་ཡང་། མངའ་འབངས་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་འཁྲུགས་སློང་དབྲ་
ཟག་རྐུན་གསུམ་མེད་པར། མ་གཅིག་གི་བུ་བཞིན། བདེ་བའི་དཔལ་ལ་སྤྱོད་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་བཙུན་མོ་ལ་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་བདེ་
20 སྐྱོང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་འཁྲུངས་ནས། ཡུམ་སྐུ་འདས། དེ་ནས་བུ་རིག་ནས་བི་བི་ཁ་ཐུན་ཞུ་བའི། སྲས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དང་། གཅེས་མ་
བཀྲ་ཤིས་དབང་མོ་བཅས་སྤུན་གཉིས་འཁྲུངས།།

དེ་ནས་བདེ་སྐྱོང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལ་ལྷོ་མོ[ན]་ཐང་(*C* MS. ལྷོ་མོན་ཐང་)ནས་ཉེ་ཟླ་དབང་མོ་བཙུན་མོར་ཞུས་ནས། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ་
དབང་བསྐུར། སྲས་ས་སྐྱོང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་འཁྲུངས་ནས། མ་མཐུན་པར་བཅད་ནས། རྒྱལ་མོ་ལྷོ་རུ་ལོག་བཞེས། (*C* MS.) དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་
མོ་ཀུན་འཛོམ་ཞུས། སྲས་ཚེ་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་བསྐྱམས། (*B* MS.) ཕྱིས་སུ་བཙུན་མོ་གཞན་ཞིག་ཞུས་པ་ལ། སྲས་ཟུང་ཚོགས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་
25 (*L* MS.) རབ་བརྟན་ནམ་རྒྱལ་(*B* MS.)འཁྲུངས། བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་འདི་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་ཞིང་། བླ་མ་མཛད། དེ་མིན། གཉིད་སྒང་
མཁར་དུ་བཞུགས། ཞེས་སྐུ་ནག་ནད་མང་སོགས་ཀྱིས་ཞུས་པས། ཡབ་ཉེ་མ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་དུ་སོང་། སྲས་བདེ་སྐྱོང་[གི་ཡུམ་]་ལྷོ་
མོ་མི་པའི་། བི་བི་ཁ་ཏུན་གྱིས་གཅེས་པར་བསྐྱང་། དེད་ཀྱི་མ་ཡིས་རྗེ་གསུང་ལ་བཀའ་མི་ཉན། གཞུང་བཟང་། དེ་ནས་མ་རྒྱལ་མོ་ཁ་
དབང་གིས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལ་སོ་ཏོག་ལ་ནས། བུ་རིག་ཡོངས་ལ་མངའ་མཛད། ཐུལ་སྟེ་དངུལ་མདོག་མཁར་ལ་ཟབ་ས་བརྒྱབ། ཏོག་
པ་བཀའ་བློན་གྱི་བུ་མོ་ཞིག་བཙུན་མོར་ཟུལ་ཡང་། སྲས་མེད་དོ། གཅེས་མ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་དབང་མོ་འདི་གས་ཏ་ཕྱར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་འདུན་
30 མར་བླངས། ཐ་མི་སྐད་ཆོས་མི་གཅིག་པར། མ་གནང་། ཞུས་ཀྱང་། བུའི་ཁྲིམས་བདག་ཟ་མ་ཡིན་ཟེར་[ཏེ] རྒྱལ་མོ་མ་གསན་པར་

བཏངས ། ནང་སོ་དགའ་ཞེལ་གྱི[ས]་གཙོ་བཅས་ཞབས་ཕྱི་བཏང་། ཉི་མ་ནི་མཐོང་འདུག་ཟེར་ཞིང་། ཟླ་མོ་ཅིས་ཀྱང་འཐེང་དགོས་ཞེས་དམག་བཏང་། ཀས་ཊ་ལྷར་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་རྒྱལ་མོ་གཉིས་མེད་ཏུ་མཇལ་བའི་ཟླ་མོ་ཁྲིར་ཚེ། རང་ཡང་ལ་དྭགས་ལ་འགྲོ་ཟེརས ། དཔོན་འཁོར་དག་བསྡུས་འོངས་ཡས། འདི་ནས་ཟི་ཟི་ཁ་ཏུན་གྱིས། ཀས་ཊ་ལྷར་རྒྱལ་པོ་འོང་ཚེ། ཐབས་མཁས་ཀྱིས་མ་བསད་ན། ང་ཡི་བུ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་སྲིད་ལ་གནོད་དོ་ཞེས་ནག་བསླབ་ཡོད་པ་དང་། རྒྱལ་མོའི་ཞབས་ཟུས་ལ་དྭགས་མི་ཞིག་འདི་ནས་སོང་བ ། གཙོ་བོ་རྣམས་རྒྱུས་མེད་པར། ཀས་ཊ་ལྷར་དང་པ་ལྡར་གྱི་ས་མཚམས་ཀྱི་ཟམ་པ་ཞིག་ལ། ཞབས་ཕྱི་ཞུ་བའི་ཚུལ་གྱིས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆུ་ལ་བསྐྱུར། རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཐམས་ཅད་གཏམ་ངན་གྱིས་ཁྱབ་ཅས། དེ་ནས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དང་། སྲས་ཆེ་བ་ས་སྐྱོང་མཁར་གྱི་བདག་པོས་ཡིན་ཀྱང་། མ་སྒྲོ་སོ་སོ་སྟབས་ཀྱིས་ཏུའི་ཟུན་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་མ་ཡིས་གཡོ་ཅས། ཧེ་མི་བླ་མ་མཛད་བཅུག ||

ཟུན་ཚོགས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བསྐྱངས་སོ། ཨ་ཁུ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་ཁ་ཆུལ་ཚོང་པ་དང་། ལ་དྭགས་མངའ་ཞབས་ཀྱི་མི་སེར་ལ། འཇམ་རྫུང་དབང་འཕྱོག་མཛད་ནས ། (*C* MS.) ཚེ་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དང་ཟུན་ཚོགས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གཉིས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ (*B* MS.) མ་ཐུན་པར། ས་མཚམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་འཁྲུགས་ནས། བོད་ལ་ཐ་དམག་འཁྱོན་པའི་རྒྱུ་ཞེས་གནས་ཚུལ་རྒྱལ་བ་རིན་ཆེན་ལ་ཞུས་པར། དེ་བཞིན་ཡིན་ཚེ། ནང་སྒྲིག་ཅེད་མི་བཀའ་རྒྱུད་པ་བླ་མ་སྟག་ལ་བཀའ་བབ་ཡོད་པའི་དགོངས་གཅོད་མཛད་སྐབས། ཁམ་ནས་བཀའ་ཤོག་རིག་འཛིན་ཆེན་པོ་ཚེ་དབང་ནོར་བུ། བལ་ཡུལ་གྱི་མཆོད་རྟེན་ཆེན་པོའི་ ཞོག་ཤིང་སྒྲ་བར་ཞེབས་སྐབས་དང་། དུས་མཚུངས་རྒྱལ་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པས་རིག་འཛིན་ཆེན་པོར་བཀའ་བསྐོད་ཀྱིས། ལ་དྭགས་ཕྱི་སྒྲིག་ལ་ཁྱོད་ལ་ལས་བཀལ་ཡོད་པས། འགྲོ་དགོས། ཞེབས་པར། དེ་བཞིན་རྒྱལ་བའི་བཀའ་ལ་མངོན་པར་བསྟོད་ནས། ལ་དྭགས་ལ་ཞེབ་པར་ཞལ་གྱིས་བཞེས། སྟར་ཏུ་ཞེབས། དེ་ནས་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་བློན་པོ་བཅས་གསུང་ཤོས་ཤོག ། གཟིམས་དཔོན་ཏུ་ཟངས་དཀར་གྲང་དཀར་བློན་པོ་ཡོད་པ་དེ་བཞིན། སྐྱབས་མགོན་རིག་འཛིན་ཆེན་པོར་ཞེ་བསུས་སུ་ཟུལ ། ལ་དྭགས་སྟོད་གཤམ་གྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་རྣམས་ཞུས ། དེ་ནས་སྟར་དཔོན་གཉིས་ཀྱི་མི་སྣ་བཅས་ལྷམ་ལེ་དགོན་ཏུ་ཞེབས ། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་བློན་བཅས་ཞལ་འཛོམ་དང་ཟུ་རིག་རྒྱལ་བློན་རྣམས་རིམ་པར་ཞེབས ། ཅ་ཁྲ་མཛད་པའི་དབུ་ཚུགས ། དེ་ནས་སྐྱབས་མགོན་རིག་འཛིན་ཆེན་པོའི་བཀའ་དང་རིམ་གནས ། ཅ་ཁྲ་གཅོད་མཚམས་ནི ། ལ་དྭགས་མཁར་ལ་རྒྱལ་སྲས་ཙམ་བཞུམ་ཡང་། ཆེ་བ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་མཛད། དེ་རྗེས་རྣམས་དགེ་ཐུབ་ཁྲི་རྩེ་སོགས་ལ་བླ་མ་མཛད་པ་མ་གཏོགས། རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉིས་མི་བཞུགས། ཟངས་དཀར་རྒྱལ་པོ་ནི་ཐ་མཚམས་སོང་གསེས། རྒྱལ་པོ་སྔར་ལུགས་བཞིན་དང་། ཧེ་ནས་སྐུ་རྒྱལ་བརྒྱུད་དངོས་ཡིན་པ་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་སྲིད་ཆེད་མེད་པའི་རང་འཇུག། དེ་མིན། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་གཅིག་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉིས་མི་དགོས་པ་མཛད ||

(*L* MS.) དེའི་སྲས་ཚེ་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ (*B* MS.) རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ་བསྐོས ། (*S* MS.) ཟུན་ཚོགས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་སྲས་ཚེ་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ ། མི་འཇིགས་ཚེ་བརྟན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ ། ཆེ་བ་ཡིས་ལ་དྭགས་དང་། ཆུང་བས་བཟངས་ཁར་གྱི་སྲིད་འཛིན། (*B* MS.) ཟུན་ཚོགས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ཡུམ་སྲས་སྦྲེལ་མཁར་གྱི་ཐུག་རྫས་ལ་མཉམ་བགོས་མཛད་ཅིང་ ། བསྡམ་ནས ། ཁྲི་རྩེ་མཁར་ (གསེར་ཁྲི་མཁར)་ལ་བཞུགས ། ས་སྐྱོང་ཧེ་མི་རིག་པ་འཛིན་པའི་ཚས་སུ་བཞུགས་པའི ། རྒྱལ་མོ་ཀུན་འཛོམ་ལ་སྲས་སྐྱབས་མགོན་རྒྱལ་སྲས་མི་འབམ་ཚེ་དབང་[འཕྲིན་ལས]་འཁྲུངས་པ་ལ། མོ་ཕྲུད་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས ། གཞན་སྲས་གཤིག་འཁྲུངས་པ། སྨན་དཔྱད་ལ་མེད་ཏུ་མཁས་པ་ཞིག་ཟུང་ནས། ལྷ་ས་ར་གཤེགས། སྲས་མོ་གཅིག་ཡོད་པ། བོད་ཧོར་ཁང་གསར་གྱི་བཙུན་མོར་ཕྱིར། རྒྱལ་པོ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་སྐུ་ཚེ་ནམ་འཚོ། ཟུ་རིག་ལ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་མཛད། དེ་རྗེས་ལ་དྭགས་ལ་སྟུ་རྒྱུ་ཅས། ཅ་ཁྲ་དང་གམ་རྒྱ་སྐུ་ནག་ཚོད་མ་དང་ནད་གསུམ་ཚོད་མ་བཅས་ནས ། རྒྱལ་པོས ། བདེ་ལ་བཀོད། ཞལ་ངོ་ནང་བསྒྲིག་སྟེ། བླ་དཔོན་རྣམས་ཤེལ་མཁར་ཏུ་ཞེབས། དེ་ཚེ་ཁ་ཆུལ་ན་ལྡན་གྱི་སོ་ཉ་ཞིག་ཡོད་ནས། ཟངས་ཆེན་མོའི་ཐང་ནས་ཆུ་འདོན་དགོས། ཞུ་བར་བཅམས་པ་དང་། དེ་སྐབས་སོ་ཉའི་མཛལ་ཟུག་སྐབས་སུ། དཔལ་ཉིས་གང་གི་ཟ

གྲལ་མི་ཙམ་ཡོད་ལ་ལྷུན་པར ། ཅིན་ཅྱིས་བཀླབས་པས ། སོ་ཀྱཿ ཡང་དང་དེ་ཕྱིར་ལོག་སོང་ ། དེ་ནས་རིག་འཛིན་ཆེན་པོས་ཅུ་ཁ་སྒྲིལ་
མངར་ལ་ཅིན ། ཐུལ་བྲེ་མངར་ལ་གཅིག ། ཟངས་དཀར་ལ་གཅིག ། ཉེ་མི་དགོན་པར་གཅིག ། བཅས་གནང་ནས ། བོད་དུ་བེབས །
དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚེ་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལ་བཟང་ལ་མངར་ནས་བཙུན་མོ་ཞུས་པར ། དེ་སྐབས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཐུགས་ལ་བདུད་ཞུགས ། ཞབས་
གྲུས་ངན་པའི་ཁ་དབང་སོང་ནས ། (C MS.) ཚང་རའི་བྲེ་མོ ། (B MS.) བྲེ་མོ་རྒྱལ་བུ་བ་ཁབ་ཏུ་བཞེས ། བཟང་ལའི་རྒྱལ་མོ་དེ་
5 བཞིན་བཟང་ལར་ལོག་ཞེབས་ནས ། ཟངས་དཀར་རྒྱལ་པོའི་བཙུན་མོ་མཛད ། ཟུག་ལས་སོགས་སྔར་མེད་པའི་ཡ་མཚན་དང ། ཆིབས་པ་
ཉི་ཟླ་ཆག་བླ་བརྒྱ་རེ་ལ་ཆིབས་དཔོན་དང ། གཟིམས་ཉིད་སོགས་འཁྲོས་ཆེ་བ ། ཉི་ཟླ་ཆག་གི་ཞབས་ཐམས་ཅད་དང ། གསང་སོགས་ལ་
སྡེ་བ་ཞག་ཆེ་བ་བྱུང་ནས ། ཞལ་ངོ་དང་འབངས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་དེ་ལྟ་བུའི་གདང་མ་གདང་མ་ཐེག་པ་བྱས ། རྒྱལ་པོ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ་འབབ་
ལོག་སྒོ་དབང་ལན་གསུམ་བྱུང་བར ། (C MS.) དེ་ནས་སྐུ་དྲག་འབངས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་དེ་ལྟར་མི་མཛད་པའི་ཞུ་བ་ཞུལ་ཀྱང ། གསན་
དགོངས་མ་བྱུང་བར་ཉིད ། ཐབས་མེད་ལ ། དམག་མང་དབྱུང་ནས ། མངར་ལ་ཚོང་ནས ། བྲེ་མོ་བཏོན་ནས་བཙོན་དུ་བཏང ། ཏོག་པ་
10 བཀའ་བློན་གོ་ས་ནས་ཕབས་ནས ། བཙོན་དུ་བཏང ། (B MS.) ཟུ་རིག་སོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མོ་བྲེ་ཀིམ་དབང་མོ ། (བྲེ་ཊིམ་དབང་མོ)
(C MS. ཞི་ཀིམ་དབང་མོ) ཞེས་པ་བཙུན་མོར་ཞུས ། དེ་ལ་སྲས་མོ་གསུམ་དང ། སྲས་གཉིས ། ཆེ་བའི་མཚན་ལ་ལྷ་ཆེན་མི་འགྱུར་
ཚེ་བརྟན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ ། ཆུང་བ་ཚེ་དཔལ་མི་འགྱུར་དོན་གྲུབ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ ། རྒྱལ་མོ་ཆུང་བ་ཁ་ཏུན་ཚེ་རིང་ལ་སྲས་གཅིག་བལྟམས ། མཚོན་
ལ་འཛིགས་མེད་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གསོལ ། དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚེ་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་སྐུ་གཤེགས ། ཉེ་མི་སྐྱབས་མགོན་རྒྱལ་སྲས་དང ། སྐུ་དྲག་རྣམས
བཀའ་གྲོས་བྱས །

15 རྒྱལ་སྲས་ཚེ་བརྟན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལ་ཟུ་རིག་པས་ཀྲུམ་མངར་ནས་འདུན་མ་ཞུས ། དེ་སྲིད་ལ་དབང་བསྐུར ། (C MS.) དེ་སྐབས་
བོད་ནས་འབྲུག་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པ་ཀུན་གཟིགས་ཆོས་ཀྱི་སྣང་བ་ཞེབས་ནས ། ཉེ་མི་དགོན་དུ་བཞུགས ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚེ་བརྟན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་
ནས་འབུལ་མཚན ། རྟ་༤༠ ། འབྲི་༤༠ ། ར་ལུག་༡༠༠༠ ། རྔོལ་ཁ་༢༥ ། ན་ནག་ཁྲའི་དངུལ་༢༠༠༠ ། གསེར་སྲོ་༡༠༠ ། ཅི་ཅུ་
འཕྲེང་བ་༡ ། ཀིམ་ཁྲབ་ཕྲུག་༡༥ ། སག་ལ་དམར་པོ་བ་སླ་༡ ། [གསེར་པོ་བ་སླ་༡] ། ཀམ་རག་ཕྲུག་༢༥ ། ན་བྲུ་ར་ཕྲུག་༢༥
བཅས་དང ། གཞན་ཡང་སྐུ་དྲག་རྣམས་ཀྱི་འབུལ་བ་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་པ་འབུལ་ལོ ། (B MS.) རྒྱལ་སྲས་ཚུང་བ་ཚེ་དཔལ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ
20 ཉེ་མེར་རབ་བྱུང་བྱབ ། ཁ་ཏུན་ཚེ་རིང་གི་སྲས་ཁྲི་ཙེ་ཙ་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང ། སྲས་མོ་གཅིག་པས་ཀྲུམ་མངར་ལ་བག་མར་གཏང ། སྲས་མོ་
གཅིག་བཀའ་བློན་ཚེ་དབང་དོན་གྲུབ་ལ་བག་མར་ཕྱུལ ། ནོ་ནོ་ཚེ་དབང་དོན་གྲུབ་བཀའ་བློན་དུ་བསྐོས ། སྲས་མོ་གཅིག་གཟིམས་ཚུང་ལ་
བཞུག་སྐྱེ་གཤེགས ། རྒྱལ་པོ་[ཚེ་བརྟན་]རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དེ་བཞིན་སྐུའི་སྐྱེ་ཅེད་ཤིན་ཏུ་མཚར་ཞིང ། (C MS.) རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་ནི་མཐུ་སྟོབས་
ཆེ་བ ། རལ་གྲི་མདུང་[མདའ་]གསུམ་ལ་མཁས་པ ། (B MS.) མཆེད་ཟབ་པ་བོད་ཀྱི་ཡིག་རྩིས ། བར་སེའི (C MS. བར་རྩེའི) ཡི་གེ་
སྐད་དང ། ཁ་ཆེའི་སྐད ། (C MS.) ཡར་ཁེན་སྐད (B MS.) སོགས་སྐད་རིགས་མཐའ་དག་མཁས་པ ། (C MS.) ཆོས་ལ་མཁས་པ །
25 རྒྱལ་ཆོས་ལ་མཁས ། དགྲ་ལས་དཔའ་བ ། མི་སེར་ལ་བྱམས་སྙིང་ཆེ་བ ། རང་གཞན་མེད་པ་སྤྱན་གྱིས་གཟིགས་པ ། སྔོན་ནས་མི་སེར་
ཐོག་ནས་འབབ་ཁྲངས་མེད་པ ། མང་ཙུང་ཚོད་ཚོད་ཀྱིས་ལེན་པ་མ་གཏོགས་མེད་པ ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདི་ནི་སྔོན་རྒྱལ་པོ་རིམ་བྱོན་རྣམས་ལས
ལྷག་པ་ཞིག་ཡོད་ངེས་ཡོད ། (B MS) ཡབ་ཀྱི་དགོངས་རྫོགས་ལ་དམིགས་ཏེ ། ཀྱི་ཅུའི (C MS. ཀྱིའུ) མཛུག་ཏུ་མ་ཀ་ཐང་ཆེན་མོ །
(C MS.) གོམ་པ་༢༤༠ ། རིང་ལ ། (B MS.) འགོ་མཛུག་གཉིས་ལ་ཐུང་རྒྱབ་དང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་མཆོད་རྟེན་ཆེ་བ་གཉིས་བཅས་བཞེངས །
པ་བཀའ་[illegible].) སྐུ་མངར་དངུལ་གྱི་གདུང་རྟེན་ཐོག་སོ་གཉིས་པ་ཞིག་བཞེངས ། (B MS.) རྒྱལ་པོ་འདི་སྲིད་ཀྱི་མཛད་པ་སོགས་ལ་ཤིན་ཏུ་
30 མར་ཟླངས་ཕྱང ། བ་རྫོལ་གྱི་དགྲ་སྲི་རྣམས་ཟིལ་གྱིས་གནོན་པའི་བསོད་ནམས་བསགས ། ཟུ་ཚ་བ་མེད་པ་ཡིན ། དེ་སྐབས་ཡུལ་དུ་འབྲུམ་བུའི་

ནད་འབྱུང་བར། མི་སྤྱིའི་བསོད་ནམས་ཀྱི་མཐུ་དམན་པས། དགུང་ལོ་ཉེར་བཞི་ཧང་ཀར་ཐར་སྐུ་གཤེགས། དེ་དུས་འབྲུག་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་
མཆེད་པ་རྗེ་མི་ན་བཞུགས་པ། (*C* MS.) རྒྱལ་པོའི་དགོངས་རྫོགས་ནས་རྒྱལ་བ་གྲུབ།།

(*B* MS.) དེ་ནས་རྗེ་མི་ཚེ་དཔལ་ནས་རྒྱལ་ས་པ་ལོག་ཏུ་བཏུག་སྐྱེ། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ་བསྐོས། (*S* MS.) ཆེ་བ་ཚེ་བརྟན་ནམ་རྒྱལ་
དེ་སྐུ་ཚེ་ན་བརྟན་པའི། ཆུང་བ་ཚེ་དཔལ་མི་འགྱུར་དོན་གྲུབ་ནམ་རྒྱལ་[ལ་མངའ་གསོལ]། (*B* MS.) སྐུ་འདས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚེ་བརྟན་ནམ་
རྒྱལ་བར་ལ་སྲས་མོ་ཞིག་བསྐྲུམས། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདི་དང་བར་ལ་སྲས་མོ་སྒྲོལ་ཆུང་དང་། རྒྱལ་སྲས་ཚེ་དབང་རབ་བརྟན་[ནམ་རྒྱལ་] 5
འཁྲུངས། བཀའ་བློན་ཚེ་དབང་དོན་གྲུབ་མཆེད་གོ་ཟབ་པས། མཐའ་ས་མཚམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣམས་དང་མཛའ་མཐུན་ལེགས་ལམ་གྱིས་བན་
ཚུན་ཡིག་སྐྱེལ་འདོར་གྱི་སྐྱེལ་རེས་མཛད། མ་གཅིག་གི་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བདེ་འཇགས་དགེ་ཕྱོགས་སུ་མཛད་དོ། དེ་ནས་བར་སྐབས་ཤིག་ནས་ཐུང་
རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཐུགས་ལ་(*C* MS. བཏུད)་གནོད་རྐྱེན་གྱིས་བསྒྱུ་སྐྱེ། སྐུ་མཐུན་གྱི་ཞབས་ཏྲི་སྤར་མེད་གསར་པ་རྐྱང་དང་བཀའ་མོལ་གྱི།
ཡུལ་འདིར་ཞིང་ལོག་ཁང་ལོག་གི། མནའ་ག་ན་ལ་མི་རྩེ་ཞིང་། བཀའ་ཁྲིམས་སོགས་ཀུང་མི་དོར་གྱི་ངོ་ཕྱོགས་སུ་སོང་། (*C* MS.;
རྒྱལ་པོ་རང་ཐུགས་དམ་འཁྲིད་རིང་བར། གར་འགྲོ་མ་བཏུག། ཐེ་མོ་བརྒྱབ་ནས་བོད་བ་དང་། (*B* MS.) མཁར་གྱི་ནང་འཁོར་རྣམས་ 10
མཆེད་མོ་གཉེར་ཉལ་དབང་མེད་པར། ཞག་ལྟར་གམ་རྒྱ་ལེན། རྒྱལ་པོ་རང་ཡང་མཆེད་གང་མི་མནའ། སང་གི་ཉི་ཟླས་ཁར་གཟིམ་
ནས་བཞེངས། སྤ་བར་ཐུག་བསིལ་སྐབས། ཐུག་ཆུ་ཐང་ཉི་ཆུ་ཐམ (*C* MS. ཆུ་ཁར)་བཅུ་གཉིས (*C* MS. བཅུ་གཉིས་སམ་༡༢)་རེ་དང་།
དེ་ཐངས་ཀྱིས་འདག་ཚལ་གྱི་རིམ་པ་དང་པོ་ནས་བཅུ་གཉིས་པར་རྩེ་ཐངས་བསྐོད་དེ། ཐུག་རྣམས་ཆུ་བཟླུལ་སོང་། ཕྱོགས་བར་ཚུན་སྐྱོད་
སྐབས། མཆེད་མོ་ཟ་སྐྱིད་(ཟ་སྐྱིག་)ལ་སྒྲོན་མེ་སྣ་འབར་འདེགས་ཏེ་གཤེགས། སྤར་གྱི་ལས་ཁུང་གི་མི་དང་མི་བསྟུན། བཀའ་བློན་གྱི་
ཐུག་ཐེ་ཡང་རྒྱལ་པོ་རང་དང་སྒྲོ་པ་མགོན་པོ་སོགས་ངོ་གསར་རྣམས་དང་གསུང་གླིང་མཛད་པ་ལ། སྐུ་ནག་རིགས་ལ་ཐུགས་ཡིད་མི་ 15
སྨིན། ཟངས་དཀར་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ཐུ་རིག་གི་བཀའ་བློན་སོགས་ལ་ཐུགས་སུ་བཙོན་ཏུ་བཞག། སྐུ་མཐུན་གྱི་ཞབས་ཏྲི་གསར་རིགས་
མཁར་དཔོན་ཏུ་བཀོད་ནས། སྤར་སྤེལ་བཟང་པོ་ཐབ་ཆེར་ཞིག།། འདི་སྐབས་སུ་ཞུང་ཧྲི་དཀར་ཞྭ་རྒྱུད་རེ་བ་༢་ས་རྗེ་བ་དང་ཚོ་༢་ས་
རྗེ་བ་གཉིས་དོར་མང་པོ་དང་བཅས་བློ་རྩ་བསྐྱོབས། ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་ནག་སོགས་ལ་དོར་སྣ་ཚད་མཚོད་མང་པོ་སྣར། རྒྱལ་པོ་མཛལ་
དགོས་ཟེར་བ་ལ། མིའི་ངན་ཅི་ཡོད་མི་ཤེས་ཟེར། ཐམས་ཅད་གསུང་བསྒྲོས་ནས། མཛལ་མ་བཏུག་པར། ཟླ་བ་ཁ་ཤས་བཀག། གྱིས་
སུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་མཛལ་ཏེ། སྨྱུག་གྲི་ཆེན་པ་མེ་མདའ་གཙོས་ཚ་ལག་རིགས་མི་གཅིག་པ་མང་པོ་ཕུལ། ཁོ་འདིས་ཞུ་བར། ཁྲིད་རང་བཀའ་བློན་ 20
ལས་བྱེད་འབངས་སོགས་ཀྱི་བྱེད་ཕྱུགས་དང་། ཉེར་རང་གི་ཟློ་གྲོས་སོགས་ནང་ལྟར། ཡུལ་འདི་གཏན་ཞིག་གིས་འཆེད་བ་ཡིན་འདུག།
འདིར་དེད་ལ་སྤྲེའུ་ཞིག་བཅེག་སྐྱེ་བཞག་ན། ནམ་མཐུག་རྒྱལ་པོ་རང་ལ་བན་གྲོགས་ཡོད་ཚུལ་ཞུས་པར། རྒྱལ་བློན་བཀའ་གྲོས་གྲོག་ནས།
སྤྲེའུ་ཅིགས་ན། གནོད་པ་ཅི་ཡོད་མི་ཤེས། ཞེས་ནས་ཅིག་མ་བཏུག། དེ་ནས་ཁོ་ཡིས་ཡི་གེ་དང་སྐྱམ་ཞིག་བཅས་ཕྱུལ་ཏེ། འདིས་རྒྱལ་
པོ་རང་ལ་སྨྲུན་ཞིག། ཐུགས་བན་གསོས་ཡོད་ཞེས་ནས། དབྱར་དཔྱུན་ཐོག་གཉིས་བསྡད་དེ་ལོག་བྱེད། བྱེ་བླིང་ས་རྗེ་འཁྲིད་པའི་གྲོག་
མ་འདི་གཉིས་ཡིན།། དེ་ནས་ཞུང་ཧྲི་དམག་སྤྱི་ཉིད་བརྒྱབ་ནས། ཡུལ་སོགས་བཤིག་སྐྱེ། དོར་ཡོད་དབྱུ་ཁྲིད་དེ། ལོག་བྱེད། དམག་ 25
ལན་འཇལ་དགོས་ཞུས་ལན་ཏུ། ཁྲོད་རང་རྣམས་གོ་མ་ཚོད་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། ཆད་པ་བཏང་ས། དེ་རྗེས་ཡང་ཞུང་ཧྲི་དང་དཀར་ཞྭའི་ཁྲ་ཏུ་
གཉིས་གྲོས་དག་གིས། ཟངས་དཀར་[དཔལ་འདུམ་མཁར]་གཞུང་འཁོར་རྣམས་བཅག་སྐྱེ། སྐུ་གསུང་ཐུགས་རྟེན་རྣམས་བཤིག། རྟ་
གཡག་རྒྱུ་ནོར་རྣམས་ཕྱག་སྐྱེ་ལོག་བྱེད། དེ་རྗེས་པ་༢་ར་གྱི་ར་ཏན་ཟེར་ཁན་གྱིས་དམག་བརྒྱབ་སྐྱེ། ཨ་ཧིང་ནས་དཔལ་འདུམ་བར་གྱི་
ཡུལ་རྣམས་བཤིག། དཀར་ཞྭ་དང་གཞུང་འཁོར་ཚའི་བར་ཚུན་ཏུ་འཕབས། རྗེས་སུ་བཟང་བསྒྲིགས་ནས་ལོག་སོང་། ཡང་རྒྱལ་པོས།
ཁྲོད་རང་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་གོ་མ་ཚོད་པ་ཡིན། ཞེས་ཆད་པ་བཅད། དེ་རྗེས་ལོ་ངོ་གཅིག་ནང་ཏུ་མན་༢་ལྷ་རན་པའི་དམག་ཡོད་ནས། ཟངས་ 30

དཀར་སྟོད་དུང་རིང་ཐུག་བཞིག ། ཡུལ་རྣམས་མི་ལ་བསྒོགས ། ནོར་བླུགས་རྣམས་ཙམ་བརྙེད་འཚེར་ཏེ་ལོག་སོང་ ‖ རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་ལ་ཡང་
རྙོག་ཉིབ་མ་མཛད་པར ། སྐུ་མཐུན་གྱི་ཐུག་ཟླས་ཡོད་རིགས་[གཉན་]གྱི་དབང་དུ་སོང་ ། དེ་སྐབས་སུ་ཐུག་ཟླས་ཟླ་མེད་བྱུང་ ། དེ་རྗེས
རྒྱལ་པོ་ཐུག་རྗེས་སུ་རྙོག་ཏུ་སྐུ་མཁར་གསར་བསྐྲུན་ མཛད ། སྤྲེའི་ དཀར་ཟླ་ཚ་ བསྟུད་ནས་མཁར་དང་ཁ་ཏུན་བན་སོགས ། རྒྱལ་མོ
[རྡོལ]་རྒྱལ་སྲས་ལ་འདུན་མ་ཞུ་ཀྲུར་པོ་ཉ་བོད་ལ་བཟུངས་ཏེ། སྟེ་པ་ལྷ་[རྒྱ་རི་]ལ་ཞུས ། དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་བཞུགས་ཡུལ་ཕྱིར ། སྤྲེའི་སྤྱན
5 རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གི་ལྷག་པར་སྐུ་མཁར་སོ་མ་བཞེངས ། ཕྱིས་སུ་ལྷ་རྒྱ་རིའི་སྲས་མོ་དེ་ཀྲེན་ དབང་ ཞིག་གིས་ཞུ་རྒྱ་མ
བྱུང ། རྒྱལ་པོ་རང་གི་ཐུགས་རྣམ་ཀྱི་ཉེར་ཏུ ། ཐུག་རྡོར་ཀྱི་སྐུ་བརྟན ། རྒྱལ་པོ་རང་གི་སྐུ་དང་མཉམ་ལ ། དངུལ་གྱི་མཆོད་ཡོན་ཚོད
གསེར་ཟངས་ལ་བཞེངས ། དངུལ་གྱི་སྐུ་གདུང་ཟ་ར་ཚག་གསེར་ལ་ཟུམ་པ ། རིན་ཆེན་ཏུ་མའི་ཞབས་བརྒྱན ། གོག་ཚད་གཅིག་བཞེངས ‖
ཕྱུགས་སྐྱག(ཙ་སྐྱག)་ལོར་སྤྲེའི་ཐེག་ཆེན་གོང་མར་བུ་ཙ་པ་ཏྲ་འོད་འབར་གྱི་སྐུ་བརྟན་དངུལ་རྡོ་ཚད་བཅུ་གསུམ་ལ་བཞེངས ། ཞེལ་དུ
རྒྱལ་བ་ཚེ་དཔག་མེད་ཀྱི་སྐུ་རྡོ་ཚད་བདུན་གྱིས་བཞེངས ། རྙོག་མཁར་ དུ་རྡོ་ཚད་དཀྲུ་རྗེ་བརྩོན་འགྲོལ་[དཀར]་གྱི་སྐུ་བརྟན་བཞེངས ‖
10 དེ་ནས་[ཙ་བླང་སོར]་ཡང་(ཡོད་?)འཛིན་ལྷ་པ་ཡེ་ཤེས་གྲུབ་པ ། རྒྱལ་སྲས་འདི་ཏེ་མིའི་སྐུ་ཞབས་འབྲེལ་བ་རྡོ་རྗེའི་སྐུའི་སྐྱེ་བ་ཡིན་པའི
ཏོ་འཛིན་མཛད་པར་ཏེན། བཞུགས་ས་ཏེ་མི་ཐེག་མཆོག་གཉིས་སུ་མཛད། སྐུ་དབང་བཙན་པོ་ཡབ་ཡུམ་ཀྱི་བཀའ་ལ་ཡང་ཅི་དཀའ་བ་བྱུང་ །
རྒྱལ་མོ་དེ་ཟླ་རིག་ལྷུན་ར་ལ་ཐུགས་ལ་སྐྱོད་པ་ལ ། གཞི་ གཅིག་ ཏུ་ མི་བཞུགས ། གར་འཕེལ་མཉམ་དུ་རྒྱལ་སྲས་ཀུང་ཟེབས་ཞུ་སྐྱེ
ཕྱེརས ། རྒྱལ་སྲས་ལ་ཐུགས་གཡེངས་ཕྱིར་ཉིད་མཚན་གར་དང་གླུའི་དུས་གདའ་བ་ཞུས ། རྒྱལ་པོའི་བཀའ་ལ་མི་སྟེ་བར ། རྒྱལ་མོ་རང
ཐུག་མཛོད་བསོད་ནམས་དབང་ཐུག་གི་མང་ཞུས་ལ་གསན ། རྒྱལ་སྲས་མཆོག་[སྡུལ་]ཀྱང་དེ་ཕྱོགས་སུ་ཐུགས་གཡོ ‖ དེ་ནས་སྡོན་དུའང
15 རྒྱལ་བློན་ཚང་མས་གཏུང་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཕྱིར་དུ་བཙུན་མོ་ཁབ་ཏུ་ཞེས་དགོས་གསོལ་ཀྱང་ ། མ་བཞེས་པར་ཏེ་མིར་བཞུགས་རྒྱུ་ཡིན ། དེ་ནས
གཉན་སྲས་མ་བྱུང་སྐབས ། རིག་པ་འཛིན་པས་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཆོས་སྲིད་གཉིས་སུ་མཛད་དགོས ། རྒྱལ་བློན་ཀུན་ཀུན་དགོན་ཁག་བན
ཚུན་གྱི་ཐུག་མཛོད་སྐྱབ་དབང་(ལ་?)[ཨ]་ཙ་ར་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཞུ་དོར་ཏེན ། བཀའ་བློན་ཚེ་དབང་དོན་གྲུབ་ཀྱི་སྲས་མོ་ཆུང་བ་བསྐལ་བཟང
སྒྲོལ་མ་ཁབ་ཏུ་བཞེས ། ལོ་ངོ་གཅིག་ མ་ལོན་པར ། བཙུན་མོ་མངལ་དང་ལྡན་པར་གྱུར་ཏོ ། དེ་རྗེས་པ་སྐྱུན་མཁར་ནས་བཙུན་མོ
བསོད་ནམས་དཔལ་སྐྱིད་དང ། ནོ་ར་ཁ་ཏུན་བཅས་ལོ་གཅིག་ནང་བཙུན་མོ་གསུམ་ཁབ་ཏུ་བཞེས ། དེ་རྗེས་(ཙ་ཏུ)་མིང་ཏུ་ལོ་ལ་སེང
20 དམག་ཐོན ། (S MS.) སྲས་མཆོག་གི་སྤྲུལ་སྐུ་དེའི་དུས ། སེང་དམག་རང་གི་བློན་པོ་དང་གཅིག་བཅས ། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་རྣམས་སྐྱོང ‖

IX

(*Cc* MS.) ཛམ་བུ་མ་ཏྲུ་ཊ་ཛ་བུ་ལྷབ་སིཏྣ་གི་དམག་མིས་ལ་ཏྭགས་དང་བོད་ལ་དམག་བཏང་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ནི །

དེ་རྗེས་སར་ཀར་མ་ཧ་ར་ཛ་གུ་ལབ་སིང་གི་ཝ་ཛིར་ཛོ་ར་ཝར (*Ca* MS. གུ་ལོ་རི་པ་ཛོ་ར་ཝར་) ། དམག་འགོ་ནི་ཇབ་སིང
དང་ ། མི་ཡན་སིང ། མི་ཡ་ནོ་ཏ ། བ་སྟི་རམ ། ཨབ་དར་ཝི་ཟར ། མིར་ཟ་ར་ཤུལ་བེག ། དམག་མི་གཡོར་ཆེ་བ་བཅས་མན་ལྔ་བའི་ཚོ
ཏྟེལ ། དེ་དུས་ས་ཟུར་བརྒྱ་མིས་དབང་ཕྱུག་པ་ཟུ་གཉིས་སུ་ཚ་དཀར་རྩེ་མཁར་དཔོན་ཡོད་པ ། ཁོང་གིས་ཚོར་ནས ། སྤྲེལ་ཏུ་རྒྱལ་པོ
ལ་གནས་ཚུལ་ཞུལ ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ནས་རྙོག་པ་བཀའ་བློན་རྡོ་རྗེ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དམག་འགོ་བྱས ། དམག་མང་སྐྲག་ནས་བཏང ། ས་ཟུར་བརྒྱ་མིས
25 དབང་ཕྱུག་པ་ཟུ་གཉིས་ནས་སུ་ཚ་དཀར་རྩེའི་དམག་མི་ཉི་བརྒྱ་ཙམ་བསྐུས ། དེ་ནས་ལྷ་ཟིར་ཀྱང་སྐྱེལ ། ཉི་མ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བར་འཁྲབ

མོ་བཏང་ནས། རྟེན་མ་ཐུབ། ཁོ་རང་བ་ཟླ་གཉིས་འཐབ་མོ་ནང་ཤི། ཏོག་པ་བཀའ་བློན་དམག་དང་བཅས་ལང་གར་རྩེར(ལང་མཁར་
རྩེར)་སྐྱེལ། འཐབ་རེས་ཆེ་བ་གསུམ་བཞི་བར་བཏངས། ཐན་ཚུན་རྒྱལ་ཕམ་མེད་པར་འདྲ་འདྲ་དང་སོང་། ཉི་མ་གཅིག་གཉིས་བར་
ཁ་བ་ཡང་མང་ཨུང་རི་བབས། ལྷ་ཟེར་ནས། ཀས་ཏུ་ལྷར་པ་ཚོང་པ་ལ་སྤུ་མན་ཟླ་རྡོ་རྗེ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ཅེར། སེད་ཀར་ན་ཟར་སྐྱོང་
གཅིག་གཏང་ན། སྲིད་ལོག་འགྲོ་ངེས་ཟེར་ནས་བཏངས། དེ་ནས་ཏོག་པ་བཀའ་བློན་གྱིས་སློལ་ཏུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ཞུ་རྒྱ་དང་། དངུལ་༡༠༠༠་
ན་ཟེར་ཐུགས་རྗེ་གཟིགས་ན། ཁོ་བོ་སྲིད་ལོག་འགྲོ་བའི། དངུལ་ཐུགས་རྗེ་གཟིགས་དགོས། དེ་ནས་ཐུགས་རྗེ་མ་གཟིགས་ན། འདིར་
དམག་མི་ཧོའི་ཕྱོག་ནས་ཛཽ་ཟྭ་རེ་བསྡུ་ངེས་ཞུས་ནས། ཐུལ་ཀྱང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ཚེ་བརྟན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དང་དོན་གྲུབ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལ་བབ་
ཀྱང་། རྒྱལ་མོའི་ཟེ་ཟེ་མ་གནན། ཏོག་པ་བཀའ་བློན་ཁོ་རང་མགོ་མ་ཚོད་པ་ཡིན། དངོས་གྲུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་དང་། ལྷུན་ར་བཀའ་བློན་
གཉིས་སོང་ནས། ལྷ་ཟེར་མགོ་འཁོང་དགོས་ཟེར་ནས། རྒྱབ་དབྱུང་ཉིན་མཚན་བཅས་བཏང་། དེ་ནས་ཁོང་གཉིས་ཀྱང་། ཡང་མཁར་
རྩེར་སྐྱེལ་བའི། ཉི་མ་རྗེས་མ་ལ་ཉིན་ཤར་ནས། ཉི་མ་ཕྱེད་ཡོལ་བར་འཐབ་རེས་ཆེ་བ་བཏངས། བར་དངོས་སི་པ་མང་བ་འཆི།
དེ་ནས་ཉིན་གཅིག་འཐབ་རེས་མེད་པ་འདུག། དེའི་རྗེས་མ་ཉི་མ་སྔ་སྔ་ནས་འཐབ། ཉི་མ་ཕྱེད་ཐལ་ཙམ་ལ། ཏོག་པ་བཀའ་བློན་རྡོ་རྗེ་
རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་དབུང་གཡས་སུ་མེ་མདའ་ཕོག། དེ་དང་མི་ཡ་ནེ་རྟབ་སིང་གྲི་འཁྱར་པ་དམག་ཇར་ཉེར་ལྔ་ཙམ་གྱིས་བཀའ་བློན་བསྐོར་
ཀྱང་། ལག་གཡོན་ཏུ་གྲི་འཁྱར་ཏེ། ས་བོང་ཞིག་གི་ཁར་འདུག་ནས། ཉི་ཚར་གཅིག་ཀྱང་ཡོང་མ་བཏུག། རྡོ་རྗེ་ལ་གཅིག་གིས་མེ་
མདའ་སྣུན་པས། བཀའ་བློན་འཆི། དེ་ནས་དངོས་གྲུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ཀྱང་དམག་དང་བཅས་རི་ཁྲོད་ཅིག་ཏུ་རར་(སྦྲར་)ནས། འཐབ།
སི་པ་ལྔ་བཅུ་ཙམ་འཆི། ཉི་མ་མ་སྐྱོད་ཙམ་ལ། དངོས་གྲུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ལག་གཡས་ཚོགས་སུ་མེ་མདའ་ཕོག། ལྷུན་ར་བློན་པོ་དང་
འབྲུད་མེད་དམག་བཅས་ཏེ་འཁོར་ཀྱིས་སོང་། དངོས་གྲུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ཞབས་ཏེ་ཙ་ཕུད(ཙ་ཐུད)་ཚོང་ཚོང་སྐྱུར་ལྷ་གསུམ་ཕུས།
གཉན་ཡང་ཐབས་མེད་པར། དངོས་གྲུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་གྱི་ཨབ་ནག(སྣམ་སྦྲག)་ན་དངུལ་བརྒྱ་འབུམ་ཅིག་ཡོད་པ། ཙ་ཕུད་ཙོད་བཏང་
ནས། ལྷ་ཟེར་ཙོད་མགོ་སྐྲུ་བར་བཏང་། ལྷ་ཟེར་ནས་ཀྱང་ཡ་ཀ་ཅན། མིག་སྦུང་ལྟར་སོད་བ་མཛད། ལྷུམ་ར་བློན་པོ་དམག་མང་
བཅས་ཚུ་བར་ཁ་ཕྱོན་ནས། ལ་ལུང་བསིལ་མོ་རྒྱུད་ཕྱིར། ཏོ་ཏོ་འབྲུད་མེད་ཀྱང་རྗེས་སུ་ལྷ་ཟེར་སར(ཙར)་སྐྱེལ། སྦལ་བྲེ་ལྷ་ཟེར་
ཏ་མགྲིན་ཟླ་རིག་སྐྱོད་པ་མི་༤༠༠་སྐོར་འཁྱིད་ནས། སྲིན་པོ་སྣ་འབྲུགས(སྣ་ཁྲང)་ན་ཡོད་པ། ལྷ་ཟེར་ཀྱང་ཏུན་མེད་ཏུ་ཤར་རི་ལམ་
བྲུད་འོང་བས། ལམ་ཕྱོག་ཏུ་ལྷ་ཟེར་ཏ་མགྲིན་དམག་དང་བཅས་འཐབ། སི་པ་ལྔ་བཅུ་དྲུག་བཅུ་བར་བསད། ལྷ་ཟེར་གྱི་ཐལ་ཀྱི་ལ་མེ་
མདའ་གཉིས་ཙམ་ཕོག། མི་རང་ལ་ཕྱིན་མ་སོང་། ཐུག་མཛོད་དེ་ཡང་ཤི། དེའི་ཉིན་ལྷ་ཟེར་ཐབ་ཆག་འཆི་ཐེད་ཟ་ཐུབ། ལྷ་ཟེར་དམག་
མང་མཐོང་བས། ལྷ་ཟེར་ཏ་མགྲིན་མཆོད་ལ་ཕྱིར། དེ་ནས་ལྷ་ཟེར་ལ་དམག་བཏང་མི་མེད་པ། དཀར་སྐྱིལ་རྒྱུད་པས་ཀྱུམ་ཏུ་སྐྱེལ།
པས་ཀྱུམ་མཁར་བཅག། རྫོ་བབས། རྒྱུ་ནོར་ཡོད་ཚད་སི་པ་བརྒྱ་དང་ཀས་ཏུ་ལྷར་ལ་བཀལ། བང་ཁ་ཡིས་གཙོ་བྱས། གཟུམ་མ་དམག་
མི་སུམ་བརྒྱ་བཅས་སོད་ལ་ནས་ཕྱིན། སི་པ་བརྒྱ་ནི་ལ་བཟུས་ནས། ཟླ་ཏུ་ར་མགོན། སི་པ་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མ་ལུས་པ་བསད། ཤོར་ཡོད་
ཚད་འཁྱིག་ནས། སྐར་རྫོར་ཕྱིར། དེ་ནས་ལྷ་ཟེར་རིམ་པས་བ་སྒོ་སྐྱེལ། སློལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡང་ཞེབས་ནས། ཐན་ཚུན་མཇལ་ཟྭར་བྱས།
ཐམས་ཅད་སློལ་རྒྱལ་སར་ཞེབས། ཉི་མ་བདུན་འདུགས། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་རྒྱལ་པོ་རང་འཛགས་སུ་ཐུལ། མཁར་དཔོན་སི་པ་སོགས་གཅིག་
ཀྱང་མ་བཞག། ལོ་དེ་ལ་སེར་ཀར་ལ་འབབ་ཀྱིར་མོ་སྐྱོང་ཟླ་ཟླ་ཆག་མེད་ཐུལ་རྒྱུ་བྱས། སྲིད་ལོག་སོང་།།

རྗེས་སུ་བང་ཁ་པ་དང་བསོད་ནམས་དབང་ཕྱུག་གྲངས་མགོན་ཕྱིན་ནས། ལྷ་ཟེར་རྗེས་ལ་དམག་གཏང་རྒྱུའི་གྲངས་ངན་བྱས་པར།
རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་མི་དགའ་བ་དམ་ཟླ་སི་པ་དང་། ཁ་ཟས་ཀྱིས་ལྷ་ཟེར་ལ་ནག་ཡིག་བཏང་ནས། ཡི་གེ་རང་འདུམ་ལྷ་ཟེར་ལག་སྐྱེལ་བ་དང་།
ལྷ་ཟེར་ཟངས་དཀར་ཕྱིན་ནས། སློལ་སྐྱེལ། རྒྱལ་པོ་མཁར་ནས་ཐབ། ཏོག་ཏུ་སོགས་གྲོ་མར་རྫ་མེད་ལ་སོགས་པ་བྱས། ཇ་ཞིང་གྱིར་

མོ་༡༡༤༩་དང་ཨ་ན་༡༡་༢/༧་བཏང་ནས་བརྒྱུགས་བཙུག། སྟས་ཚོ་དབང་རབ་བརྟན་ལྷུན་ར་རྒྱུད་ནས། ཟང་ཙོ་སྲི་ཧིར་སོར་ནས་སྐྱོད།
(Ca MS.) ཟླ་བ་གཅིག་གཉིས་དེར་བཞུགས་ནས། མཆོག་སྤྲུལ་གྲོངས་ (Cc MS.) རྒྱལ་ཚབས་སུ་ར་ཛ་དངོས་གྲུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་བསྐོས།
ཀ་ར(དཀར་བ)་ཙ་ཀི་ལ་བརྒྱབ། མག་ན་ཕ་ན་ནྡར་ལ་བཏག། སོ་ནེ་ནང་སེར་ཀར་ལ་འབབ་ཀྱིར་མོ་༩༠༠༠་རེ་ཐལ་རྒྱུ་ཅམ།
ལྷ་ཟེར་ཞིང་སྤྱུན(ཞིང་ཅན)་རྒྱུད་འོག་ནས་སོང་། (C MS.) ཐ་ལ་ཐེབས། ཟི་ཟི་རྒྱལ་མོ་ལ་དེ་ལ་སྨས་མིག་ཁྲུངས། མཚན་ཙུ་
5 (Cc MS.) འཇིག་མེད་ཆོས་ཀྱི་སེང་གེ་མི་འགྱུར་ཀུན་དགའ་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བ་ཞུས། (C MS.) ཡང་ཟི་ཟི་གཅིག་ལ་ (Cc MS.) མང་
སྤྲུའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་བསྟན་སྲུང་གཡུལ་རྒྱལ་འཁྲུངས། ཁོང་ལའང་གྲོ་མར་ཟྭ་མེད་སོགས་བཅས་ཛ་གིར་ཀྱིར་མོ་༤༠༧་དང་ཨ་ན་༡༢་༡/༧
གི་བཏངས། དེ་ནས་ར་ཛ་དངོས་གྲུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ལོ་ངོ་ལྔ་རྒྱལ་པོ་བྱས།།

ལོ་རྒྱག་ངོར་ལྷ་ཟེར་དང་ཕྱིར་འོག་ཟངས་དཀར་ཏུ་སྐྱེལ། སྤྱིལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་གདན་བསྒྲུ་བ་ལ་ཐེབས། པི་པི་ཏིང་ཙུ་ལྷ་ཟེར་དང་
མཇལ། ལྷ་ཟེར་ཐུགས་མིན་ཏུ་མཉེས། ར་ཛ་དངོས་གྲུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་དང་བ་མགོ་བཀའ་བློན་གཉིས་ཞག་གཅིག་ཏིང་ཙུ་ཐེབས། ཟངས་
10 དཀར་ཟི་ཟི་སྐྱིད(པི་པི་ཏིང)་ཙུ་མཇལ། ན་ཟར་ན་ཞེན། ཐུགས་སྲོ་ཕྱུར་མཛད་ནས། ཐམས་ཅད་སྤྲིལ་ཙུ་ཐེབས་པ་དང་། ར་ཛ་དངོས་
གྲུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ལ། སོ་ཏོ་ལྷ་ཡི་འབབ་མ་ཚང་ཟེར་ནས། སྐྱར་བཏག་ནས་ཀྱིར་མོ་༤༠༠༠༠། བ་མགོ་བཀའ་བློན་ཀྱིར་མོ་༢༠༠༠༠།
རྒྱ་པ་ཛོ་ཀྱིར་མོ་༡༤༠༠༠། གཞན་ཡང་ལས་བྱེད་ཚང་མ་ལ་ཆད་པ་མང་པོ་བཅད། རྒྱལ་པོ་རང་རྒྱལ་པོར་བསྐོས། ལྷ་ཟེར་གྱི་དམག་
ཅམ་ཡོད་དང་། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་བློན་རྣམས་དང་བཅས་སྤྲུལ་ཏེ་ཡུལ་ཙུ་དམག་ལ་སྐྱོད། མཁར་མང་ཛོ་ལམ་རྒྱུས་ཅམ། སྐར་ཛོ་མཁར་
བཅག། ཛོ་ཨག་མར་ཁན་བབས། སྤྲུལ་ཏེ་ཡུལ་ཚང་མ་མངའ་འོངས་བསྡུས་ནས། ཕྱིར་འོག་སྤྲིལ་ཐེབས། ཟྭ་ཟྭ་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྤྲུལ་ཏེ་ཡུལ་ཙུ་
15 བཙོད་པ་བསྐྱལས་ནས་གྲོངས། ཐུག་མཛོད་མགོན་པོས་སྐྱུར་ཏོག་ཏུ་གདན་ཞུས། དགོངས་རྫོགས་རྣམས་གྲུབ། དེ་རྗེས་འཇིག་མེད་ཆོས་ཀྱི་
སེང་གེ་མི་འགྱུར་ཀུན་དགའ་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བ་རྒྱལ་པོར་བསྐོས། ཁྲི་མངའ་གསོལ། ལྷ་ཟེར་དང་བཞེད་ནས། དབུ་ལུས། ཀིམ་ཁབ་ཚོ་
ག་༡། ཞེ་ཙད་གཉིས་སྤྲིལ་༡། ཤལ་མལ་ཕྱག་༡། གསེར་གྱི་ཟུག་གཙུབ་སྦུང་༡་བཅས་ཕུལ་ནས།

ཉིད་དང་ཡབ་ཀྱིས་ཉིད་དང་སྐྱུར་ནས་སོར།
ཉིད་དང་ད་ཡི་ཙུས་སུ་ཚོད།
20 ང་ནས་ཀུང་ཉིད་དང་རྒྱལ་ཉིད་དང་མངའ་གསོལ།

སྤྲི་སེར་ཀར་ལ་ལོ་ནེ་ལ་འབབ་ཀྱིར་མོ་༡༨༠༠༠། དེ་ནིན། ལ་དྭགས་མངའ་འོངས་ཀྱི་ཡོང་འགོ་ཐེ་ཡོང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ལ་
ཡིན་གསུང་།།

དེ་ནས་ཆེད་མ་བྱུངས། ཡར་ཁེན་དང་ཅང་ཐང་གཉིས་ལ་དམག་གཏང་བའི་གྲབས་དང་། ཡར་ཁེན་ཐག་རིང་། མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་
གསུམ་ལ་དམག་གཏང་བ་ལ་འཆམ་ནས། ལྷ་ཟེར་དམག་དཔོན་དམག་མི་ཅམ་ཡོད། ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཌོ་ཌོ་བསོད་ནམས། བ་སྒྲིའི་བཀའ་
25 བློན། གོ་ལམ་ཁན། ཐུག་མཛོད་མགོན་པོ། བློན་པོ་ས་བི། གཞན་ཡང་ཆེ་གྲས(གྲགས?)་རྣམས་དང་། དམག་མི་བཅས་མངའ་རིས་སུ་
དམག་ལ་ཐེབས། (Ca MS.) ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་རྟ་ཀུམ་ཐམས་ཅད་མི་ལྷ་མག་ན་ཕ་ན་དར་ལ་ཁག་བཀལ་ (Cc MS.) ཏེ་མི་
དགོན་པ་ནས་རྒྱགས་འབྲུ་ཁལ་༡༢༠༠༠། ཁལ་མ་༢༠༠། རྟ་༧༠་བཅས་ཐུལ། སྔོན་ཅང་ལ་རྒྱུད། ཙ་སྦོག་བཅག་ནས། ཨ་ཕྱི་བློན་
པོ་མཁར་དཔོན་ལ་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན། དེ་ནས་མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ་ནང་དང་དམག་༤༠༠་མ་གཏོགས། བོད་ནས་དམག་དཔུང་སྤྱེལ་མ་
ཐུབ་ཡོད་མེས། ལྷ་ཟེར་དམག་གཡོར་ཆེ་བ་སོང་ནས། མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ་དམག་འཐབ་བཏང་ནས། མངའ་ཞབས་སུ་འདུས་སོ།
30 སྐར་ཙུ་ཀི་ལ་བཙིགས། ཟུ་དང་ཙ་སྦོག་སོགས་ལ་སི་པ་དམག་མི་དང་། མཁར་དཔོན་བཞག་ནས། ལྷ་ཟེར་དམག་དང་བཅས་ཕྱིར་

ཡོག་སྐྱར་དུ་སྐྱེལ། ལྷ་ཆེན་ཟླ་རང་ནས་ཕྱིར་ལོག་འོང་ནས། ཉི་མ་བཞིའི་རྗེད་ན། ཟླ་རང་བོད་པ་མདའ་དཔོན་རྟ་དམག་༣༠༠། རྐྱང་དམག་༡༠༠༠༠་བཅས་ཕྱིར་ནས། ཟླ་རང་སྟག་ལ་མཁར (*Ca* MS. ཏག་ལ་མཁར)་ནང་སི་པ་༥༠་ཙམ་ཡོད་པ། དེར་འཐབ་ནས། སི་པ་རྣམས་བསད། བོད་དམག་འདུགས། རྒྱབ་དབྱུང་དུ་ཟླ་རང་ནས་ཉི་མ་བརྒྱད་སོང་ནས། སྤོ་སྐྱོད་དུ་བཀའ་བློན་གཅིག། ཚ་དཔོན་གཅིག། དཔོན་ཁག་གསུམ། རྟ་དམག་༥༠༠། རྐྱང་དམག་༧༠༠༠། བཅས་ཡོད་སྐད། དེ་ལྟག་རྣམས་ཞོལ་དུ་མང་རང་བབ་འདུག། མེ་ཏ་བ་སྟི་རམ་དང་སི་པ་གསུམ་བརྒྱ་ཙོ་ཡོད་ཡོད་པ། བ་སྟི་རམ་གྱིས་ལྷ་ཆེན་ལ་ཉེན་མཚོན་བཅས་ར་པད་བཀལ། དེ་ནས་ལྷ་ཆེན་སྐྱར་དུ་སྐྱེལ་ནས། ཞག་གཉིས་གསུམ་སོང་ནས་ཡོད་པར། བ་སྟི་རམ་ཡི་གེ་གནས་ཚུལ་ཕྱིར། ལ་དྭགས་རད་ཐག(དང་འཐག)་བཀྲ་ཤིས་དོན་གྲུབ་མི་བཞི་བཅས་ཕྱིར། ལྷ་ཆེན་ཡང་དེའི་སང་ཉིན། རང་དམག་དང་ལ་དྭགས་པ་སྐུ་དྲག་དམག་མི་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མ་བཞག་པར། ཕྱིར་ལོག་སོང་ནས། ཟླ་རང་དུ་སྐྱེལ། ར་ཀི་ཚོ་ཕྱི་དབང་ནོ་ནོ་དོན་ལྡན་མཉམ་ལ་དྭགས་སུ་བཀལ། ནོ་ཡོ་ནས་ཚུང་ཟད་ཐུར་ལ་ཡོད་ནས། དམག་ཟང་སྐྱད་ནས་འདུག་གོ། དེ་ནས་འཐབ་རེས་ཕྲུ་རྒྱག་ཚབ་ཆེ་བ་དང་། བོད་དམག་མཁར་ནང་ཡོད་པ་ཤི་ཚད་ཆེད་མ་སོང་། ལྷ་ཆེན་ཕྱི་ལ་ཡོད་པས། སི་པ་མང་པ་ཤི། དེ་ནས་ཁ་བ་བབས། ལྷ་ཆེན་གྱི་སི་པ་ན་སོ་སོང་རིགས་གྲང་ངར་གྱིས་བཀུམ། ཚོང་ཆེ་རིགས་རྣམས་དང་། ལ་དྭགས་སྐུ་དྲག་དམག་རྣམས་ཀོ་མཚོན་ཡོག་ནས། ཉེན་མཚོན་མ་གཡེལ་བར། སྤོང་དབྱ (དོག་ར?)་ཤེད་ཆེ་བ་དང་བཅས་ཡོད་པར། ཉིན་ཅིག་ཟླ་རྡོ་ནམ་མཁའ་ཟང་ཟིང་དང་། སྟག་ལ་མཁར་ནས་བོད་དམག་ཕྱིར་ཐོན། རྟ་དམག་༣༠༠༠། རྐྱང་དམག་༥༠༠༠། ཙམ་དང་མདའ་དཔོན་གཅིག། ཡ་སོ་གཅིག། ཚ་དཔོན་གཉིས། དཔོན་གཉིས་དང་བཅས་ཡོང་ནས། ལྷ་ཆེན་གྱི་དམག་ར་བསྐོར། ཟླ་རྡོ་དེ་ནས་ཉི་མ་ཤར་ཐུག། བར་ཚུན་གཉིས་ཐབ་ནས། མེ་མདའ་[རྫས་པ་]ས་ཆད་པ་བཏང་། བར་ཤི་ཚུར་ཤི་གཅིག་པ་སོང་། དེ་ནས་རི་མགོ་རྣམས་ལ་ཉི་མ་ཤར་བ་དང་། བོད་པའི་དམག་འགོ་ཡོད་ཚད་དང་། རྟ་དམག་སྟོང་གསུམ། ཕྱི་ལྟས་དང་ཐེ་ཚོམ་མེད་པར། ཟུག་མཛོད་མིག་དམར་ཚོས་སྐད་དང་དུ་མཆོང་ནས། ཐུན་གཅིག་གཉིས་བར་འཐབ། ལྷ་ཆེན་སྤྱོད་པ (དགོད་པ)་བརྫོད་ཅིང་། ཡང་ན་དངོས་ཀྱི་མགོ་སྐྱེ་བོད་པས་ལེན། དེ་ནིན། དངོས་རང་ལེན་ཏེས་ཆེད་ནས། སྤྱི་རུ་ལྡན་སེང་གི་མཚོན་ནས་འཕོར་པས། རྟེན་འབྲེལ་མ་མཚུངས་པའོ། ལྷ་ཆེན་ཀྱང་རྟ་ཐོག་ན་བྲི་འཁྲུང་འཐབས། བོད་པ་བཞི་ལྔ་བར་བསད། དེ་བར་ཡ་སོ་ནས་ལྷ་ཆེན་ཡིན་པ་ཤེས་ནས། སྲོག་ལ་མ་བསྐྱ་བར། ལྷ་ཆེན་ཡོག་ཏུ་མདུང་གསང་ནས། གདོང་དུ་ཡོད་ནས། བྲང་དཀྱིལ་དུ་མདུང་བརྒྱབ། ལྷ་ཆེན་སྐད་གཅིག་ཀྱང་བཏོན་མ་ཐུབ་པ་ས་ལ་ལྷུང་། ལག་ནས་རལ་གྲི་ཤོར། སྲོད་ཡང་གྲི་དེ་ལེན་ཁྲངས་ཟུས་ཀྱང་། མ་ཐོགས། ཡ་སོས་མདུང་དེ་བཏག་ནས། ཤིར་ནས་གྲི་བཏོན་ནས། མགོ་བོ་བཅད་ནས་ཁྱེར། དེ་དང་སིང་དམག་རྣམས་མགོ་བཞིག། བོད་པའི་རྐྱང་དམག་རྣམས་ཀྱང་སྐར་ནང་ཚངས། དམག་འགོ་དང་ལ་དྭགས་སྐུ་དྲག་རྣམས་ཟིན་ཟུང(ཟང་ཟིང?)་ཟུམ། འབྲོས་ནས་ཐར་ཚད་ཐོས། དེ་ལྟག་རྣམས་བསད། དེའི་ཉིན་ཉི་མ་ཕྱེད་ཡོལ་ཙམ་ལ་འཐབ་ཐག་ཆོད། བོད་པ་(རྒྱུས་?)རྒྱལ་བྱུང་། དེའི་སང་ཉིན་མདའ་དཔོན་ཚ་དཔོན་གཉིས། རྟ་དམག་༣༠༠། བཅས་སིང་པ་ཤོར་བའི་རྗེས་འདེད་ཐུས། སྐྱར་དུ་སྐྱེལ། ཟང་ཐང་སོང་ཤེས། སིང་པ་གཅིག་ཀྱང་ལག་ཐོག་མ་བྱུང་། ཁོང་ཚོད་འཛིན་ནས། སྐྱར་དུ་བསྡད། དེ་མཚུངས་ཟང་གསེར་ཁྲང་གོང་འོག་གི་དམག་དོན་རྟ་དམག་༣༠༠་དམག་སྐྱར་ཟུས་གཅིག་ལ་སྐྱེལ། རྐྱང་དམག་སྟོང་༣(གསུམ)་ཙམ་རྗེས་ན་ཡོང་བ་ཡོད་དག། དེ་ནས་ཟུག་མཛོད་མགོན་པོ། ནོ་ནོ་བསོད་ནམས། བ་མགོ་བཀའ་བློན། གོ་ལམ་ཁན། ས་སྐྱོ་བློན་པོ། གཞན་ཡང་གྲགས་ས་ཁ་ཤས། སིང་པ་འགོ་པ་ཁ་ཤས་དང་། སིང་པ་ཟུམ་རིགས་རྣམས་བོད་ལ་བཀལ།།

ཟུག་མཛོད་མགོན་པོ་དང་བོད་པ་ཁ་ཐུན། ལ་དྭགས་སུ་མགོན་པོ་སབ་ཡིག་བྱང་། ལྷ་ཆེན་ཤི། བོད་པའི་དཔུང་དམག་ཀྱང་རྗེས་ན་ཡོང་རྒྱུ་ཤུས་ཡོད། དེ་ཀ་སྐྱིད་གཟམ་ཕྱོགས་མཐའ་དག་ནས་དམག་བྲལ་ཕྱེད་དགོས་ཆེད་ནས། དཔོན་པོ་ཆེ་དབང་རབ་བརྟན་སྤྱོད་དུ

བཏང་། མགོན་པོ་རང་བོད་པ་དམག་དབུང་ཡིན་ཟེར་བ་ཞིག་ནང་ན་ཚོད་ཞུས ། རྗིང་ན་སྐྱེལ ། ལྷ་བདག་ཚེ་རིང་སྟོབས་རྒྱས་ལྷ་ཟེར་
ལ་དམག་རྒྱུགས་བཀའ་རྒྱུ ། ལ་དྭགས་མཁར་སྤུང་དང་ ། ས་པ་རྣམས་ལ་དམག་རྒྱུགས ། རྩ་ཤིང་གཏོང་བར་སྒྲིལ་དུ་ཡོད ། ལྷ་ཟེར་ཤི་
བ་དང་ ། སྐྱིད་གཟིམ་ཚང་མ་ནས་རྩ་ཤིང་མ་སྐྱེལ་བ་དང་ ། ཀུ་ཤི་དན་དང་ ། ནག་ན་ཐ་ན་དྷར་གཉིས་ལ ། རྩ་ཤིང་སྐྱེལ་ངེས་མི་
འདུག་པའི ། ངོ་ལོག་འདྲ ། ཨེ་ཡོང་མི་ཤེས་པ་འདུག་ཞུས་པར ། ཁོང་གཉིས་ལ་ཡང་རྣམ་རྟོག་སོང་ནས ། དམག་དབུང་ཞུས་ནས །
5 སེར་ཀར་ལ་ཛར་ཟླ་ཟུལ ། དེ་ཟེར་པ་དང་མཐུན་པར ། ཐུག་མཛོད་མགོན་པོ་དང་གཟིམ་མ་ཁ་དྲག་རྣམས་གྲབས་བྱས ། དཔུན་ཟོག་
དམག་འཕྲལ་བསྒྲིགས ། དབྱིད་ཀ་སྐྱིད་གཟིམ་སྤྲལ་རྟེ་ཁ་ཟུལ་ལྷུམ་ར་དང་བཅས་དམག་འཁོར་ནས ། བོད་པ་མདའ་དཔོན་གཅིག ། རྟ་དམག་
༡༠༠ ། རྐང་དམག་༥༠༠ ། སྤྱི་འབྲེ་བཞག ། དེ་ནས་ལ་དྭགས་དམག་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཀི་ལ་དང་ཚོན་གཉིས་བསྐོར་ནས ། དམག་ར་
བསྐྱད ། ཉིན་༡༨་བར་ཞག་སྐར་འཐབ་རེས་མ་ཆད་པར་བཏང་ ། (Ca MS.) ཀི་ལ་ན་མག་ན་ཐ་ན་དྷར་དང་བཅས་སིང་པ་༥༠་
ཙམ་དང་ ། ཚོན་ན་ཀུ་ཤི་དན་དང་ ། པལ་ ཏན་སི་པ་༤༠༠་ཙམ་ཡོད་པས ། (Cc MS.) དེ་རྗེས་ཉིན་ཚོན་བསྐོར ། ཀུ་ཤི་དན་ཚོན་
10 ཆག་རབ་ཡོད་སར ། ཚོན་རྟ་སྒོ་འཁོར་སྤྲལ་རྟེ་དམག་རྣམས་ཡོད ། ཀི་ལ་ནས་ཤི་ཡ་ར་ཇུ་དང་སི་པ་སུམ་ཅུ་བཅས་ཞི་འཕྱར་ནས །
ཤི་སྟོག་མ་ལྷ་བར་བཏོན་ནས ། དང་པོ་སྤྲལ་རྟེ་ཐོག་ཏུ་མཆོད་ནས ། སྤྲལ་རྟེ་ཁ་ཤས་བསད་པས ། སྤྲལ་རྟེ་བློས ། དེ་ནས་ཚོན་ནས་པལ་
ཏན་བྱེད་ཁ་ཕྱིན་ནས ། འཐབ་པ་ཐབས་ཆག་བྱུང་ནས ། ལ་དྭགས་དམག་མི་རྣམས་དམག་ཐང་དུ་ལོག ། དེའི་ཉིན་ཐང་ ། ཉི་མ་རྒྱག་
གི་བར ། བན་ཚུན་ཉིན་མཚན་མེད་པར་འཐབ ། དེ་སྐབས་དེ་ལྷན་ཧ་རི་ཙནྡྲ་དང་ ། ལྷ་ཟེར་ཏུ་ཇུ་གཉིས་དམག་དབུང་གཡོར་ཆེ་བ་
(Ca MS.) ཧྲོབ་ལ་སོགས་ (Cc MS.) ཁ་ལ་ཅེར་སྐྱེལ་ཚོད་བའི་ཡི་གེ་ཕྱིར་བ་དང་ ། ཀི་ལ་དམག་ཐང་གི་དམག་རྣམས་དེའི་མཚན་ལ་
15 མཁར་དུ་འདུས ། དེའི་སང་ཉིན་རྒྱལ་བློན ། བོད་པ་ལྷགས་ཚེ་རིང་སྟོབས་རྒྱས་ཞིག་ཅེར་ཟམ་པ་ཐེན་ནས་བཞག ། ཞག་ཁ་ཤས་འདུག །
དེ་ལྷན་ས་ཧེབ་སྒྲིལ་ཞེབས་ནས ། སྲོར་མི་རྣམས་རྗེས་དེད ། དམག་ཐང་རྒྱ་ཐལ་ཉི་མ་གཉིས་མཛད་ནས ། རྗེས་དེད་ཀྱིས་ཞེབས །
དང་པོ་ཕྱེ་འབྲེ་དགོན་པ་ནས་བོད་དམག་༥༠༠་ཡོད་པ་འཐབ་ནས ། བསད་ཚོད་བསད ། དེ་ལྷག་རྣམས་འཛིན་བྱུང་གིས་སྒྲིལ་བཀལ །
དེ་རྗེས་ཟངས་ལ་རྒྱུད ། དེ་ལྷན་ས་ཧེབ ། ལྷ་ཟེར་ས་ཧེབ་དམག་མི་རྣམས་འཛོར་ཁྲག་ཏུ་ཞེབས ། བོད་དམག་དང་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་བློན་
རྣམས་ཀུན་ཞིག་ཅེ་ནས་སྲོར ། སྤུང་གཡོག་མར་སྐྱེལ ། དེ་དང་མཉམ་བོད་པའི་མ་དར་(ཡ་རོ་) ། བཀའ་བློན་ཛར་ཁང་དང་ ། ར་ག་ཤ་
20 གཉིས་མཉམ་དམག་མི་སྟོང་ཕྲག་ལྔ ། སྤུང་གཡོག་མར་སྐྱེལ་ནས ། དམག་སྐར་བསྐྱད་ནས་འདུག ། དེ་རྗེས་བོད་པའི་དམག་མི་༢༠༠༠་ཙམ་
འཐབ་པར་བཏང་ ། འཛོར་ཁྲག་ཐང་དུ་དེ་ལྷན་གྱི་དམག་མི་དང་ཉིན་གཅིག་འཐབ་ནས ། ཁ་ཡ་མ་ཡོང་བར ། ཕྱིར་ལོག་སྐར་དུ་སྐྱེལ །
དེའི་ཉི་མ་རྗེས་མར ། ལྷ་ཟེར་དང་དེ་ལྷན་ས་ཧེབ་ཀྱི་དམག་རྣམས་སྤུང་གཡོག་མར་སྐྱེལ ། གྲོག་པོའི་ཟན་ཚུན་གཉིས་སུ་རི་དོག་རེ་
ཡོད་པར ། དེ་གཉིས་སུ་དམག་ཐང་བསྐྱད་ནས ། ཉི་མ་༡༠་༡༡་ཟན་ཚུན་འཐབ་པ ། རྒྱལ་སམ་གཅིག་པ་ཞིག་སོང་ ། ཉིན་ཅིག་སི་པ་
ཚོ་ནས ། དམག་ཐང་བཅག་རྒྱ ། འཐབ་རེས་ཚོད་པའི ། ཐང་སོར་གྱིས་སི་པ་ལ་གནོད་པ་ཆེ་དང་ ། དམག་འགོ་ཀུ་ཤི་དན་མ་ཙ་སིང་
25 ཡང་གྲོངས ། ཞབ་ཚོད་ཀྱི་མ་ཆེན་མེ་བང་ ། སི་པ་སིང་ར་མེ་སོར་ནས ། གནོད་པ་བྱུང་ ། ཕྱིར་ལོག་དམག་ཐང་སྐྱེལ ། དེའི་རྗེང་ཐང་
པ་བསོད་ནམས་འབྱོར་ལྡན་གྱིས་དམག་སྐར་ལ་ཆུ་སྐྱད་རྒྱུའི་ཇུས་བྱས ། ལྷ་ཟེར་དེ་ལྷན་གཉིས་ལ་ཞུས་ནས་གྲོག་པོ་རྒྱགས ། དོག་ས་
ཡོད་པ་བཀག ། ཆུ་བྱེད་དུ་བློག ། མཚན་ཉིན་གསུམ་སོང་བ་དང་ ། བོད་པའི་དམག་སྐར་ཐང་ལ་ཡོད་པ་ཆུ་ཡིས་གང་ ། རྫས་སྣ་ཡོད་
པ་སོགས་ཆུ་ཡིས་སྤྲངས ། གཉན་ཅ་ཐབས་མ་བྱུང་བར ། བོད་པས་མགོ་དགུས ། ལྷ་ཟེར་དེ་ལྷན་གཉིས་ནས ། བོད་པ་མདའ་དཔོན་པེ་
ཤི་ཤ་ཀྲ ། ར་ག་ཤ ། ཛར་ཁང་གསུམ་དཔོན་གཡོག་ཉི་བཅུ་དང་བཅས་སྒྲིལ་དུ་འཁྲིད་ནས་ཕྱིངས ། དམག་མང་རྣམས་ཕྱིར་ལོག་བཏང་
30 ནས ། ཕྱིར་ཁོར་ཞེབས ། ར་ག་ཤ་ལྷན་ཁྱེད་དུ་སྐྱེལ་བ་དང་ ། གསེར་གཙུབ་ཀྱི་ཁ་ལ་ཟ་ལམ་ཡོད་པ་ཟོས་ནས་ཤི ། མདའ་དཔོན་དང་

བྱར་ཁང་གཉིས་སྤྲེལ་དུ་ཚོངས་ནས། ཕན་ཚུན་ཆད་དོན་བྱས། ལ་དྭགས་མངའ་ཞབས་སྐྱོན་རྒྱལ་དུས་སུ་ཟི་ཡོད་ཀྱི་ས་མཚམས་ནས་
བྱང་། སེང་ཀར་ཆེན་མོའི་འོག་དང་། བོད་པའི་ས་མཚམས་གང་ཡོད་བོད་པའི་འོག་དང་། བོད་ནས་གཞུང་ཚོང་པ་དང་། ལ་དྭགས་
ནས་ལོ་ཕྱག་སོགས། སྤྱོད་ཁྲིམས་ཡོད་སྲོལ་དང་། ལ་དྭགས་ཚོང་པ་སྣར་ཏུ་ཕྱོག་སོགས་གང་འཐད་དུ་འགྲོ་རྒྱུ་དང་། བོད་པ་བྱང་པའི་
ཚོང་པ་ལ་དྭགས་ལ་ཡོང་རྒྱུ་སོགས། སྐྱོན་རྒྱལ་དུས་སུ་ཟི་ཡོད་ཆ་བཞག་ནས། ཆད་དོན་བྲིས། མདའ་དཔོན་ལ་དགོངས་པ་བཀྲང།
བྱར་ཁང་ངམ་བྱར་འཚེར་ནས། སེང་ཀར་མ་ཧཱ་རཱ་ཛ་གུ་ལབ་སིང་མཆོག་ཏུ་གསེར་མཛལ་ཕུལ། ཀིམ་ཁབ་ཀྱི་ཅོ་སྦྱ། གསེར་གྱི་ 5
གཏུབ་བུ། སྐྱེ་ཚ་སོགས་མང་པོ་གོ་ལུས་སྟུགས་རྫེ་སྦྱང་ནས། ཕྱིར་ལོག་སོང་། (*Ca* MS.) དེ་ནས་བོད་པ་དང་སིང་པ་གཉིས་འདི་
ནས་ཕྱིན་ཏུ་བཟང་ཐལ་སོང་ནས། འཐབ་མོ་མེད་པར་སྣང་བཞིན་ལོ་ཕྱག་པ་དང་། གཞུང་ཚོང་པ་གཏོང་ཆད་བྱས་ནས། དེ་ལྟར་ཏུ་
རི་ཙུ་ཀྱིས་བོད་པ་བཀའ་བློན་རྣམས་དང་། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྒྱལ་མོ་སྐུ་འཁོར་ཚང་མ་ཕྱིར་ལོག་གཏོང་ཆད་བྱས་ནས། བོད་གདངས་
རི་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་མི་སྣ་ཞིག་ལ་དྭགས་བར་དུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ཞབས་ཕྱི་ལ་བཏང་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོས་དེ་ལྟར་ཏུ་རི་ཙུ་དང་། ལྷ་ཟེར་གཉིས་ཀྱི་
ལག་ཏུ་བཏང་ནས། སྤྲེལ་མཁར་དུ་ཞེབས། དེ་ནས་ལ་དྭགས་ལ་སྣར་ཁུངས་རྒྱལ་དུས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་ཞབ་གཅིག་ལ་ཡང་དབང་མེད་པར་བྱས་ 10
ནས། སློས་སུ་དེ་ལྟར་ཏུ་རི་ཙུ་དང་། ལྷ་ཟེར་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བཀའ་བློན་རིག་འཛིན་སྐྱོན་བྱ་རང་དུ་ཤི་མཁན་གྱི་ལྷ་ཟེར་ཟི་ར་ལྟར་
གྱི་ཞབས་ཏོག་པ་དང་སེར་ཀུར་ལ་ཡང་སྣ་ཕྱི་འགྱུར་མེད་ཞབས་ཏོག་པ་ཡིན་མོལ་ནས། ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་ཏུ་ཀུན་ཚང་མ་བཏང་ནས་བཀའ་
བློན་ལ་བསྐོས། དེ་ནས་དེ་ལྟར་ལྷ་ཟེར་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་ཞབ་སྤྲེལ་བློན་པོ་དངོས་གྲུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་དང་ཛ་རོ་མགོན་པོ་དང་།
བསྲུབ་དག་ཚེ་རིང་སྟོབས་རྒྱས་བཅས་ཁྲིད་ནས། ངམ་བྱ་ཙ་ཕྱིར་ལོག་བསྐྱོད། ལ་དྭགས་ལ་བཀའ་བློན་རིག་འཛིན་དང་། མག་ན་ཐ་
ན་ དར་དང་། ཀི་ལྷ་ཙ་སི་པ་བཅས་བཞག་གོ ། 15

X

(*C* MS.) ལ་དྭགས་ལ་མ་ཧཱ་རཱ་ཛ་གུ་ལབ་སིང་
གིས་མངའ་མཛད་པ་ནས་བྱིན་གྱི་
ལོ་རྒྱུས་བཞུགས་སོ །།

ཤྲཱི་མ་ཧཱ་རཱ་ཛ་གུ་ལཱབ་སིང་གི་སྐུ་ཕྱོག་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཛམ་བུ། ཀ་ཤིར། ལ་དྭགས། སྤྲུལ་ཏི་ཡུལ། སྦུ་རིག ། ཟངས་དཀར། ཀས་
ཏ་ལྟར། བཏུར་ཀ། (ཛ་སྒོར་ཟི།) སྤྱི་ཏི། བཅས་ལ་མངའ་མཛད་ནས། [ལ་དྭགས་ ལ་]སྔོང་ ཆེན་ འབབ་ཁལ་ ཀྱིར་མོ་༧། [ཞིང་ 20
ཁང་]ཕྱིད་ཀ་ཀྱིར་མོ་༥་དང་ཛ་ན་བརྒྱད། ཡང་ཕྱིད་(༡/༢)་འབབ་ཀྱིར་མོ་༡་དང་ཛ་ན་༡༥། སྐུ་དྲག་བཀའ་བློན་བློན་པོ་ཚོང་འབབ་
ཁལ་དགོན་པ་བཅས་ལ་ཆེ་རིགས་འབབ་ཀྱིར་མོ་༦༠། བློན་པོ་ལ་ཀྱིར་མོ་༥༠། [སྐུ་དྲག་]ཆུང་བ་རྣམས་ལ་འབབ་ཀྱིར་མོ་༡༩་བྱས།
དེ་ནང་ལྷར་དགོན་པ་ཚོ་ལ་བྱས །།

དེའི་སྐབས་མ་ཧཱ་རཱ་ཛ་རམ་བྲིར་སིང་གིས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་མངའ་མཛད་ཅིང་། སྔོན་དེ་ལྟར་གྱི་དུས་སུ་ལ་དྭགས་ན་འཁོར་སྐྱེན་སོང་བའི་
ཡུལ་དང་གྲོང་པ་གསར་བཙུགས། ཡུལ་རྣམས་ལ་འབབ་བྱུང་། ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་མི་ས་རྣམས་ཀུན་མེད་པར་བྱས། སྔོན་མག་ན་ཐ་ན་དཱར་ 25
དང་བཀའ་བློན་རིག་འཛིན་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བྱས་པའི་གྲོང་སྡེ། བ་སྐྱི་རྒྱམ་ཐུག་གནས་པ་བཞག་ནས། བི་ཀིར་མི་ལོ་༡༩༥༥་ནང་མེ་ཏ་བ་སྐྱི་
རྒྱམ་གྱི་སྐབས་མེ་ཏ་མང་[གལ་སིང་]ནས་གྲོང་གྲོ་སོ་མ་བྱས་ནས། ཞིང་ཁང་གང་མ་ལ་འབབ་ཀྱིར་མོ་༧་ཛ་ ན་༡༡། ཅེད་ཀ་ཀྱིར་མོ་

༢་དང་ཨ་ན་༥༥་བེ་ཤེ་༢ ། ཡང་བྱེད་ཀྱིར་མོ་༡་ཨ་ན་༡༥༥་བེ་ཤེ་གསུམ། གསོས་གང་མ་ལ་གྲོ་ཁལ་༡་དང་ཟེ་༡༠ ། མར་སེར་༥ །
ཚྭ་སྔེང་སྲང་༢ ། ཉར་སྔིང་སེར་༤༠་མཛོད་ནས། (གསུམ་ཀྱི་ཉར་ཟེར་བ་ནས་འཚོང་བས། དེ་ཡང་འབབ་ལྷར་ལོ་དང་ལོ་འཛལ་དགོས་
ཐབས། ཉར་སྔིང་ཟུར །) ལོ་༤༡་ཞི་གིར་མི་ཉིན་ཟུའི་ལོ་༡༧༧༡་བར་གོང་ལྷར་གནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་བཞིན་སྐུ་བསོད་མངའ་ཐང་ཆེ་བ་
དང་། ཡུལ་ཡང་དར་ཉིད་རྒྱས་པ་དང་། སྟོན་ཐོག་དང་ལོ་ལེགས། ཆུ་ཡང་འབོལ་མོ་སོང་ནས། ས་གཞི་ལག་ཐེལ་ཙམ་ཡང་མ་ལུས་
5 པར་སྨོས། ཀ་ཟུན་ཁྲིམས་ཟུས། སི་པ་ཚོར་ཡུལ་ཀྱི་ཟག་ཤན་སུ་ཡིན་ནས། སྤུས་ཀ་བླ་ཚ་ལ་མ་གཏོག །མི་ལེན་པ་ཟུས། རྒྱལ་པོ་
དེ་ཐོག་ཏུ། ལ་ཏྭགས་རྩེའི་ཁྲང(རྩེ་ཁ)། ཚ་ལེ། ཟུལ། ལྕགས་ས་དང་གསེར་ཁྲང་བཏོན། ཐང་ལ་ཆུ་འདྲེན་ནས། ཞེ་ཏ་མང་གལ་
སེང་གིས(རྣམ་གླིང་སེང་གེ་ཡུལ)་རྣམ་གླིང་ཟུར། (ཆུ་མིག་ན་རྣམ་སེང་གེ་ཡུལ་)རྣམ་ཟུར། (ཅང་ག་དང་ཉེ་བར་མང་གལ་སེང་
གེ་ནག)་མང་གལ་ནག། (ལྷུམ་ར་ན་པར་དཔལ་སེང་གེ་ཡུལ་)པར་དཔལ་ཟུར་བཅས་ཡུལ་བཙུགས། ཕྱོགས་ཐ་དག་ནས་ཚོང་པ་གཡོར་
ཆེ་བ་ཐོན་ནས། ཟོག་རིགས་མང་བ་དང་། སྤུས་རྣམས་སྤྲོད་ཁྱེར་ཆེ་བ་ལས་ཐོན་ཁྲང་ཆེ། མི་རྣམས་རིག་པ་རྣོ་བ། ཡིག་རིག་དང་།
10 རྩིས་རྣམས་བར་སི་དང་ཟུག་ར(གོག་ར)་ནང་བཞིན་དང་། མི་རྣམས་ལུ་མཁང་དང་དན་རྒྱུ་མང་བ་སོང་བ་དང་། པལ་དར་ནས་ཨི་ཧྲྀ་
ལྡི་པའི་གཏེར་ཞིག་འཁོར་ནས། དེ་བཞིན་སྟོན་ཟུ་ས་ན་༡༩༢༨། བོད་ས་སྤྲུལ་ཟླ་བ་༩་ནང་། ལ་ཏྭགས་སྐགས་སྟག་གླ་མ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བསྟན་
འཛིན་རྒྱ་བ། སྟོན་ཀྱི་སྟོན་པའི་ཚུལ་དང་མཐུན་པ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ། ཁོང་སྤྱི་ལ་ནྡཱ་རྡོ་ཛཻ་ཆེན་པོ་ཐུག་པར་དགོངས་པས། ས་ན་༡༩༢༨་
ནང་སེར་གླར་(ན་ནྡཱ་རྡོ་ཛེ་)ཆེན་པོ་ཁ་ཆུལ་ནས་གདན་འཁོར་སྐབས། ཁ་ཆུལ་ཟླམ་བུར་ནས་རང་རེ་སྐུ་ཟག་རྣམས་ལ་ཡང་[གསན་
ནས]། ཅ་མ་ཐིང་བར་ཁོང་རང་བཀའ་སྩལ། དངོས་རང་(ཟུན་ཤི་ཚེ་རིང་དཔལ་རྒྱས་)ཛྱེ་བླ་མ་དང་ཟླམ་ཟུར་ནས་བྱེས་ནས་ཡོངས།
15 བླ་མ་པལ་དར་ས་ཚ་ཏུ་བཏྲངས་པས། བླ་མ་མཆོག་ནས་ཐབས་མཁས་དང་། དཀོན་མཆོག་གསོལ་ཐབས་ཀྱིས་རྩར་གཙོད་གནང་ནས།
ཤི་ལིམ་ཁྲང་ནས་ས་ན་༤༠་ཙམ་མཉམ་ཏུ་འཚོང་བ་དང་། ཛམ་ཟུ་ལ་མ་ནྡཱ་རྡོ་ཛེ་མཆོག་རྩར་ཟུལ་བ་དང་། ཐུགས་ཤིན་ཏུ་མཉེས་ནས།
བླ་མ་དེ་ཉིད་ཛམ་ཟུར་བཞུགས་སྐབས། དངུལ་སོགས་སྐོར་[ཀྲིར་མོ་]༡༤༠་ཟླ་བ་རེ་དང་། གཉན་ཡུལ་ཏུ་བཞུགས་ན། ལོ་རེ་ལ་
སྐོར་མོ་༦༠་ཡི་གནང་སྦྱིན་གནང་རྒྱུ་མཛོད། དེ་ནས་ཟྱིན། ཁྲང་ནས་ཤི་ལིམ་འཚོང་མི་ཚོག་སྐག་ཟུ་མཛད། ཏུན་ཚོད་རིང་བར་དཀར་
ཞྭ་ཚོང་དཔོན་བསོད་ནམས་དངོས་གྲུབ་གཙོས་མང་བས། [ཤི་ལིམ་ཐོབ་པའི་རྐྱེན་ཀྱིས་]ལྷའི་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་ལྷར་མཉམ་སྐྱིད་ཟུས། ན་ནྡཱ་རྡ
20 ཛཻས་ཀུང་ཁྲང་དེ་བརྟན་པོ་བཙན་པོ་མཛད་ནས། སྲུང་མི་དམག་འགོ་དང་སི་པ་བཅུ་བསྐོར་བཞག་ནས། སེར་ཀར་ཀྱིས་ཁྲང་དེ་ལ་
བདག་པོ་མཛད། [ཤི་ལིམ་]རིན་ཆེན་དེ་བཞིན་འབྱུང་བཟོ་བཏོན་ནས། ཏོ་ལྡ་རེ་ལ་རིན་ཀྲིར་མོ་༤༠༠ ། ༥༠༠་ལ་འགྲིམ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་
བཞིན་སྟོན་ཡབ་རྗེ་བས་འགོ་ས་མགོ་ཞིང་། རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་གཞན་དག་ལས་ཨང་རེ་ཟེ་རྒྱལ་མོ་ཆེན་པོའི་དར་སྐར་ནང་ནས་བར་
དང་པོའི་ཁྲིཨུ་སྔེང་དང་ས་ལམ་ཡང་ཏོབ་༧༡་བཅས་ཐོབ། མཆན་ཏུ་ཁོང་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་ཐོབ། དེ་ལྟར་གིར་པ་རྣམ། ཁྲ་བྲིད་ཟུ
ཟུ་དང་། དེ་ལྟར་ཀྱི་སྒས་ཨ་ནཏ་རྣམ་གསུམ་དང་འདྲ་བར། གཉན་རྩ་རྗེ་གང་ལའང་མེད་པའི། བློ་མཐུན་ཞིང་། ལས་བྱེད་པར་
25 མཁས་པ་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན། པལ་དར་ཤི་ལིམ་ཀྱི་ཁྲང་ཐོན་པ་ནས་ཚུན། ན་ནྡཱ་རྡོ་ཛེ་ཡི་སྐུ་གཟུགས་སྐུང་ནས། ཐུགས་མི་བདེ་བ་སོང་
ནས། ལས་གྲལ་བཞིག ། སེར་ཀར་ལས་བྱེད་མི་ཀོང་སོལ་(ཁྲིམས་དཔོན་)ཡང་བཙུགས། བོད་མ་འོང་ལུང་བསྟན་ཀྱི་ཚུལ་དང་མཐུན།
དེ་ན་འདི་སྐད་ཏུ།

མོ་ཏུ་རྟོར་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཏུ།
བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་སྤྲུལ་པ་བྱུང་།
30 བསྟན་པ་མངའ་ཐང་(ཞེས་ཟུ་)རྒྱས་པ་བྱུང་།

རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་ལོ་༢༨་ཙམ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་མཛད། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེའི་སྲུན་ཐཱ་ཛོ་ཛུ་ཧི་སིང་ལ་བྲུ་ནཙ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་གནང་བ་དང་། ཁོང་རང་སྲས་
གསུམ་འཁྲུངས་ཡོད་པ། ཁོང་རང་སྐུ་བརྟན་པར་བཞུགས་ཙམ། སྲས་ཆེ་བ་མ་ཧཱ་རཱ་ཛ་པར་ཏཱབ་སིང་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བདག་པོ་དང་། བར་མ་
རཱམ་སིང་དམག་འགོ་དང་། ཐ་ཆུང་ཨ་མར་སིང་དང་མར་ཐ་ཡི (རྐ་རྣ་ཡཱཏ་མ་ཡི)་དཔོན་དང་། རང་རང་ཐྷ་གིར་སྤྱལ་ནས། ཐུགས་
དགོངས་རྫོགས་པར་མཛད་དོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེའི་སྐུ་ཕོག་ཏུ་སྐུ་དྲག་ཏ་ལབ་ཕྲ་བ་དེ་ལ་སྐྱོང་ཞག་གཉིས་ནས་སྐྱིད་མོ་བཅུད་སུག་ལས་བྱེད་མི་
དང་། སེ་པ་དམག་མི་ཚོ་ལ་གནང་བ་དང་། ཕྱོགས་བད་ཚུན་སྐུ་དྲག་རྣམས་རང་རང་གི་བ་མེས་ལས་ཕོག་ཏུ་བཞག། དེ་དང་བསྟུན། 5
རང་རང་ཡུལ་དང་ལས་སྣ་གནང་ཞིང་། བདག་རྐྱེན་སྔོན་མ་བཞིན་མཛད། ཏ་ལབ་ཀུང་སྤྲ་མ་བས་ཐེབ་ཙམ། ཝ་ཛིར (ལ་དྭགས་ཝ་
ཛིར་སོགས)་ལ་བཞུགས་པ་ལ་བླ་བ་དེ་ལ་དགུ་བཅུ་ནས་སྐྱོང་གཅིག་བར་མཛད། དེ་འགོ་ཚད་མེད་ལ་གཟིགས་ནས་གནང་བ་ཡིན།
ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ་སྤྲད་ཝ་ཛིར་སོགས་ཀྱིས་མིག་ཐིག་ལ་འབབ་བཀལ་བ་འོས་མེད་དགོངས་ནས། ས་ན་༡༩༣༨་ནང་ཛོན་སེན་ས་ཧེབ་
ལ་དྭགས་ཝ་ཛིར་ལ་ཡོད་པ་ལ་མ་ཧཱ་རཱ་ཛས་གསུང་བ་རྟེན (ས་བཏབ་དགོས་མོལ་བ་ལ་བསྐྱ་སྐྱེ)། ཁོང་གི་དགོངས་པ་ནང་། ལ་དྭགས་
པ་མི་ནང་པོ་གཡོ་སྐྱུ་མེད་པ་དང་། མ་ཚད། སེར་ཀཱར་ལའང་འཕྲད་འགོ་ཆེ་བ་འགྲོ་བ་དང་། རྗེས་སུ་དེ་སྐོར་རྩོད་འཐབ་ཡོང་བ་ཤེས་ 10
ནས། ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་ཟླ་ཚེ་བྲས་དང་། རྗེ་མི་ལྷུ་བདེ་མཛོད་པ་དང་། ཀར་དྭར་སོགས་བསྡུས་ནས། འདི་ལྟར་འགྲོ་རྒྱུའི་བཀོད་པ་
བཀྲད་པ་དང་། ཡུལ་མི་གྲོས་མཐུན་པར། བཞི་མ(གཞི་མ ?)་ལྷ་ཁམ་ཀྱིད་མོ་གཅིག་ཕོག་ཨ་ན་བཞི་ཐེབ་འབབ་འབུལ་བ་ལ་འཐད་ནས།
ཞུ་རྒྱ་གོང་ཏུ་བཟུལ་ནས་འགྲིག། ས་ན་༡༩༣༩་ནང་སློབ་བཀའ་བློན་ནད་ཧུ་ལམ་དང་། བ་སྒོ་བཀའ་བློན་གྱི་གཙོས་ཁ་དྲག་ཁ་ཤས་དང་
ཡུལ་མི་ཁ་ཤས་བཟབས་ཙམ། ཝ་ཛིར་དང་མ་མཐུན་པའི་རྐྱེན་གྱིས། ཁ་རྒྱལ་ཏུ་སྙན་ཞུས་འབུལ་བར་སོང་བ་དང་། ས་སྐྱོང་ཆེན་
པོས་བྱེད་ཤགས་མཛད་ནས། ཀྱིད་མོ་གཅིག་ཕོག་འབབ་སྟོན་ཨ་ན་གཉིས་མཛད་ཀྱང་། དེ་ཡང་དེད་མི་སྐྱོག་ཞུས་པར། སེར་ཀཱར་ 15
ཐུགས་ཁྲིམ་ནས། ཝ་ཛིར་རང་འཛག་དང་། ཡུལ་གྱི་ས་བཏབ་པ་ལ་ན་ཡིབ་ ་ཅྭ་མལ་དང་ཐུན་ཤི་དོན་ཚོད་ཅེ་ཤིན་ལྟས་ཟེར་བ་དང་།
མི་གྲངས་ཐུན་ཤི་གསུམ་བཅུ་བཏང་ནས། སྤྲད་མཐོང་ན་སྐྱུང་བ་ས་ཁྲད་བཏབ་པ་ལ། དང་པོ་ས་མཚམས་རྣམས་སུ་ཐེཛོད་སྒྲངས་པ་
དང་། ཡུལ་བད་ཚུན་བར་ལ་ཐེཛོད་བྲུ་བཞི་དང་། བར་ཏུ་ཐེཛོད་ཡུལ་ཚོ་སོ་སོར་བྱེས་ནས། དེ་བར་ས་གཞི་ཡག་སྡུག་དང་།
ས་ཁྲད་ས་རིས་ཡོད་པ་སོགས་དང་། ཆུ་ཀླུང་ཡུར་བ་ལུང་བསྐོར་འཕེལ་ས། སྔོན་རྒྱལ་ཏུས་ལ་ས་རིས་ཡོད་པ་སོགས་དང་། རྒྱལ་ཁྲམ་
རྣམས་སྔོན་བྱུང་དང་། ཨལ་ཝན་(རས་དམར་པོ་)ནང་ཕྱོག་བཅུགས། དེ་བར་ས་བགོས་བཏངས། གྲོང་པ་རང་རང་གི་མིང་དང་ས་ 20
གཞི་དང་དམ་བར་ཐེས་ནས། བསྟན་འགྱུར་ཕྱི་ཀེཏ་ཅུ་བ་བཏང་། གྲོང་པས་དེ་འཁྱེར་ནས། ས་གཞི་ཡོད་སར་བསྐྲ[བ་]པ་དང་།
མི་འོང་བ་ལ་ཉེས་ཚད་གཏོང་བའི་ཁྲིམས་བཅུགས། ཡུལ་གྱི་རྟེན་ཐིག་ཐོད་ལ་བཀྲམས་ནས། འབབ་བཀལ། ས་ན་༡༩༧༡་ནང་ལ་དྭགས་
རྗེ་དཔོན་༧་མ་ཧཱ་རཱ་ཛ་རཱམ་ཐྲིར་སིང་གིས་བཀའ་མདངས་པ་བཞིན། དེ་ལྟར་ཨ་ནཏ་རཱམ་(ཕྱོགས་ནས)། བ་ཡུལ་ཨམ་རིཏ་སར་པ།
ཡོན་ཏན་བར་སི་ཨང་རི་ཞི་ཤེས་པ། ཀཱ་ཐུན་ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་གཉན་བཞིན(སྙིན ?)་བྱེད་འགྱུར་བཀའ་གནང་། འབབ་བྱེ་བ་ཐོག་ཙེང་།
སྤྲད་མཁར་དགོན་པ་དང་བཅས་ཡུལ་གྲངས་༦༡་ལ། ཀྱིད་མོ་༢༦༩༧༢་དང་ཨ་ན་གསུམ་པེ་ནེ་གཉིས། སྒོ་མ་ན་༢༥༡༠་སེར་༢༩ 25
དང་པོད་༢། མར་མ་ན་༢༨༨༢་སེར་༡༧་དང་པོད་༢། ཟྭ་ཤིང་རྡོ་སྦང་༧༣༩༥་དང་བ་ཏི་༢༥། ཏར་ཤིང་རྡོ་སྦང་༨༣༧་སེར་
༥༧་བཅས་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན། དེ་ཏུས་དེ་ཀ་ཡུལ་༦༡་ལ་འབབ་ཀྱིད་མོ་༧༧༣༧༠་ཨ་ན་༥་པེ་ནེ་༢། ནས་རིན་ཀྱིད་མོ་༡༦༣༣་ཨ་ན་༡།
རང་འཕྲག་འབབ་༡༧༣་ཨ་ན་༡། ཁ་ཟས་འབབ་ཀྱིད་མོ་༣༡༩་ཨ་ན་༥་པེ་ནེ་༢། སོས་རིགས་རྩྭ་ཀྱིད་མོ་༣༡༢་ཨ་ན་༦་ཙམ།
ཚོན་སྐྱོམ་ཀྱིད་མོ་༧༦༡༡༨་དང་ཨ་ན་༣ ༎ སྒོ་མ་ན་༢༦༣༩་སེར་༣་པོད་༣། མར་མ་ན་༢༡༥་སེར་༢༥། ཟྭ་ཤིང་སྦང་
༧༢༧༠་བ་ཏི་༥། ཏར་ཤིང་སྦང་༩༨༥་བ་ཏི་༢༩་བཅས་བཀལ། ས་ན་༡༩༧༢་ནང་བར་མ་ལ་ཨང་དེ་ཞིས་མདའ་མཛད། 30

ཤྲཱི་མ་ཧཱ་རཱ་ཛ་དེ་ཉིད་སྐུ་མེ་ཧོག་པོར་བའི་སྤྱོར་ལྷས་སུ | ཡུལ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཞིང་ལ་བཙན་དང་ལྷགས་པ | གནམ་གཞི་དམར་པོ་སོང་ |
ཤིང་ཅ་ཟླ་བ་༨་པའི་ཚེས་༧་དང་ས་ན་༡༩༧༨་ཟླར་ཟུང་ཚེས་༤༩་སྐུ་མེ་ཧོག་པོར་བའི་ཞག | ལ་དྭགས་ན་སོད་པ་བབ་ནས | ཡུལ་ཁ་
ཤས་ལ་སྨན་ཐོག་མི་འདོད་པ་སོང | ཁ་རྒྱལ་བླམ་ཟླར་ན་དེ་ཀ་ལོ་ནང་གཟུགས་ཐུད་མི་འདྲ་བ | བོ་མིན་མོ་མིན་ཅིག་སྐྱེས | ཡུལ་ལ་ས་
གཡོ་ཆེ་བ་བྱུང་ནས | ཚཨོན་དང་ཁོང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་སྐུ་མཁར་དང་གཞིས་ཆུང་སོགས་བཤིག་རལ་སོང་ | སྐྱིལ་ཏུ་ཟླ་བ་བརྒྱད་པའི་ཚེས་༡༧་
5 ཞག | སྐུ་མེ་ཧོག་པོར་བའི་སྐད་ཆ་དར་བ་ཐོས་ནས | སྐུ་ཞབ་རྣམས་དང་མི་ཛེ་ལྡ་ཟླིར་དང | ཉིན་ཏུ་རིགས་དང | བོད་ཀྱི་རིགས་ཀྱི་
ཁ་སྐྱ་འཛིག་བཏུགས | གོས་ལག་ཚོས་མའི་རིགས་རྣམས་བསྒྲིག་པར་བྱས | ཟླ་བ་ཁ་ཤས་སྒྲུག་བྱས | བ་ཟར་ཚོང་ཁང་རྣམས་བཏུན་
གསུམ་སྒོ་བཏུགས | དེ་ནས་རིམ་པར་སྒོར ||

མེ་ཁྲི་ཟླ་བ་༧་པའི་ཚེས་༢་ས་ན་༡༩༧༤་ནང་ཤྲཱི་མ་ཧཱ་རཱ་ཛ་པར་ཏཱབ་སིང་བ་ཧཱ་དུར་མཆོག་(ཛམ་མུར་)ཞི་ལ་བསྐྱགས| ཏེ་ཀ་
(ཉིན་ཏུའི་ཐོད་པར་ཚོན་སྐུད་པ་)གཏོང་བར | སྟོན་ཀྱི་མན་ཟི་རྟེང་པ་ལ་སྒྲིར | དེར་རོལ་མོ་སྣ་ཚོགས་དང་ | ཧོབ་དང་ | རིན་པོ་ཆེ་
10 དང་ | གསེར | ཟ་ཏིག | རྡོ་རྗེ་བ་ལམ་བཅས་ཐ་ལི་གང་ཁོང་གི་དབུ་ཐོག་ནས་བསྐོར་ཏེ | ཡུ་ལ་གཏོར | དེ་མཉམ་ཧོབ་༧༡་གི་ས་ལམ་
དང་ | དེར་ཡང་རེ་ཟི་རྒྱལ་མོ་ཆེན་མོའི་སྐུ་ཚབ་རྒྱ་གར་ན་བཞུགས་པའི་སི་ཀེ་ཐེར་(ཟུང་ཡིག་)ས་རྟེན་ཀྱིས་ཁོང་ལ་འགོ་ཕྱུས་ཕུལ་
ནས | ཁྲིར་དང་གི་བ་གཉིས་གང་ཡོད | ཉིང་དང་གི་མདའ་ཡིན | ལ་སོགས་གཞུང་ཕུལ་ན་བཀུགས | ཡང་ས་ལམ་ཧོབ་༡༠༡་དང་ཟི་
ཕུལ་(དམག་མཐུང་)ས་ལམ་བྱས | གཉན་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེ་བྲམ་སོགས་དང་ | ཀ་ཟུར་ཐ་ལ་ཡི་ཊཱ་ཌཱ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་འཕྲུལ་མཚན | ཏཱ | ཊེཨུ |
རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཟ་མཇུག་ཅོད་པན | ཀེམ་ཁབ་སྣ་ཚང | རིགས་བརྗོད་མི་ཤེས་པ་དང | འཛོམ་ས་ཐོག་དམག་དང | ཟག་ཤེས་མ་དང་བར་སི་
15 ལྷད་མོ་དང | མ་ལག་མཁན་དང་ཟུར་པ་དང | གླང་པོ་ཆེ | ཏཱ | མ་ཏེ | ལུག | ཟུའིས་འཐབ་མོ་བྱས | མཚོན་ཚེ་སྒྲོན་མེ་དང | ལམ་
གར་ཞིབས་ཀྱི་ས་ཚ | མན་ཚུན་རྣམས་ལ་དར་ཕྱོག་བཀྲུན | ཏཱ་གླང་ཆེན་དང་དམག་མིའི་ཆས་སྤྱོད་མི་ཤེས་པ་འདུག | ཤེད་ཅན་གང་
མ་ཏེ་དང་ནག་པ་འདུག | མ་ལག་མཁན་བར་སྣང་ལ་མ་ལག་ཚོར་གསུམ་ལོག་པ་དང | མི་དཀྱུའི་ལག་པའི་བྱུང་ (བྱུང?)ཁྲང་ནས་
འཁོན་པ་དང | མིའི་མགོ་ཐོག་ཏུ་གཏུང་མ་སྦྲངས་ནས | འཛོགས་པ་དང | ཐག་པའི་ཐོག་འགྲུལ་བ་ལ་སོགས་ཡ་མཚན་འདུག | དེ་དང་
མཉམ་མིའི་ཐུམ་པ་མང་བ་སྦྲར | ལྷད་མོ་ཁང་ན་དགའ་སྟོན་ཟ་སྐབས | གནམ་ལ་འགྱི་བའི་མེ་སྐར་མ་དང་འཇེས་པ་༤༥༥༠་བཏང་ས |
20 རྗེས་ཉིན་མ་ཧཱ་རཱ་ཛ་མཆོག་དམག་དཔོན་རམ་སིང་ཙར་སྐུ་མགྲོན་ལ་གདན་ཞུས | དེའི་རྗེས་མ་ཞག | རཱ་ཎཱ་ཨ་མར་སིང་དང་རཱ་ཎཱ་
ཟུ་ཏེ་སིན་སོགས་ཙར་སྐུ་མགྲོན་དང་ཐུགས་བོར་ཞབས་པའི་ཏུས་སུ | ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་བསོད་རྣམས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དང་མང་སྤྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་
བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྷུ་དབང་བཅས་ཁ་རྒྱལ་ན་བཞུགས་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན| ཛམ་སུ་རུ་ལ་དྭགས་ལྷ་ཟླིར་ར་ཏ་གྲི་རྒྱ་གོལ་དང| ཏེ་མི་མཛོད་པ་ངག་དབང་
ཚོས་བཟང་དང | རྗེ་བླ་མ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བསྟན་འཕེལ་དང | བཀའ་བློན་ནརྒྱ་རྒྱམ | ཤེལ་བློན་པོ | ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཀན་ཏན་སུ་ལ་ཙན | མུན་
ཤི་དོན་གྲུབ | མུན་ཤི་དཔལ་རྒྱས | ཙ་མོད་ཀར་ཟླར | ལ་དྭགས་སྐྱག་གི་འགོ་པ་འཁྲོག་མོ | དགོན་ཁག་སོགས་ཀྱི་གྲྭ་པ་ཞལ་གྲངས་༧༠་
25 དང་ | བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཚུ་མི་འགོ་པ་དང | ཡུལ་ཡུལ་ནས་མི་ཁ་ཤས་བཅས་ཞི་བཞུགས་ཀྱི་འཕྲུལ་བ་རྣམས་ཕུལ | དེ་མཉམ་གྲྭ་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས
ཞལ་འབག་སྣགས་མོ་དང་ལ་དྭགས་པའི་རྟེན་མོ་བྱས | དེ་ནང་བཞིན་ཀ་ཟུར་ཐ་ལའི་ཊཱ་ཌཱའི་ཙར་མཛད་བཏུགས | གནང་སྦྱིན་དང་འགོ་
ཕྱུས་གནང || ལ་དྭགས་འབབ་སྨན་ཕྱི་བ་ཞིག་པས | དགོན་པའི་གྲྭ་པ་དང་ཏེ་མི་མཛོད་པས་ཨར་ཟི་ཕུལ་ནས | ལ་དྭགས་པ་ལྷ་ཟླིར་དང་
མ་མཐུན་པ་ཤེས་ནས | ཁ་རྒྱལ་ཀྱི་ན་ལྷུབ་སྤྱི་ཏེ་ལྷན་ལེཁ་ མན་དས་ཙར་སྐྱན་ངག་མཛད་པར་བསྐུར | ཏ་ཀླུམ་ལ་དྭགས་པའི་ཞུ་བ་
མ་མཐུན | དགོན་པ་ཚོར་སྟོན་མ་ལྷར་མ་འཛག་ན | དགོན་པའི་གཏོང་འགོ | ཕྱུས་མཚོད | མཚོད་མེ | མོ་སྐྱིད་དང | གྲྭ་པ་རེ་མོ་རེ་
30 སོགས་ཁལ་༡༨་དང | ཕྱུན་པ་ར་ཛི་ལ་བཟའ་བཏུང | གཉན་ཡང་ས་གཞི་འབར་ ཁྲང་མེད་ པ་སོགས | གོང་ས་མཆོག་ཏུ་སྐྱན་ཞུས

འབུལ་ནས། ཡུལ་སྤྲིས་ལ་སློང་མེ་དེའི་ཕོག་ནས་ཨ་ན་གཉིས་ནས་ཨ་ན་གཅིག་འབུད་རྒྱུ་དང༌། དགོན་པ་ཚོ་ལ་འབབ་སོ་མ་ཕོག་པའི་ཐེད་ཀ་འབུད་པ་དང༌། ཐེད་ཀ་འཛམ་བ་བྱས། དེ་ལ་ཡང་ཁ་མ་མཐུན་པས། ས་མཆོག་ཐུགས་ཁྲོས་ནས། རྟམ་རྟམ་བཏང་ནས། ཙང་གཙོད་མེད་གསུངས། སེང་ཀླུང་དང་གི་ཏོ་ཀར་ཚོ་ལ་བཀའ་བཀྱོན་མཛད་པ། མི་ཕྱུག་དང་དགོན་མཆོག་དཔེ་ལྟར་བྱུང༌། ཕྲུ་ཏྲེད་དང་ཡུལ་པ་ཁ་མ་མཐུན་པ། སྤོད་གཏམ་དཔེ་ལ་ཁ་དང་ཉིཙ་སློལ་བ་ན། སྤུ་ས་གཉི་ཆེང་བའི་དཔེ་ལྟར་བྱུང༌། གོང་ནས་ཁ་རྒྱལ་ལ་ལ་དྭགས་པ་སྐྱིན་ཤུས་ལ་ཡོང་ཡོད་པ་ལ་རྟེན། ཁ་རྒྱལ་ད་ལྷུབ་ལེཁ་མན་དྲག་ལ་ཐུགས་གཞགས་མཛད་པར། བཀའ་སྒོག་བདེན་པ་འགྱོད་ནས། ལ་དྭགས་སྐུ་དྲག་རྣམས་ཛམ་བྱུང་ཡོད་པ་རྣམས་སྐད་གཅིག་འགྱོད་དགོས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་ཁྱབ་དང་སི་པ་བཏང་ནས། ནང་རྫོགས་ལའང་སྲིད་ཐབས་མེད་པ། ཉི་མ་གཉིས་གསུམ་ས་ལ་ཚང་མ་ཁ་འཁྱིལ་བྱིས་ཁ་རྒྱལ་ལ་ཕྱིར། ལ་དྭགས་ཡུལ་པ་དང་ཐུག། རྒྱུས་ཚོད་ཀྱི་ལྟས་ལ། རང་གི་གཉེན་ཉེ་རིང་དང༌། སྤྲོད་ཁྲང་མཉམ་ཡོད་པ་ཚོ་ནས་ཀྱང༌། མི་མཐོང་བའི་རྩོལ་བྱས། དེ་ལྟར་བྱིས། ནག་ཁ་མཛད་ནས། ཤུ་བ་ཅི་ཡོད་རྣམས་འབྲི་བར། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉིས་དང་ཧེ་མི་ཐུག་མཛོད་གཙོས་མི་བཅུས་འབྲི་དགོས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་གནང༌། ཡུལ་པ་ཚོ་ཡིས་སོ་སོར་འབྲི་དགོས་གསུང༌། དེ་བཞིན་ལ་དྭགས་པས་ནང་གསུམ་གྱི་སྒོ་ནས་ཉེ་རིང་ཕྱོགས་ཆེད་མེད་པར། ཡུལ་ན་ས་སྣ་མང་བ་དང༌། རྟུང་བ་དང་དོར་བཙོས་ཀྱི་ས་ཁྲད་སོགས་ངོ་རིས་ཕྱོགས་ཆེད་སོང་བ་དང༌། བཤད་མི་རྟུང་བའི་གནམ་དན་མང་བ་ལྷུ་ཏྲེད་སློར་ཞིས་ནས་བྱལ། དེ་ལྟར་ཐུགས་གཞགས་གནང༌། ཏོག་དང་མང་སྤྲོ་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉིས་ལ། སེང་ཀླུང་ཀྱིས་རྡུ་ཀྲིད་སྤྲད་གནང་བ་ནང་བཞིན་གནས་པ་དང༌། འབབ་སྟག་བབ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚོད་དབང་ཡིན་སོལས། འབབ་ཐེབ་ས་ན་ནང་༧༥་སོང་བ་ཐེད་ལོག་གཏོང་བ་བྱས། ཚ་ཨོད་གོ་ལྷན་ཀྲན་གྱི་བརྒྱུད་འཛིན་ས་ལྷན་ཁ་ཏུན་དང་གོ་ལྷམ་ལ་འདི་རིང་བར་ཧྲ་ཤྲིད་གནང༌། སྤོད་ལ་ལ་དྭགས་ལ་ལྷུ་ཏྲིད་ལ་ཡོད་པ་ཤེར་སིང་ཤུ་བ་རྒྱུར་དེ་ལྟར་བྱིས། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཀར་ཏྲར་ཡུལ་པ་ཚོད་འདི་ལྟར་བཀའ་བྱུང༌། སྤོད་ས་ན་༡༩༧༡་ནང་ཞེ་ཏ་མང་གལ་སིང་གིས་ལ་དྭགས་མངའ་ཞབས་ལ་འབབ་བཀལ་བའི་ཕོག་ཅམ་ཐེབ་འཆར་བ་དང། དེ་མེད། ལྷུ་ཏྲེད་དྲ་རྡྷ་ཀྱི་ཀྲ་ཡིས་བཀལ་བའི་འབབ་ནས་ཙམ་བྱུད་པ་ལ་འཕར་བཀའ་ཕོག། སྐུ་དྲག་དང་ཡུལ་མི་ཚོ་ཚང་མ་བློ་མཐུན་ནས། སྤོད་མང་གལ་སེང་གིས་ཡུལ་ལ་དྭག་པོ་(?) དང་སྐྱོམས་པོ་བཙོས་ནས། འབབ་བཀལ་བ་ཡིན། ས་བཏབ་པ་ནས་ཏ་ཅང་ཕྱོགས་རིས་ཀྱིས་རྣང་པོ་མ་སོང༌། དོར་ཡོད་དོར་བཏང་བ་རྣམས་ལ་སྔ་མ་བས་འབབ་ཐུད། དོར་མེད་ལ་སྐྱིད་བྱས། རྟུང་རྒྱབ་བཏངས། ཟླ་མོ་སྒོ་མེད་(ཨ་ཁྲ་མེད་)རིགས་ཆུང་མར་འཆེར་དགོས་དང༌། དེ་བཞིན་མི་ཐེད་པ་སོགས་ཁྱིམས་ཁྲང་རྟུ་བཀལ་བ་དང༌། དེར་ལྷུ་ཏྲེད་སོགས་ཀྱིས་དེའི་ཟླ་བ་ལ་རྩ་ནས་མ་ཉན། ཧོང་རྒྱབ་གཉི་ལ་བཞེངས་ནས་བརྟུངས། སྤོད་ཐོ་ར་ལྷར་ནས་ཐེད་རྟུ་ཕྱིས་པོ་མེད་པ། འབབ་ལེན་སྐབས་རྟུང་བ་དང༌། དྭི་ལམ་ཐེད་པ་མཛད་པས། འབབ་(དང་ཁྱིམས་)སོ་མ་གཉི་ནས་མི་སྐྱིག་པ་དང༌། ཞེ་ཏ་མང་གལ་ནས་ལྷུ་ཏྲེད་ངོ་སེན་བར་གནས་པའི་འབབ་སྟེད་པ་ཕོག་ཀྱིད་མོ་རེ་ཕོག་ཐེབ་ཨ་ན་བཞི་འབུལ་ངེས་ཤུས་པ་ལ་རྟེན། ཞེ་ཁྲི་(འཁྲུངས་ལོ་༡༨༨༧)་ཟླ་བ་ཕྲ་བའི་ཚེས་༡༧་ཞག། མི་ཌྷེ་དེ་ལྟར་བྱིས་སྤོད་ལ་དྭགས་ལ་བཀྲུགས་པ་སུ་ལའང་མ་འདྲི་བར། ཆེད་དང་ཡུལ་པའི་ཤུ་བ་ལ་གསན་ངེས། གོང་མ་སྲཱི་མ་ཧཱ་རཱ་ཛ་ཆེན་པོ་པར་ཏཱབ་སིང་གིས་ལ་དྭགས་མངའ་ཞབས་ལ་བརྩེ་བ་དང་བྱམས་སྐྱོང་བ་དང༌། དེ་ལྟར་ལེག(ལེཁ་)མན་དྲག། ཞེ་ཏ་ཤེར་སིང༌། དེ་ལྟར་ཀྲེ་དྲ་ནདྷ། མེར་ཌ་ཨག་བར་ལེག་ཀོང་སོམ་ཕོག་ནས། སྤོད་ཀྱི་འབབ་སྟེད་པ་ཕོག་འབབ་ཀྱིད་མོ་རེའི་ཕོག་ཨ་ན་བཞི་ཐེབ་བཀལ་བ་ཐག་བཅད། ས་ན་༡༩༧༥་(དེ་ཀྱི་༡༨༨༥་)ཚུན་འབབ་ཀྱིད་མོ་༤༤༨༨༠་ཨ་ན་༥་པེ་རེ་༡། ཨ་ན་བཞི་ཐེབ་བྱས། ཐེབ་ཀྱིད་མོ་༨༤༤༡་ཨ་ན་༡༥་དང༌། ཆེན་སྐྱོམ་ལོ་༡་ནང་ཀྱིད་མོ་༧༡༡༠༨་ཨ་ན་༡༧་པེ་རེ་༡་དང། སོས་རིགས། མར། རྫ་ཤིང་། ཏར་ཤིང་རྣམས་ནི་འབབ་སྟེད་པ་ནང་བཞིན་བཞག། འབབ་ཐེབ་ལེན་པ་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྐུ་དྲག་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་ཐེད་ལོག་ཕོབ། ར་སུམ། ན་ཟར། རྟ་འབབ། ཤུག་འབབ། ཟ་རབ་(ཏོང་ཙེ་རྒྱབ་པར་)ཨ་ན་བཅས་ཆེ་ཆུང་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་ཕོག། (སྤོད་ཡུལ་

པས་དེ་འཛལ་བ་ཡིན། མི་ཆེན་ལ་མ་ནོག་པ་ཡིན།) ཕྱུལ་པ་རྣམས་སྤྱོད་ལུགས་ཀྱི་བདེ་ཞིང་། སློ་བདེ་བ་སྐོང་། ལ་དྭགས་ལོག་པར་
བཀའ་བྱུང་། ས་ན་༡༩༧༢་ཧར་ཚེས་༧་ཞག། ཐམས་ཅད་ཁ་རྒྱལ་ནས་ཐོན།། མོ་རྩིས་ནང་ཟླ་བ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བསྟན་འཕེལ་ དང་རྟེ་
འབབ་མཁར་བཏབ་པའི་མོ་མིག་ལ་བབ་པ་བཏགས། མཁར་རྫོང་གི་ལྷ་བཙན་རྗེ་རྗེ་ཡིས་ལྷ་ནང་ནས་གསུང་བ་བཏགས། སྲོང་གིས།

དང་པོ་འབབ་སྟན་མགོ་པོ་ཆེ།

ཐ་མ་མཐིལ་ཚུང་མ་སྟེལ་ངེས།

5 ཡིན་པ། དེ་བཞིན་བཏགས། ལྷ་དེ་བཏགས་པོ་འདུག། ས་ན་༡༩༧༡་ནང་ཐུ་ཐུལ་མན་ཀྱི་ཨྰེ་རི་བྱུང་ཟེར་བའི་གྲགས་པ་ཟེལ།།

XI

ལོ་རྩིས་ནི

ཁ་ཆེ་མས་ཇིད་ས་རྒྱལ་པོ་སེང་གེ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་གནང་ནས། འདི་ལོ་འཁྱུངས་ལོ་༡༩༡༠་བར་ . . ལོ་༢༡༦།

གཙུག་གཏོར་ལྕང་མ། རྒྱ་ཐའི་རང་ཐག་ལ་ཡོད་པ། བཙུག་ནས། འདི་ལོ་བར་ . . . . ལོ་༢༡༦།

10 རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚོ་དཔལ་དོན་གྲུབ་དུས། ས་ཀ་ར་བད་སྣ་ཧེབ་ཐོན་ནས། འདི་ལོ་བར་ . . . . ལོ་༡༦༨།

ཟོ་ར་ཝར་དུས་སུ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འཛིགས་མེད་ཀུན་དགའ་འཁྱུངས་ནས། འདི་ལོ་བར་ . . . . ལོ་ ༡༠།

ཚེ་དབང་རབ་བརྟན་སྐྱི་ཧེ་ལ་ཤོར་ཧེ་ཐོངས་ནས། འདི་ལོ་བར་ . . . . . . ལོ་ ༡༠།

བ་སྟི་ལྡན་ཀྱིས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ས་ཞིང་། ཡང་མ་འམ་ཧེ་ཙོས་ཞིང་ལྡ་ལྡར་བཙོས་ནས། འདི་ལོ་བར་ . . ལོ་ ༦༨།

ཀེ་ཝི་ཀ་མིཤ་ནར་སློབ་ཏུ་བསྡད་ནས། (འགོ་མ་ལོ་༤་ལ་ཀ་མིཤ་ནར་ཚབ་ཏུ་ཐུན་ཤེ་ཀ་ལྡེན་བཀྲ་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན་)

15 འདི་ལོ་བར་ . . . . ལོ་ ༧༦།

སློབ་ཏུ་བ་རྫོ་ཛེ་ཧར་བཙུགས་ཤིང་། ཁང་པ་བརྩིགས་ནས། འདི་ལོ་བར་ . . . . . ལོ་ ༢༡།

བསོད་ནམས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་འཁྲུངས་ནས། (སྔོན་ཀྱི་སོགས་ཀྱིར་མོ་ལོ་ལྷར་༢༡༤་ཨ་ན་༨། ད་ལོ་ནས་སོགས་ཀྱིར་
མོ་ལོ་ལྷར་༡༨༠༠་) འདི་ལོ་བར་ . . . . ལོ་ ༢༢།

ས་ར་ཆེན་མོ་ཀ་མིཤ་ནར་ཨི་ཝི་དང་ཛོན་སེན་གྱིས་བརྩིག་ནས། འདི་ལོ་བར་ . . . . ལོ་ ༧༢།

20 པཎ་ཊིཏ་ཌྷ་ཌྷ་ཀྱི་ཀྲ་ཡིས་སློབ་ཤ་ག་རན་བཙོས་ནས། འདི་ལོ་བར་ . . . . . ལོ་ ༤༥།

ཌྷ་ཌྷ་འདོས་གྲུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ལོ་༦་ནང་ལོ་རེ་ལ་འབབ་ . . . . . ཀྱིར་མོ་ ༩༠༠༠།
མག་ཌྷ་ཌྷ་ཌྷ་ཌྷར་ལོ་ཇུག་སློབ་ལ་ལྷ་ཌྷིར་ལ་འདུག།
བ་སྟི་ལྡན་ལོ་༡༧་ལྷ་ཌྷིར་ལ་འདུག། དེ་གཉིས་དུས་འབབ་ . . . . . ཀྱིར་མོ་༡༨༠༠༠།
མང་གལ་སེང་ལོ་༥་བསྡད། ལོ་རེ་ལ་འབབ་ . . : . . . ཀྱིར་མོ་༤༧༠༠༠།
25 ཨ་ཝི་ཨག་བར་ལོ་༧་བསྡད།

གང་ཟླ་སིང་ལོ་༡་བསྡུར།

ཛོན་སེན་ལོ་༡༢་བསྡུར།

ཧྭ་ཧྣྭ་གི་ཧྣ་ལོ་༣་བསྡུར། དེ་བཞི་དུས་འབབ་ . . . . ཀྲིར་མོ་༣༢༨༨༧་ཨ་ན་༢༡/༢།

ཧྭ་ཧྣྭ་གི་ཧྣ་ཡིས་ཁྲང་བཏབ་ནས། འབབ་ཐབེ་ . . . . . . ཀྲིར་མོ་ ༨༢༢༡་ཨ་ན་༡༤།

བཞི་མ་ལྷུ་འབབ་ . . . . ཀྲིར་མོ་ ༤༡༡༠༨་ཨ་ན་༡༤། 5

རྒྱལ་རབས་སྐོང་པ་རེ་ལ་འབབ་ཛུ་༡།

རྒྱལ་རབས་སྐོང་པ་རེ་ལ་ཟླབ་མ་སྐང་༡།

དབུ་ཚག་གི་ཅྱེར། ཅྱེ་བླིང་ནས་(ཅེ་ཕེང་ནས་) ཡུལ་པ་ཡོངས་ཀྱིས་ཤིང་སྐང་༨༠༠་འཁྱོང་བའི་ཁྲལ།

ནང་ཤིང་ཀར་དང་ལྷུམ་ར་སྤྱོན་དར་(ཀུན་དར་) འགྲོག་གཉིས་ནས་ཤིང་ཙམ་དགོས་འཁྱོང་བའི་ཁྲལ།

དེ་མིན། ཟ་སླིན་ཧྭར་ནས་དབུ་ཁབ་མ་ལེན་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར་རོ། 10

ཧྭ་ཧྭ་དངོས་ཟླབ་བསྐྱན་འཛིན་ལོ་༦་བར་འབབ་ . . . . . . ཀྲིར་མོ་ ༩༠༠༠།

ཧྭ་ཧྭ་དངོས་ཟླབ་བསྐྱན་འཛིན་ནས་བ་སྤྱི་ཧྭམ་བར་ལོ་༢༦་ནང་ལོ་ལྷར་འབབ་ . . . ཀྲིར་མོ་༡༨༠༠༠།

ཐྲོང་གྲོ་སོ་མ་ཟླས་ནས། འབབ་སོ་མ་སྐྱུང་བཅག་བཅས་ལ་ལོག་ . . . . ཀྲིར་མོ་༢༤༠༠༠།

ཛོན་སེན་བར་གནས་པའི་འབབ་ . . . . ཀྲིར་མོ་༣༢༨༨༧། ༢། ༡།

བཞི་མ་ལྷུ་ལོག་པའི་འབབ་སྐོམ་ . . . . ཀྲིར་མོ་༤༡༡༠༨། ༡༤། ༡། 15

ས་ན་༡༩༥༧་ནང་བན་དོ་བསྒྲུ་བསྡོམས་ནས། འབབ་རྩར་མ་ཆོད། མཁྱེགས་པ་རྩར་བཅད་ནས་ཆུ་དེས།

ས་ན་༡༩༦༦་ནང་ཡང་བན་དོ་བསྒྲུ་བསྡོམས་ནས། འབབ་རྩར་མ་ཆོད། མཁྱེགས་པ་རྩར་བཅད་ནས་ཆུ་དེས།།

གོ་འདི་ཆུན་ཤི་དཔལ་རྒྱས་ལ་འདྲིས་ནས། བདག་ཡོ་སེབ་ཚེ་བརྟན་གྱིས་ཞིས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ།།

ལ་དྭགས་གཞུང་ཆུང་ཕྱིན་ཆོད་ཀྱི་འབབ་གོ།

ས་ན་༡༩༦༦། འབྲུངས་ལོ་༡༩༠༩་ནང་ལོག་པ་འདི་ལྷར་རོ། 20

དངུལ་ལོ་ལྷར་ . . .	ཀྲིར་མོ་༤༣༢༥༦	ཨ་ན་༡༢
གྲོ་ལོ་ལྷར་གྱི་རིན་ . . .	༢༩༧༧	༨
ནས་ལོ་ལྷར་གྱི་རིན་ . . .	༧༠༢༢	༨
ཤིང་ལོ་ལྷར་གྱི་རིན་ . . .	༣༠༠༠	༠
རང་འཐག་འབབ་ལོ་ལྷར་ . .	༣༡༡༩	༡༢
ར་ལུག་འབབ་ལོ་ལྷར་ . .	༡༨༣༣	༠
ཁྱོན་སྡོམ་	ཀྲིར་མོ་༦༡༢༠༩	ཨ་ན་ ༨ །།

25

LA-DVAGS-RGYAL-RABS

TRANSLATION

THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF LA-DVAGS

I. Introductory Verses

(*L* MS.) Adorned with the thousand eyes of knowledge which surveys the three times, p. 19.
Fruits of the merit of tenfold a hundred sacrifices of good deeds,
May the Indra of strength, being addressed, give with his heavenly sword
Answer to the intolerable lightnings strong with flickering desire.

(*S* MS.) Having been made to toss upon the breast of the gazelle-eyed one (Ri-dvags-mig-can, Mṛigākshī), [who is] religion itself,
By the child's iron hook of the wonderfully sweet and all-knowing Gesar,
This clear mirror of religion, reflecting nakedly the images of dancers in combination and separate,
Is made a neck-ornament of Him of the Five Crests (Zur-phud-lṅa-pa, Pañcaśikha, i.e. Mañjuśrī).

NOTES

The three times mentioned in the first verse are past, present, and future. Gesar (Kesar, Kyesar) is a well-known deity of the pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet. A book on history or geography is generally called a mirror.

(*A* MS.) II. Account of the Origin of Tibet

Though, generally speaking, all constituents in themselves are altogether pure beyond the limits of speech, yet, on account of the ripening or not ripening of the succession of souls, the heavens are wholly enveloped in the delusion of subjective illusion, and the world contained therein appears in manifold forms and colours, more than we can grasp with our thoughts. According to the *Mdzod* (*Kośa*):

There were diffused ten millions and one hundred distinct suns and moons,
And the 1,000 millions of gardens of lotuses, each consisting of four continents,
Which are all surrounded by the circular rampart (*cakravāla*).
All these appear as enumerators of Śag-thub's (Buddha's) name.

How in the almsbowl in the hand of the holy Rnam-par-snaṅ-mdzad (Vairocana), [who is also called] Gaṅs-chen-mtsho-rgyal, this world of three thousand originated, although variously related in the traditions, if we summarize it, following the *Yon-tan-bsdud-pa*: The ether is the receptacle of the air; that (the air) the receptacle p. 20. of the mass of waters; that (the water) the receptacle of the great earth; that (the

earth) the receptacle of living beings. Such is for living beings the cause of activity. Thus, at the time when in the beginning the ether had remained empty for twenty *kalpas* (fabulous periods), in the period of rest, the moving atmosphere gave support from below; the joyful sphere of the waters collected all together, the sphere of fire [that is] of knowledge and action brought down heat; and the bright sphere of the sky opened the door: the powerful golden earth was levelled out in vast extent. It was spanned by the endless blue dome of the sky. It was pressed down in the middle by Mount Lhun-po (Sumeru), the king of mountains, of unchangeable colour. The four continents, which never transgress their limits, the treasure-houses of the five elements, were planted. They were surveyed by the four queens of the four unchanging seasons and the hours. [Then] the living beings [down to the inhabitants of the] hells came into existence.

At the time when in Ḫdzam-bu-gliṅ (Jambudvīpa) life was 100 × 10,000 years a being was born in hell. At the time of the thus coming into existence of primitive creatures [the world?] had lingered for nineteen periods. An account of the occasion, origin, and measure of them (the creatures) and the four or eight continents will be learned from the *Mṅon-paḥi-mdzod* (the *Abhidharma-kośa*). Now the manner how the outer vessel of the world grew upwards from below; the creatures of the inner essence [of the world] sank downwards from above. When the life of the gods of light (Ābhāsvāra) and their authority became less, it is said that there existed a god Naṁ-kyer-rgyal-po, who was also called Ye-mkhyen-chen-po (Mahājñāna?). His son was the god Srid-ber-chen-po; his son was the god Nam-bẹr-chen-po; his son was the god Ḫod-gsal; his son was the god Khar-gsal (Triśūla); his son was the god Char-byed (Rain-maker); his son was the god Bar-lha-bdun-tshigs. His son was called the god Rgyal-srid. To him eight sons were born [as follows]:—

The elder brothers (who were) of the morning were the god Skar-chen (Great Star) and Skar's companion, these two; they descended to Lus-ḫphags-po of the East (Pūrva-Videha, the eastern continent). After them came Ḫod-chen (Great Light) and Ḫod's companion, these two; they descended to Sgra-mi-sñan of the North (Uttara-Kuru). After them came Sman-bu (Little Medicine) and Sman's companion, these two; they descended to Ba-glaṅ-spyod of the West (Avara- or Paścima-Godānīya). On the next morning, on the south side of Mount Ri-rab (Sumeru), covered with the light of the blue lapis lazuli (*vaiḍūrya*), there descended the god [G]śed-can (Manu) and [G]śed's companion with joyful hearts praising the town of Rdo-rje-gdan (Vajrāsana), where the Li-tsa-tsi (Litsabyi?), including a thousand cakravartins, walk on the road to Nirvāṇa (*muktimārga*), the temple of Rdo-rje-gdan, which is the heart of *Bodhi* (Bodhimaṇḍa), appearing in the shape of a cart, the heart of continents, the place where are born the Sugatas of the three times.

At that time men were endowed with the ten accomplishments: (1) their bodies possessing a light of their own, the names of day and night did not yet exist; (2) the bodies of men being free from illness, their lifetime was exceedingly long; (3) they did not look for the food (4) nor the clothing of this sensual world; (5) they were

free from misery; (6) they possessed miraculous powers and (7) supernatural perception; (8) they were without the very names male and female; (9) without enemies and friends; (10) without accumulation of riches; their state (behaviour) was altogether in the manner of the gods.

At that time a knot formed on the crown of god Gśed-bu's (Gśed-can's) head. When it broke, a white man came out of it. He was (by Manu) made the royal race (Rājanya). From his neck a red man appeared; he was shaped into the Bram-ze (Brahman) race. From his heart a yellow man appeared; he was shaped into the noble race (Kshattriya). From the upper part of his foot a black man appeared; he was shaped into one of the low (Śūdra) race. These were the people of India of that time.

To the younger brother, Gśed's companion, were born Gyiṅ-gi-stiṅ and Gnod-sbyin-gdoṅ-dmar (Red-faced Yaksha). Gyiṅ-gi-stiṅ also had two sons, the elder one being Rluṅ-rje-bam-pa and the younger one Brag-srin. Of Rluṅ-rje-bam's family are the following:—Kha-che (Kashmir); Bal-yul (Nepal); Za-hor (Mandi); 'O-rgyan (Udyāna); Ta-zig (Persia); Khrom-Ge-sar-ḥdan-ma (perhaps Ladakh); Rna-nam (Sna-nam, Samarkand; see Jäschke); Thon-mi-gru-gu (near Kamba-rdzoṅ); Rag-śi (unknown), and the other tribes of Rga. They are the uncles of the four kinds of dwarfs. The younger son Brag-srin had two sons, the elder one being Thar-rje-thon-pa and the younger one the monkey Su-tiṅ. The monkey Su-tiṅ owned the eighteen provinces of Ḫbog-ḥchol. From him are descended the ninety-two tribes of barbarians (Tibetans). His elder brother Thaṅ(Thar ?)-rje-thon-pa had two sons. The name of the elder son was [Ḫ]braṅ-mi-skyin-pa, that of the younger one Ḫbraṅ-rje-yam-dad. From the younger brother are said to be descended the sixty tribes of Khob *mthaḥ-ḥkhob*, barbarians?

Ḫbraṅ-mi-skyin-pa, the elder brother, had four sons, as follows:—The first is Skyon-pa-thaṅ-rje, the forefather of the people of Smra-Żaṅ-żuṅ (Gu-ge); after him comes Gliṅ-śer-thaṅ-rje, the forefather of the people of Se-ḥa-ża (Lahul?); after him comes Riṅ-rjeḥu-ra, the forefather of the Toṅ-gsum-pa tribe. Together with Sku-rje-khrug-pa, the forefather of the Thaṅ-chuṅ-ldoṅ-mo-ñag tribe, they are four. From these four the tribes of men spread far and wide. Sku-rje-khrug-pa had four sons, viz. Sku-gzugs-kyi-thog-ta, Smad-ma-rje, Gur-bu-rtsi, and Khal-rje, these four. Sku-gzugs-kyi-thog-ta had three sons, viz. Rtse-mi, Rje, and Rje-mi, these three. Smad-pa(ma)-rje had five sons, viz. Khra-mo, Rtsogs-mi, Drag-rje, Zas-rje, and Żaṅ-rje-btsan, these five. Gur-bu-rtsi had five sons, viz. Yaṅ-rje, Riṅ-rje, Smon-rje, Ya-ya, and Rtso-dkar-rje. These five belong to the royal race (Rājanya caste). To the caste of ministers belong Ldoṅ-po-che-yoṅs-tu, Ya-chen-ldoṅ, Nam-chen-ldoṅ, and Thog-rgyud-ldoṅ, these four. As regards the race of nobles (Kshattriya), Thog-rgyud-ldoṅ married a woman, and eighteen sons were born. Then the eighteen Ldoṅ-ru-chen, the Ñes-ldoṅ, and more clans than can be grasped with our minds originated.

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Speaking generally, in Ḫdzam-bu-gliṅ (Jambu-dvīpa) there are five great countries; sixty-two barbarian nations; sixty 'further barbarian [nations]'; the eighteen large

provinces of Hbog-hchol; and the twenty-four little and minor kingdoms. These are found in our southern Hdzam-bu-gliṅ. Then, to the south of the chief mountain of the middle (Sumeru), there is the 'tree of life' (Bodhi-tree) of Hdzam-bu-gliṅ and other countries. When the number of the 1,002 Buddhas of this 'Good Kalpa' was in the period of diminishing, there [appeared] at Rdo-rje-gdan (Vajrāsana) of India, at the heart of Bodhi (Bodhimaṇḍa), the four wheel-turning kings. Let us relate only of the great ones among them. At the time when the wheel-turning kings lived in the belly of Mount Ri-rab (Sumeru), fields and grounds being still in the egg, each Buddha went to do his teaching and accomplished his course. The men of Lha-mi-groṅ-bdun (the seven towns of the divine men) [then] lived in the belly of Mount Mu-khyud-hdzin (Nimindhara). They ate nectar and enjoyed the essence [of food]. The people of Me-tog-snubs-gnas were born on the flowers of the wishing-tree, and enjoyed the fruits [of it]. The 'men who drank the essence of nectar' were born on the twigs of the Hdzambu-briksha [tree]; they enjoyed the sap of the Hdzambu-briksha [tree]. The Mi-ham-ci (Kinnaras) and three others ate the fruit of the immortal tea-[tree], and drank the *Kha-żag* (foam ?) of the ocean. The [so-called] Sdig-btsugs fight against the sword-carrying ogres. Their food is flesh and blood. The children of the Skyes-drug are born in the heat of five summers, and die in winter. The Mgo-ñan have heads of various animals, eat grass, and live in the lakes of the small continents (islands).

As regards the four places of birth :—Hdzam-bu-gliṅ (Jambudvīpa) of the South was born from the womb; Lus-hphags-po of the East (Pūrva-Videha) was born out of moisture; Ba-laṅ-spyod (Paścima-Godānīya) of the West was born out of an egg; and Sgra-mi-sñan of the North (Uttara-Kuru) was born spontaneously. There are four kinds of 'dwarfs of the frontier', viz. Gam-śaṅ-Rgya, Gyim-śaṅ-Hor, Ha-le-Mon, and Spu-rgyal-Bod, these four. There were also four kinds of inner dwarfs, viz. Smra-Żaṅ-żuṅ, Gtoṅ-gsum-pa, Ldoṅ-me-ñag, and Se-ha-ża, these four. As regards the four kinds of separated dwarfs :—one kind was separated from the hyena tribe (?); one kind was separated from the monkey tribe (?); one kind was separated from the lizard-brahman tribe (?); one kind was separated from the hoof-tribe (?). These and many more [creatures] came into existence, more than can be grasped with our minds. Besides these arose the twenty-four kingdoms, and many more which in course of time became separated from their kind.

At that time the essence of nectar, of reddish-yellowish colour and of a honey-like taste, came into existence. The god Gśed-bu (Manu) tasted it, and, having enjoyed its sweet taste, again and again coveted it. Thereupon all men followed his [example], and, they having licked it, their bodies became firm and obtained weight and other attributes; the light of their bodies deteriorated; they could no more go up to the heavens; and, when it became dark and they were distressed, then by virtue of the religious merit of the community, in the lifetime of Gśed-can (Manu), the light of the day, the fiery mirror of the sun, appeared. At the same time, during the lifetime of Gśed's (Manu's) helpmate, the light of the night, the watery mirror of the moon, appeared. During the lifetime of Gśed-bu (Manu) the Milky Way appeared. At that

time those who ate much became of ugly complexion; and those who ate little of fine complexion. 'I have a fine complexion; you have an ugly complexion!', they thus saying, the sin of pride began: this was its beginning. When they suffered the effects of their pride, all those who had sucked of the essence of the earth assembled and lamented. Then, through the combined [religious] works of the beings, there appeared on the surface of the great earth a garden of cane, of taste like uncooked honey, and of colour like that of the Kadamsuka (Kadambaka?) flower. That also they ate, and enjoyed it, and, as they despised [one another] as before, that also disappeared. Then, as all men assembled and lamented, through Buddha's compassion and their combined [religious] merit, there came into existence the garden of Sālu rice, which grew without ploughing, and was without husk and straw. If it was mown in the morning, it grew again in the morning; if it was mown in the evening, it grew again in the evening. Every ear of rice contained four Magadha *bre* (of 2–4 pints each) [of grain]. Every grain was [of the size] of four fingers. As during a long period they lived in enjoyment of this, this food being coarser than it had been before, urine, mucus of the nose, dung, etc., came into existence. The male and female genitals appeared. Looking at one another amorously with side-glances, they fell to embracing. The other creatures, seeing this, said 'There one creature is embracing another creature!'; and, throwing stones and gravel so as not to see it, they built miraculous little houses. This is the beginning of house-building.

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[These being further divided into the royal families (Rājanya), which were the rulers of gods and men, there are 360 [divisions]. If we combine them and divide them into two sections, they [consist of] the pure Buddha rulers and the impure creature rulers. The Buddha rulers by act and speech accomplish the welfare of the creatures. The creature rulers, being divided into five sections, are the [three] Spyi-phud (universal?) potentates of the 3,000 [worlds], together with the king of the six kinds [of beings], and the king of Ḫdzam-gliṅ (Jambu-dvīpa), making five. Then the king over the 3,000 [worlds] of suffering beings is Śākya-thub-pa (Śākya-muni Buddha); Tshaṅs-pa (Brāhma) is the king over 1,000 Spyi-phud (Universal Monarch?). There are also the four Great Kings, the protectors of the [four cardinal] points; the king over the six kinds [of beings] is Gśin-rje-chos-rgyal (Yama Dharmarāja), the kings of Ḫdzam-gliṅ are the royal family of Maṅ-bkur (Mahāsammata); the 'wheel-turning kings', Spyi-bo-skyes (Mūrdhaja) and the others, who controlled the golden, silver, copper, and iron [wheels]. When, in the south of the 'mount of the middle', Ri-rab (Sumeru), where is the tree of life, in Rdo-rje-gdan (Vajrāsana) of India, the heart of Bodhi (Bodhimaṇḍa), the 1,002 Buddhas of the good Kalpa were in the period of decline, the wheel-turning kings appeared. Let us mention only the great ones among them. Although by the church histories (*chos-ḫbyuṅ*) of the wise, as well as the great and little genealogies, there are said to be 360 royal families, they may be grouped under two heads, kings become exalted beyond this world, and kings not so exalted. Those exalted beyond this world, having, while ruling over a tranquil world-element, obtained power over transmigration, have been

exalted beyond the spheres of this world; they are such as Śākya-thub-pa (Buddha). The kings not exalted beyond this world are of five kinds, viz. the kings of the physical elements, the kings of noble extraction, the elected kings, the . . . , and Spu-rgyal, the King of Tibet, those five. The five kings of the physical elements are the king of the mountains, the king of the trees, the king of the waters, the king of fire, and the king of the air, these five. The first among them is the king of the mountains, viz. Mount Ri-rab-lhun-po (Sumeru), which is furnished with five jewels. It measures 160,000 *yojanas* from top to bottom. On the summit is the palace of the gods; in the middle that of the divine ogres; below that of the king of the dead. On the [four] sides are the residences of the four great kings [of the cardinal points]. It is the king of the mountains who causes the planets and the lunar mansions to travel round [the sky]. The king of the trees is the wishing-tree (Dpag-bsam-śiṅ, Kalpavṛikṣa): therefrom the gods, enjoying happiness and bliss, receive all their food and clothing: that is the king of trees. The king of waters is the great ocean: whoso drinks of it, his stomach and throat are free from harm. It is the residence of the Nāga kings and the place from which all the precious jewels proceed: that is the king of waters. The king of fire is the conflagration flame of the universe. When it bursts out, it consumes everything short of the two contemplations. Burning below, supporting the realm of hell, the golden earth, the spheres of water and air, capable of destroying Mount Ri-rab-lhun-po, is the king of fire. The king of the air is the wind, who does good works in three thousand ways. It fills the creatures with strength. It dwells in this world-sphere, and its height is 1,600,000 *yojanas*. Its width is beyond measure. It is through the strength of the wind that the sphere of water also does not sink down and does not move sideways. This is the king of the air. Secondly, there are two kings of noble birth, viz. the king of the non-men (Mi-ma-yin, Amānusha) and the king of men. There are five kinds of non-men, viz., the gods (*deva*), demons (*asuras*), animals, inhabitants of the hells (*nāraka*), spirits (*preta*), these five. The first of them is the ruler of the gods, Brgya-byin (Śatakratu, Indra): he is superior to all the others and possesses 1,000 eyes: he is of immeasurable strength and miraculous power. He protects the four lesser powers (Upendra), the four Great Kings, captains of the host of Nāgas in the ocean. Such is the king of the gods. The second is the king of the demons (*asuras*), King Thag-bzaṅ-ris (Vemacitra). Arraying his body with the armour of the four jewels . . . Such is the king of the demons].

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After a council had been held by them all, they said: 'Now we must elect from among us a "lord of the fields", a man who is able to distinguish between good and bad, a man of great diligence and courage, a man kind towards all men, and great in merit generally, who is wise in all works as well as in speech, who is clever in administering judgment (lit. measuring)!' All the field-owners offered him tribute, and, as he received honour from the whole assembly of men, he obtained the name of Maṅ-pos-bkur-ba (Mahāsammata), and all creatures lived in happiness. Then, from the *Mdzod* (*Kośa*):

When the lazy people had heaped up store,
The greedy ones did violence to the lord of the fields;
And seized, ungiven, the fields and the rice,
Then he who gave protection against these,

being occupied in defending the royal race and the nobles and the religious people and caring for morality and wisdom, was called 'king', and his name was 'King Maṅ-pos-bkur-ba'. From about this time men became divided into four or five castes. Or, according to the *Ḫkhor-lo-sna-bdun* ('Seven Cycles'), 'in the beginning all these became differentiated into four or five classes of workmen through the variety of their work and duties.' Those creatures who fulfilled the ten virtues and who loved bathing and cleanliness became the caste of Bram-ze (Brāhmans). Those who lived according to the ten virtues, who knew shame, and who were of great wisdom and great courage, were called nobles (Kshattriya) Those whose behaviour was intermixed with the ten sins, who felt little shame, and who did not shrink from sin and the telling of lies, were called Dmaṅ-rigs (Vaiśya?, Śūdra). Those who had even less modesty and shame, who were endowed with the ten sins, who were highly despised in this world, and who are [always] in conflict with holy conduct, are called the low caste of Chaṇḍālas. This is the beginning of the different castes of men.

King Maṅ-pos-bkur-ba's son was Ḫod-mdzes (Roca): during his life the plants and the stars appeared. His son was Dge-ba (Kalyāṇa): during his life the Mars light appeared. His son was Dge-mchog (Varakalyāṇa): during his life beautiful sounds (music?) and echo came into existence. In his time the lifetime of men was 90,000 years. His son was Gso-sbyoṅ-ḫphags (Utposhadha): during his reign the voice of the thunder came into existence. These five kings are called 'the five kings of the first *kalpa*'. According to a prophecy regarding the birth of the wheel-turning kings, as sons of Gso-[sbyoṅ]-ḫphags (Utposhadha), a swelling formed on the crown of [the king's] head. When it broke, out came a boy of good shape, beautiful, handsome to look at, kind to all creatures, possessing the auspicious marks. As he was born from the crown of his father, he was called 'Crown-born' (Spyi-bo-skyes, Mūrdhaja = Māndhātṛ). This king was in possession of the seven jewels. The seven jewels are the jewel chariot; the jewel stone; the jewel wife; the jewel minister; the jewel elephant; the jewel horse; and the jewel general, these seven jewels. According to others he had a jewel householder instead of a jewel general. Having enjoyed the sovereignty and the seven jewels in Ḫdzam-bu-gliṅ during 80,000 years p. 24 and having brought down from heaven a rain of food and clothing, being admonished by the Yaksha Lha-śes (Divaukasa?), he turned (led?) the jewel wheel, and he went to Heaven, accompanied by his host of wives, and reigned among the four Great Kings of the east, [south], west, and north. As even so he was tormented by desire, in his misery he became evilly inclined even towards Brgya-byin (Indra), and his [religious] merit being exhausted, in the same body he descended to the earth, and he died. This king knew all the creatures by their names (named them?),

and he introduced the handicrafts and many kinds of work. In his time the life of men was 80,000 years. From a swelling on Spyi-bo-skyes' (Mūrdhaja's) right shoulder a boy was born. He was called Mdzes-pa (Cāru). He turned the golden wheel and reigned over the four continents. From a swelling on Mdzes-pa's left shoulder a boy was born. He was called Ñe-mdzes (Upacāru); he turned the silver wheel and reigned over three continents. From a swelling formed on Ñe-mdzes' right thigh a boy was born. He was called Mdzes-can (Cārumant): he turned the copper wheel and reigned over two continents. From a swelling formed on Mdzes-can's left thigh a boy was born. He received the name Mdzes-ldan (Cāruka): he turned the iron wheel and reigned over one continent. In his time a life was 70,000 years. These kings are called the five wheel-turning kings.

Mdzes-ldan's son was Rgyal-byed (Jaya ?); his son was Mdzes-dgaḥ (Cārunanda ?); his son was Mi-sred-pa (Aruci ?); his son was Btaṅ-bzuṅ (Mucilinda). During his reign a life was 60,000 years, and the propitious measures of time originated then. During King Btaṅ-bzuṅ's reign Buddha Ḫkhor-ba-ḥjig (Krakucchanda) came to teach. Btaṅ-bzuṅ's son was Lus-stobs-gser-thub. 9,000 generations after him, during the reign of King Rgyal-byed-chen-po (Mahājaya), Buddha Gtsug-tor-can (Śikhin) came to teach. Then, 1,000,200 generations after him, a king called Me-sde-ldan appeared. The 100,000 royal families which originated from his eight sons and grandsons reigned over many various kingdoms. During their time a life was 40,000 years. Buddha Thams-cad-skyobs (Viśvabhū) came to teach. 7,000 generations after them a king called Bzod-pa-bkaḥ (Durdharṣa ?) appeared. During his reign a life was 30,000 years. Buddha Log-par-dad-sel (?) came to teach. He preached the *Chos-spyod-rgyud* (*Dharma-caryā-tantra?*). 160,000 generations after him King Glaṅ-chen-spyi appeared. During his time a life was 20,000 years. At the same time the perfect Buddha Gser-thub (Kanakamuni) came. 150,000 generations after him a king called Kri-kri (Kṛkin ?) appeared. A life attained 15,000 years. Buddha Ḫod-sruṅ (Kāśyapa) came to teach. He preached the *Chos-rnal-ḥbyor-rgyud* (*Dharma-yoga-tantra*). Kri-kri's son was Legs-skyoṅ (Surakṣita = Sujāta ?). 100 generations after him, at Gru-ḥdzin (Potala), a king called Rna-ba-can (Karṇika) appeared.

NOTES ON THIS CHAPTER

We find the same or similar subjects treated in the first chapter of Ssanang Ssetsen, in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (pp. 1–17), and in several Indian books which are not at my disposal. The mythological names given in *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* often differ from those given here. On the whole the above account is a compilation from several Indian works. But occasionally Tibetan ideas are introduced. Thus, the first dynasty of gods, beginning with Nam-kyer-rgyal-po (in the time of Ḫod-gsal), is probably of Bon-po origin. Nam-kyer-rgyal-po was, in my opinion, later on identified with Indra (Śatakratu, Brgya-byin). Thus, in the Kesar-saga, Skyer-rdzoṅ-sñan-po (probably the same as Nam-kyer-rgyal-po) and Brgya-byin are identical. From the *Gzer-mig* (a Bon-po work) we learn that also *Ye-mkhyen*, *Ḫod-gsal*, and *Sman* are names of Bon-po deities. Then the table of nations seems for the greater part to be of Tibetan origin. It is not yet possible, however, to identify all the nations mentioned in it. As regards (Se)-ḥa-ža (pronounced Ghaža), which is supposed to be the same as Gar-ža, Lahul, it is the natives of Lahul themselves who claim this name as referring to their country. In a seventeenth century document the name of the country is spelled Gva-ja. Khrom-Ge-sar-ḥdan-ma may refer to an ancient line of kings of Leh. In a rather modern inscription from Dpe-thub Ladakh is called Ge-sar-

gdan. Before the arrival of King Skyid-lde-ñi-ma-mgon, in the tenth century, it is said that 'Upper Ladakh was held by the descendants of Gesar'. Of particular interest is the present new version of the tale of the monkey descent of the Tibetans (barbarians). Here they are stated to be descended from a monkey Su-tiṅ. As stated by Jäschke in his dictionary, the Tibetans themselves assert that the designation Mthaḫ-ḫkhob-pa, 'barbarians,' refers to their own nation. Regarding the three names of Manu, I suppose that one of them, Gśed-can, denotes a 'father Manu', Gśed a 'mother Manu', and Gśed-bu a 'son Manu'. But the text is not at all clear in the passages referring to them. In the table of nations the name Gliṅ-śer-thaṅ-rje was given as the name of the forefather of the people of Ha-ża (Lahul). Now it is interesting that in the Lahul village of Pyu-dkar there is still to be found a grove of old trees which is sacred to Taṅ-jar. Taṅ-jar is evidently the Bunan pronunciation of Thaṅ-rje.

'Dwarf' seems to be the designation of the non-Tibetan tribes. There are 'dwarfs of the frontier', whose countries are marked by the last syllables of their names, as follows: Gam-śaṅ-Rgya may be the Chinese; Gyim-śaṅ-Hor, the Turkomans; Ha-le-Mon, the Indians; Spu-rgyal-Bod, the people speaking Kanāwarī and similar languages (near Mount Pu-rgyul).

The inner dwarfs seem to be speakers of foreign languages within Tibet. Smra-Żaṅ-żuṅ are the inhabitants of Guge, who according to other accounts formerly spoke a non-Tibetan language. The Gtoṅ-gsum-pa I cannot explain; the Ldoṅ-me-ñag are a non-Tibetan tribe in the south-east, perhaps related to the Shans. The Se-ḫa-ża are apparently the Lahulīs, who still speak languages of their own.

[The account of the seven Buddhas is confused. The first, Ḫkhor-ba-ḫjig (Krakuechanda), is clearly an error for Rnam-gzigs (Vipaśyin), while Log-par-dad-sel below seems to be another rendering of Krakucchanda. The kings Rgyal-byed, Mdzes-dgaḫ, Lus-stobs-gser-thub, Me-sde-ldan, Bzod-pa-bkaḫ(dkaḫ) and Glaṅ-chen-spyi are not identified, and the name of the third seems to contain the equivalent of Kanakamuni.—F. W. T.]

III. The Genealogy of the Śākyas

(*S* MS.) (*Verse*) Drawn on by the tambour-string of the melodious voice which pronounces blessing, the Age of Bliss (*Bhadrakalpa* = Church), ambrosia of supreme wisdom, 'basket' which is the source of unfailing knowledge, with the secret treasure of the heart, that superlative Wishing-Jewel, made into a fair Śrīvatsa ornament: its great originator with his Ten Powers, manifested on high like the full moon with its moon-gem halo in the midst of the thousand stars, whose glory, celebrated by the Queen of Holy Speech as a white lotus by reason of the spotless strength of the verification, perfect in power, of his vow with its might-attended wave, beats against the boundary walls of the Three Existences, that victorious one of Ikshvāku's race: the jewel of His teaching, being the capital sum of good and wholesome, acquired by the merchandise of the countless good deeds of the world, including the gods—

The author, increaser, and upward developer thereof depending upon a great king ruling the area of the wide earth, our teacher (Buddha) looked out for a clan, a country, a time, a family, and a woman, these five, and allowed himself to be born as Zas-gtsaṅ's (Śuddhodana's) son. Let us first relate a little of his family. p. 25

When the people of Āryāvarta, though they had passed from the undying state, had a life of immeasurable length, with abundant [gratification] of their nine desires, and had power over infinite accomplishments, they enjoyed ambrosia not dependent upon the force of exertion, the sap of the earth, the fertility of the ground, gardens of sugar-cane, and abundance of rice, which gave crops without ploughing.

Then the accomplishments which belonged to [the state] of the gods became changed; the crops which grew without ploughing disappeared entirely, [the

harvest] depended on work. When pains had to be taken over agriculture, there arose mutual quarrelling and fault-finding, and King Maṅ-pos-bkur-ba (Mahāsammata), was first so named because he decided judgment in a just way, and before him all bowed in reverence.

Then [there reigned] successively: Ḫod-mdzes (Roca); Dge-ba (Kalyāṇa); Dge-mchog (Varakalyāṇa); and Gso-sbyoṅ-ḥphags (Utposhadha). These five are called the group of Early Kings. The [five] sons of Gso-sbyoṅ-ḥphags, the wheel-turning kings, were, according to a presage, born in this way: on the crown of [Gso-sbyoṅ-ḥphags'] head there formed a swelling, and, when it broke, therefrom issued Ṅa-la-[las]-nu (Māndhātṛ); from a swelling which arose on his [Ṅa-la-las-nu's] right thigh issued Mdzes-pa (Cāru); from a swelling on his [Mdzes-pa's] left thigh issued Ñe-mdzes (Upacāru); from a swelling on his [Ñe-mdzes'] right foot issued Mdzes-ldan (Cārumant); and from a swelling on his [Mdzes-ldan's] left foot issued Ñe-mdzes-ldan (Upacārumant). These five are called the five 'kings who turned the wheel [of religion]'.

The last four reigned over from four to one continents. They are the kings who turned the gold, silver, copper, and iron wheels [of religion]. From these kings down to Zas-gtsaṅ (Śuddhodana), it is said, there descended 1,215,114 kings in succession, or 834,534 according to the [book] *Ḫjigs-rten-gdags-pa* (*Loka-prajñapti*)[1]. These two [different] ways of stating [the number] not having been clearly shown by the authors dependent upon Gžon-nu-dpal, crest-jewel of all those who relate the annals of the Iron Age, afterwards also must be considered by the learned who desire to investigate the annals.

To continue: to the family of that same teacher (Buddha) belong the names Ñi-maḫi-gñen (Sūryavaṃśa) and Bu-ram-śiṅ-pa (Ikshvāku), and it is called Śākya. After one hundred generations there arose King Rna-ba-can (Karṇika) in the country of Gru-ḫdzin (Potala). He had two sons, Goḫutama and Bharadhvadza. When Goḫutama, the elder son, saw that government was carried on in a mixed way, religious and irreligious, he thought: 'It will be like that also when I undertake the government.' Then he was sorry, and became an ascetic under the Ṛishi Mdog-nag (Kṛishṇavarṇa, 'Black-colour'). The younger one, Bharadhvadza, reigned. In his time there lived in that country a harlot called Ḫgro-ba-bzaṅ-mo (Jagad-bhadrā). She and a cunning youth called Pa-dmaḫi-rtsa-log (Mṛiṇāla) indulged in sensual pleasure. As she had also immoral intercourse at the same time with another [man, a] merchant, Pa-dmaḫi-rtsa-log became angry and cut off Bzaṅ-mo's head: then he placed the bloodstained sword and Bzaṅ-mo's head at the door of Goḫutama's cavern. The executioners who pursued, as there was a bloodstained sword and the head of Bzaṅ-mo there, inflicted on Goḫutama the punishment for that [crime], and he was impaled. The Ṛishi Mdog-nag knew all this by intuition, and went to Goḫutama and said: 'My son, what have you done, that you must suffer this?' Goḫutama answered: 'Master, there is no fault in me! By the truth of my word that there is no fault in me may the

[1] [For an analysis of this book see Professor de la Vallée Poussin's *Vasubandhu et Yaçomitra (Abhidharma-koça, c. III)*, London 1914–18.—F. W. T.]

teacher's [black] face become like gold!' At once the black-coloured Ṛishi became golden, and was henceforth called hermit Gser-mdog-can (golden face, Kanakavarṇa).

Then the Ṛishi saw that Goh̲utama's line of religious kings (Dharmarājas) would become extinct, and said to Goh̲utama: 'For the sake of posterity you must leave a seed.' Goh̲utama answered: 'As I am tormented with misery, I cannot beget a family!' Then the teacher produced a pleasant coolness by overshadowing clouds, and Goh̲uutama, experiencing a feeling of pleasure, produced two drops of semen virile mixed with blood. They were placed on two leaves of sugar-cane (Bu-ram-śiṅ, Ikshvāku) and ripened through the heat of the sun and the moisture of the moon, and two boys were produced. They received the names of Bu-ram-śiṅ-pa (Ikshvāku) and Ñi-mah̲i-gñen (Sūryavaṃśa). p. 26.

Ñi-mah̲i-gñen became an ascetic, and Bu-ram-śiṅ-pa reigned. The descendants of Bu-ram-śiṅ-pa became famous, and increased.

One hundred generations after him there arose King H̲phags-skyes-po (Virūḍhaka). He had by his elder spouse four sons, and by the younger one four daughters. At a later (another) time, both wives having died, he married the daughter of a foreign king, who said, 'The sons whom you already have must not reign. If my daughter should have a son, he must reign!' As he had said this, the ministers consulted together, 'We do not know if his daughter will have a son or not. If a son should be born, we do not know if he will live or not. If he should live, we must place him on the throne.' As the result of this consultation he married the princess.

She bore him a son, whom they called Rgyal-srid-dgah̲ (Rāshṭrananda?). At that time the ministers thought as follows:—'If we place the elder brothers on the throne, we go beyond our former promise; if the throne falls to Rgyal-srid-dgah̲, we have to take heed to the elder brothers. Accordingly, we must turn out the elder brothers by some device!' Thus thinking, a crafty one from among the ministers pronounced some calumny and banished them.

Leading their sisters, they went to the banks of the river Bskal-ldan-śiṅ-rta (Bhāgīrathī), built a hut in the forest, not very distant from the place of the Ṛishi Gser-skya (Kapila), and lived there. When they had attained to adolescence, they became pale and thin, and, when the hermit saw this, he asked them about it. They said, 'We have become like this, because we are tortured by passion.' He said, 'Even if it is so, you must avoid the sister with whom you have both parents in common, but amuse yourself with the sister whose mother is in truth the sister of your own mother.' They asked him, 'Great Ṛishi, is it right to do this?' He answered, 'For royalty which has renounced the throne it is right to do this!' They said, 'The words of the hermit are authoritative,' and did accordingly. Many boys and girls were born, and, when their father heard of it, he said, 'Could the young people do such a thing?', or in Indian language: 'Śākya (i.e. *śakyaṃ* "possible?": or "capable"?).' This is the origin of the Śākyas.

55,000 generations of them lived at Groṅ-khyer-gser-skya (Kapilavastu). Then King Śiṅ-rta-bcu-pa (Daśaratha) arose. At the end of twenty-five generations after him there arose a king called Gżu-brtan (Dhanvadurga?). He had two sons Seṅ-ge-ḥgram (Siṁhahanu) and Seṅ-ge-sgra (Siṁhanāda). Seṅ-ge-ḥgram became famous as a skilful archer: he was the greatest of all archers of Ḥdzam-bu-gliṅ (Jambu-dvīpa). Seṅ-ge-ḥgram had four sons: Zas-gtsaṅ (Śuddhodana); Zas-dkar (Śuklodana); Bre-bo-zas (Droṇodana); and Bdud-rtsi-zas (Amṛitodana).

Zas-gtsaṅ was of good form, beautiful, handsome to look at, of great strength, a hero, steadfast, clever, conspicuous for wisdom, cheerful, and of great courage. He did not follow those who were lazy and of evil ways. He was a Righteous King (*Chos-rgyal, Dharmarāja*), full of religion, able to reign according to religion.

This king married the two daughters of King Legs-par-rab(s)-bsad (Suprabuddha), Sgyu-ḥphrul-ma (Māyā), and Sgyu-ḥphrul-chen-mo (Mahāmāyā), each with 500 maid-servants. At a later time King Seṅ-ge-ḥgram died, and Zas-gtsaṅ reigned. At that time all men increased in riches, free from disease of man and beast, and possessed of complete felicity; and he protected them all like children.

At that time the holy son of the gods, Tog-dkar-po (Śvetaketu), looked out for the race, the country, the time, the lineage, and the mother, and entered the womb of King Zas-gtsaṅ's wife, Sgyu-ḥphrul-chen-mo (Mahāmāyā). After he had remained there for twelve months, on the eighth day of the little spring month, under the constellation Tishya, he was born from the right arm-pit of his mother, without being defiled by the impurity of the womb. He was possessed of the thirty-two marks of a great man, and adorned with the eighty physical perfections.

p. 27. On that occasion various auspicious miracles happened:—In four great countries four princes were born; in Magadha Gzugs-can-sñiṅ-po (Bimbisāra), the son of Padma-chen-po (Mahāpadma); in Kosala Gsal-rgyal (Prasenajit), the son of Tshaṅs-sbyin (Brahmadatta); at Bad-pa-la (Kauśāmbī) Śar-ba (Udayana), the son of Dmag-brgya-pa (Śatānīka); at Ḥphags-rgyal (Ujjayinī) Gtum-po-rab-snaṅ (Caṇḍa-Pradyota), the son of Mu-khyud-mthaḥ-yas (Aṇantanemi). And, besides them, 500 [sons] of the upper classes. Including Grags-ḥdzin-ma (Yaśodharā), 800 girls and 500 servants, beginning with Mdun-pa (Chandaka), 10,000 male and 10,000 female foals, and 10,000 elephants were born; 500 pleasure-gardens and 500 treasures came into existence. In the centre (Gayā) the Bodhi-tree [began to] grow.

The son received the name of Don-thams-cad-grub-pa (Sarvārthasiddha). Then the prince grew up, and distinguished himself in the five great branches of science, reading (letters), arithmetic, etc. As regards strength and dexterity, he was superior to Lha-sbyin (Devadatta) and all other illustrious men, and was called Thub-pa (Jina). Then the son was asked to marry a lady, and the youth replied:—

'The aim of desire is known to me as limitless;
Causing strife and quarrel, it is the root of sorrow and suffering;
It is terrible, like the poison leaf;
It is like fire verily, and like the edge of the sword.'

In this way he enumerated many faults of household life, and added, 'But, if there is a girl like this, I will take her.' Thus saying, he wrote down in a letter the qualities of a woman, gave it [to the king], and the king had seven copies published, and issued the following directions :—

'Whoso among the daughters of kings and brahmans,
Of the nobility and of citizens likewise,
Has these qualities,
That girl must be found!
My son will take
That caste and family.
In such a virtuous vessel of qualities and goodness
His heart will rejoice!'

Such a letter he gave to a Brahman with respectful greetings; and the Brahman went to all countries to search for a bride. In course of time he beheld Sa-tsho-ma (Gopā). She smiled [saying], 'All these qualities I have!' He reported to the king, and the king said, 'That woman is a great liar, and I do not believe it! Assemble all the girls [here] within seven days! Let the youth give them presents, all they want to have!' Thus he said, and all the girls came. When the giving of presents was almost finished, Sa-tsho-ma arrived, and smiled. She asked, 'What have I done amiss that I am left among them all without presents?' The youth also smiled, and gave [her] a ring of the value of 100,000 ounces. The youth married Sa-tsho-ma.

Further, he married 104,000 ladies, including Grags-ḫdzin-ma. When he was 29 years old, Grags-ḫdzin-ma became with child. In that very same year he saw the unbearable misery of birth, old age, [illness], and death, and became a monk. p. 28. Then, when he was 35 years old, on the 15th of the month Sa-ga (Vaiśākha), he subdued the devil (Māra). On the morning (or next morning) of the same day and year he became a perfect Saṅs-rgyas (Buddha). Exactly on the same evening a boy was born to Grags-ḫdzin-ma; and, as the moon was just then seized by Sgra-gcan (Rāhu, 'eclipse'), the boy received the name of Sgra-gcan-ḫdzin (Rāhula). At that time King Zas-gtsaṅ said, 'It is six years since Śākya-thub-pa became a mendicant. This son of Grags-ḫdzin-ma is not a son of Śākya-thub-pa.' Thus saying, he accused Grags-ḫdzin-ma, and she wept. Then he placed the boy on a stone and cast him into a pond, saying, 'If he is Śākya-thub-pa's son, may the stone float on the surface of the water! If he is not Śākya-thub-pa's son, may it sink!' The stone remained above the surface of the pond, like a leaf of a tree. When King Zas-gtsaṅ saw this, he entered the water with his clothes on, took the boy on his lap, and lovingly caressed him. He also became a monk, and came to an end of transitory life.

Altogether, from Maṅ-pos-bkur-ba to Sgra-gcan-ḫdzin, there are 1,066,511 kings, or, Bcom-ldan-ḫdas (Buddha) and Sgra-gcan-ḫdzin included, 1,066,513.

NOTES

Schlagintweit mentions the following books as treating of the same or similar subjects:—Csoma, 'On the Origin of the Śākya Race,' JASB., vol. ii; Csoma, 'Notices on the Life of Śākya,' *As. Res.*, vol. xx; Fausböll und Weber, 'Die Pāli-Legende von der Entstehung des Śākya und Koliya-Geschlechtes,' *Ind. Stud.*, Bd. v; Foucaux, *Rgya-cher-rol-pa* (*Lalitavistara*); Schiefner, 'Eine tibetische Lebensbeschreibung Śākyamuni's,' Mém. des sav. étrang. de Pétersbourg, vol. vi; Schiefner, 'Über die Verschlechterungsperioden der Menschheit,' Bull. hist. phil. der Petersburger Akademie, Bd. ix; Turnour, *The Mahāvaṁso.*

This list might of course be amplified at the present day: see Rockhill's *Life of Buddha.* As regards the *Rgya-cher-rol-pa* (*Lalitavistara*), it is of particular interest that the song containing the invitation to all the girls to attend a festival was directly copied from this book. In Csoma's Tibetan grammar, pp. 159–60, the Tibetan text and an English translation of this song are both given. The text of lines 5 and 6 is somewhat different in the two versions. But I find it impossible to decide which of the two versions has to be given the preference. In Csoma's translation after the *Lalitavistara* the song reads as follows: 'Bring hither that maiden, who has the required qualities, whether she be of the royal tribe, or of the Brahman caste, of the gentry, or of the plebeian class. My son regardeth not tribe nor family extraction: his delight is in good qualities, truth, and virtue alone.' Let me add that just above this little song we find in Csoma's grammar the Tibetan text, and an English translation, of Gautama's letter, containing his description of a girl as she ought to be. This also is taken from the Tibetan *Lalitavistara.*

It is interesting that the name Bu-ram-śiṅ-pa (*Ikṣvāku*) is found in many stone inscriptions of Ladakh. There the kings of Ladakh are asserted to be of his family (see my first and second *Collections of Tibetan Historical Inscriptions*, Nos. 65, 71, 79, 117). Zas-gtsaṅ (Śuddhodana) is called an ancestor of the Ladakh kings in inscriptions Nos. 38 and 64. The name Mdzes-ldan (Cārumant) is used as an epithet of the Ladakhi king Ḫjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal. See my article 'Ten Ancient Historical Songs from Western Tibet', *Ind. Ant.*, 1909. According to a statement in the following chapter, king Gsal-rgyal (Prasenajit—the common Tibetan translation seems, however, to represent Prakāśajit—F. W. T.) was the father of Gña-khri-btsan-po, the first king of Tibet.

As I learn from two hitherto unpublished inscriptions from Lahul, two chieftains of Lahul, one from Ko-loṅ, the other one from Bar-bog, are also stated to be of Bu-ram-śiṅ-pa's family.

IV. The Kings of Leh and Lhasa down to Glaṅ-dar-ma

(*S* MS.) The head of the line (lit. lineal king) is Spu-rgyal, the king of Tibet. There are many various accounts of this. Although there are [books called] *Rgyal-spun-po-gsum-khug-blon-poḫi-rgyal-mtshan*, the *Gsaṅ-ba* or *Ḫbru-bdus*, and many others, yet, if we compare (collect) them, two things are well said:

'Well known is the lineage of the gods according to Bon-po ideas;
Mysterious remains the lineage of men according to Buddhist ideas.'

Now, relating according to those texts only, at the navel of our southern Ḫdzam-bu-gliṅ (Jambu-dvīpa), the centre of the countries, the roof of the earth, the curved horn of the snow mountains, the foundation of that crystal *mchod-rten* (*stūpa*), the icy Ti-se (Kailāsa), the rim of the turquoise circle of Lake Ma-baṅ (Manasarowar), the mother-land of jewels and gold, the source of the four great rivers, the six divisions of Tibet,—in this country of high mountains and pure works; we will relate of all this according to [the book] *Daṅ-po-dbaṅ-byed-rim-paḫi-dgu-byuṅ.*

At the time when Tibet was troubled by the twelve little kings the King of Kosala, Gsal-rgyal (Prasenajit), who was of Bcom-ldan-ḫdas' (Buddha's) family, had five sons. The third (middle one) of them, called Buddha-śiri, was born with his eyes covered from above like those of birds, the [fingers and toes] of his hands and feet were connected like those of ducks, and his eyebrows were [blue] like turquoises.

Along with him a host of devils were born. He was shown to Brahman sign-interpreters, and the Brahmans said, 'This prince has splendid marks, and the size of his body will be very great; he will reign before his father is dead.' When they thus prophesied, the father, thinking in his mind, 'He will reign by killing either me or his brothers,' was minded to cast him away. The Brahmans answered, 'If we send him to the snowy northern regions, he will be of benefit to living beings!' As they prophesied thus, they made a throne on the necks of four fast-running men, who carried him across the northern mountains and wilds, and laid him down on the [mountain?] Lha-ri-gyed-mtho, in the middle of Tibet. Although there are many conflicting statements with regard to this [event], he is certainly a Śākya of Goḥutama and Maṅ-pos-bkur-ba's family. Some hunters saw him and asked, 'Who are you? Tell us, Btsan-po (Majesty), whence you came.' As he did not understand their language, he pointed with his finger to the sky. The hunters told and confirmed this to the people, and many people went there and were shown [the boy]. When the twelve little kings saw that he was good and of great brilliance and pleasing, they said, 'We have no overlord; we must invite him to be our little drum!' (*L* MS.: little lord). Thus saying, Btsan-khruṅ and Snums, both, Gña-ra-rtse and Gtso, both, and the two Khu-stegs, these six families of subjects invited him. Ra-saṅs-dar-pa and Khyuṅ-po became governors. Śes-gñen of Me-ñag was elected minister. Thus he was appointed king of all 'black-heads' [Tibetan expression for men]. The name of Gña-khri (Neck-throne) was given him. 'Great Gña-khri-btsan-po!' thus he was addressed. The lands Yar-luṅ and so forth were his precious and excellent diadem, and he resided at the castle Phyi-dbaṅ-stag-rtse. Power and justice were his ornaments. He ruled the world according to religion, and his realm was in a happy state. He had a fourfold bodyguard. The outside foes were subdued by the forty-four governors of Rgod-ldod (or Rgod-ldoṅ). The inner administration was regulated by the forty-four governors of Gyur-ldod (or Gyur-ldoṅ). At the four extremities of his kingdom he appointed spies (or scouts). The enemies of the four extremities were subdued by the eight Khrom-kha (*L* MS.: Khrom-khra) (governors). At Roṅ-do twenty-two officials [called] Kha-ba-so (*L* MS.: Khab-so) filled the barns [with grain]. From the twelve markets riches were offered to the king; wise men decided about rewards for good and bad. By punishing criminals the source of deceit was stopped. Five wise men brought fame to the country through their writings in gold and turquoise; five heroes adorned it as lions and tigers; five quick messengers rode on horses, which they changed in their course [*L* MS. quite unintelligible]. The justice of this great [king] was as [glorious] as if the sun rose over glaciers. Among his deeds he built the palace of H̱um-bu-bla-sgaṅ. Theft, deceit, [was overcome]; in trade advantage was not looked for. The whole kingdom flourished, and the government was beneficent. It was grand and excellent in all respects.

p. 29.

NOTES

King Gña-khri-btsan-po is mentioned as an ancestor of the Ladakhi kings in the following inscriptions of my collection:—Nos. 51, 54, 72, 75, 78, 81, 84, 111, 119. The place-names given in the account of his kingdom

all seem to refer to Ladakh, see my article 'The Kingdom of Gnya-khri-btsan-po', J. & PASB., vol. vi, No. 8, 1910. Phyi-dbaṅ-stag-rtse seems to be identical with the present village of Phyi-dbaṅ, eight miles from Leh; Ḥum-bu-bla-sgaṅ with Um-[b]la, eight miles from Phyi-dbaṅ; Roṅ-do with the village of Roṅ-do in Nubra, not far from Phyi-dbaṅ; Rgod-ldod with Rgod-yul in Upper Ladakh; and Gyur-ldod with the district of Gyu-ru in Central Ladakh. As we learn from the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (pp. 149–50), all the places mentioned by the Central Tibetan historians in connexion with the first king of Tibet are situated near Bsam-yas. But most of their names are different from those given here. Me-ñag is probably the same as Mi-ñag, a province of Khams.

As regards Gña-khri-btsan-po's date, the following attempts at fixing it have been made: 313 B.C. according to I. J. Schmidt's *Ssanang-Ssetsen*, p. 21; 250 B.C. according to Csoma de Körös (Grammar, p. 177); 50 B.C. according to Schlagintweit (*Rgyal-rabs*, p. 14) and S. Ch. Das; 416 B.C. according to the book *Grub-mthaḥ-šel-gyi-me-loṅ*; before Buddha according to the Bon-po chronicles.

Legend of his origin according to the Bon-po chronicles:—He is the son of Pāṇḍu and Krasnā (Kṛishṇā or Draupadī). In this connexion the *Mahābhārata* tale and many of its names occur in the Bon-po chronicles (see Laufer, 'Tibet. Geschichtswerk der Bon-po,' *T'oung Pao*, sér. II, vol. xi, p. 8).

Chinese legends of his origin: According to the *Ytoungtche* (Mémoires concernant la Chine, xiv, 1789. pp. 127–8) he came from a western country and settled at Si-tche-choui. His name was Houi-ty-pou-tsoui-ye. In Parker, *Manchu Relations with Tibet*, we read (JRAS., N.Ch.B., 1886, p. 301): 'a Wutiyana-Khan, who fled eastward over the Hindu Kush, founded the Yarluṅ house. His name was Nyatpo-Khan.'

The Mongol versions are in close agreement with the Central Tibetan Buddhist version, and therefore somewhat different from the above account.

It is remarkable that the numeral 44 as the number of certain officials is also found in Sir Aurel Stein's collection of documents from Turkestan. The title Khab-so, which is also found in the ancient stone monuments of Lhasa, seems to mean 'Guard of the castle'.

As regards postal service among the Tibetans, it may be noted that one of the documents found by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan is impressed with a seal showing a rider galloping. It looks almost like a stamp ensuring quick transmission.

His son was Mu-khri-btsan-po.
His son was Dir-khri-btsan-po (*L* MS.: Riṅ-khri-btsan-po).
His son was So-khri-btsan-po.
His son was Me-khri-btsan-po.
His son was Gdags-khri-btsan-po.
His son was Sribs-khri-btsan-po.
These seven are called the seven heavenly thrones.
After seven cycles
The tombs of the seven Khri were made in heaven (*L* MS.: the seven Khri, the rulers, were sent to heaven):
Their divine bodies dwindled away like rainbows, without remains.

Thus they, having the gods of light for their leaders, lived many years; and, when the sons following them were fit to hold the bridle (were fit for ruling), the fathers before them went happily to heaven, dwindling away like a rainbow.

NOTES

In the book *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 150, the names of these kings are given as follows: Gña-khri-btsan-po, Mu-khri-btsan-po, Diṅ-khri, So-khri, Mer-khri, Srib-khri (Gdags-khri being omitted). In other Central Tibetan historical works (S. Ch. Das, 'Contributions, etc.,' JASB., vol. l, p. 215) the names of the queens of these kings are given. Herbert Müller ('Tibet in seiner geschichtlichen Entwickelung,' Zeitschrift für vergl. Rechtswissenschaft, vol. xx, p. 307) notes that all these kings were named after their mothers (the Tibetan matriarchate).

The son of Sribs-khri-btsan-po was Gri-gum-btsan-po.

He had three sons: Śa-khri, Ña-khri, and Bya-khri.

Bya-khri received the name of Spu-de-guṅ-rgyal. He resided at the great castle of Yar-luṅ. In the time of this king the *bon* [religion] of the *Yuṅ-druṅ* (*svastika*) arose. Besides, the essence of burnt wood, charcoal, and the essence of molten leather, glue, came into existence (were found). Iron-ore, copper-ore, and silver-ore were found.

'The three ores were melted with coal, and silver, copper, and iron showed themselves.

Pieces of wood were pierced, and ploughs and yokes were made. p. 30.

Two equal [*mdzos*] were put into the yoke, and the plains were ploughed into fields.

The water of the lakes was led into irrigation canals, and bridges were built across rivers.'

Many such implements came into existence.

NOTES

As we learn from the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 150, these kings are known by the name Bar-gyi-ldiṅ, 'flying between,' or 'the floating ones of the earth'. From the same book we learn that Gri-gum-btsan-po was murdered by his minister, who reigned for some time. Under Gri-gum-btsan-po the Dur-bon religion, and under Spu-de-guṅ-rgyal the Gnam-bon religion arose. As regards the Bon religion, its earliest type is certainly nature-worship, as represented in the ancient Tibetan-Chinese inscriptions from Lhasa (eighth and ninth century), and in the *Gliṅ-chos* of Ladakh. As regards *Gliṅ-chos*, see my article in Hastings' *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, s.v.; also, 'The Ladakhi Pre-Buddhist Marriage Ritual,' *Ind. Ant.*, 1901, pp. 131 seq.: 'A Bon-po Hymnal,' *Ind. Ant.*, 1901, p. 359; 'Kesarsage,' Mém. de la Soc. Finno-ougrienne, No. xv, pp. 21–31; 'A Lower Ladakhi Version of the Kesarsaga,' *Bibl. Ind.*, Nos. 1134, 1150, 1164, 1218; 'The Paladins of the Kesarsaga,' J. & PASB., 1906 (p. 46), 1907 (p. 67); and unedited MSS. from Khalatse, Poo, and Tagmachig.

Places of the cult of the *Gliṅ-chos* see in my article 'Historische Dokumente von Khalatse', ZDMG., Bd. lxi, pp. 583–92.

Illustrative rock-carvings see in my article 'Rock-carvings from Lower Ladakh', *Ind. Ant.*, vols. xxxi, p. 398, xxxii, p. 361, and our finds on the expedition of 1909.

As regards editions of Bon-po literature of the period when it was influenced by Buddhism and Hinduism, the following may be mentioned:—

Mdo-gzer-mig and *Ḥdus-pa-rin-po-che*, extracts by S. Ch. Das, in JBTS., 1893, pp. 1–7. It contains the history of Gśen-rabs of Žaṅ-žuṅ (Guge), the legendary founder of the Bon religion. It is modelled on the Buddha legend. Then it speaks of Gśen-rabs' journey to China to assist the emperor Koṅtse in saving his castle. This tale is similar to the tale of Kesar's journey to China.

Then, in Appendix ii of the same journal, we hear of the highest aim of the Bon religion. It is to retain one's personality by seeking the welfare of all beings. After that a number of charms and lists of Bon-po deities are given. In these lists the name Khro-bo, which is so common in the ancient inscriptions from Ladakh, is found. The four great Khro-bo are mentioned.

In JASB., vol. l, pp. 187 ff., S. Ch. Das gives a translation of the eighth book of *Grub-mthaḥ-śel-gyi-me-loṅ*, in which are described the different stages of the Bon religion. The fact of its accepting Hindu doctrines at various times is mentioned.

The book *Gtsaṅ-ma-Klu-ḥbum-dkar-po*, translated by A. Schiefner (St. Petersburg Academy *Mémoires*, vol. xxviii, No. 1), contains Gśen-rabs' path of delivery from transmigration. It appears to be half Hinduist, half Buddhist (see Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, p. 206).

The books *Klu-ḫbum-ḫdus-paḫi-sñiṅ-po* (Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne, No. xi) and *Sa-bdag-klu-gñan-gyi-sgrog-khrol* (Vienna Academy *Sitzungsberichte*, vol. xlvi) have been translated by Dr. B. Laufer. They contain songs of exorcism. The latter work especially is remarkable as having remained untouched by Hindu or Buddhist ideas. Its character is primitive and animistic.

B. H. Hodgson published several plates of Bon-po deities in JRAS., 1861. As they look almost like present-day Buddhist deities, the greater is the importance of my discovery of an ancient Bon-po temple at Lamayuru with frescoes of Bon-po priests represented in blue and black dress. The blue dress of the Bon-po priests is mentioned in JASB., vol. 1, pp. 198, 211. A description of the Bon-po monastery at Shendar-ding is given in S. Ch. Das' *Journey to Lhasa*, 1902, pp. 205 sqq. The monastery, as well as the monks, can nowadays hardly be distinguished from Buddhist ones.

Rgyal-rabs-bon-gyi-ḫbyuṅ-gnas, the Bon-po chronicle, has been printed by S. Ch. Das; extract given by Dr. B. Laufer in *T'oung Pao*, vol. xi, No. 1. As the genealogical rôle of Chinggis Khan's family shows, the chronicles were compiled later than 1828 A.D. They contain the Bon-po version of the legends of the origin of the Tibetans and of their first king. They are of a distinctly Hinduist colouring. The story of the fall of the Bon religion under Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan is related at some length.

I am of opinion that, according to a certain school of ancient Tibetan historians, Spu-de-guṅ-rgyal was the first king of Tibet. My reasons are the following:—(1) His name contains the name Spu-rgyal; (2) Under him the great castle of Yar-luṅ is mentioned again; (3) The Bon religion is stated to have risen under him; (4) The story of the introduction of civilization into Tibet is connected with him.

His son was 'A-śo-legs. His son was 'I-śo-legs. His son was . . . By that king the palace of Phyi-dbaṅ-stag-rtse was built. That was the commencement of building palaces and forts. His son was De-śo-legs. During his lifetime singing and dancing spread. His son was Gu-ru-legs. His son was Ḫbroṅ-rje-legs. His son was Thoṅ-śo-legs. These are called 'the six Legs (good ones) of the earth'.

NOTES

The names of these kings, according to the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 150, are as follows:—'O-śo, De-śo, Thi-śo, Gu-ru, Ḫbroṅ-źiṅ, and 'I-śo. It looks almost as if this group originally consisted of seven kings. In the *Rgyal-rabs*, after 'I-śo-legs, the words 'his son was' occur; but instead of the name a blank is left. For this reason we might perhaps insert here the name Thi-śo, which is found in the *Bodhimör* (see I. J. Schmidt's *Ssanang Ssetsen*, p. 319) as well as in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*.

His sons were Zin-la-zin-lde, Lde-phrug-gnam-gzuṅ-btsan, Lde-rgyal-po-btsan, Se-snol-lam-lde, Se-snol-po-lde, Lde-lam, Lde-snol-po, Sprin-btsan-lde. These are called 'the eight Lde (beauties, *lde*, *rde*, *bde*) of the earth'.

NOTES

The names of this group of kings, according to the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 150, are as follows:—Za-nam-zin-lde, Lde-ḫphrul-nam-gźuṅ-btsan, Se-snol-nam-lde, Se-snol-po-lde, Lde-snol-nam, Se-snol-po-lde, Lde-snol-nam, Lde-snol-po, Lde-rgyal-po, Lde-sprin-btsan. As we see, there are here ten of them. They are called Bar-gyi-lde (Beauties of the 'middle region', the earth); and the last seven are known by the name Sil-ma-bdun (the seven tinkling sounds ?).

His son was called Tho-tho-ri-loṅ-btsan. Down to his father the mothers were *Lha-mos* (goddesses) and *Klu-mos* (Nāgīs). From him onwards, as they were offspring of subjects and relatives, the descendants of Tho-tho-ri-loṅ-btsan were called Klu-rgyal

(Nāga-rāja). His son was Khri-btsan. During his lifetime roads (?) and bridges [were constructed]. His son was Khri-thog-rje-thog-btsan. His son was called Lha-tho-tho-ri-sñen-bśal (*L* MS.: sñan-bśal). He was an incarnation of the august Kun-tu-bzaṅ-po (Samanta-bhadra). He reigned for sixty-two years. At the time when he dwelt at the great palace of H̲um-bu-rdzaṅs-mkhar, which had come into existence of itself without being built, a basket came down from heaven, as a premonition of the spread of Buddha's teaching in Tibet. Sliding down together by a ray of light, there came down to the king's palace the book *Za-ma-tog* (*Kāraṇḍavyūha-sūtra*); the *Paṅ-koṅ-phyag-rgya-pa* (a Sūtra work, *Spaṅ-skoṅ-phyag-rgya*); the essence [of religion], namely, the six syllables [*om maṇi padme hūm*]; a golden *mchod-rten*, a yard high; a *Tshindhamani* (*Cintāmaṇi*) *tsha-tsha* (a terra-cotta with Buddha's image); and all the *mudrā* positions of the fingers. Not knowing whether these were Bon or Buddhist, they honoured them with beer and turquoise offerings. Blessing resulted from it, and [the king] attained to 120 years of age. Thus, during the lifetime of this king the beginning of the holy religion took place.

NOTES

These kings form a group according to the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 150, where they are called Smad-kyi-btsan-lṅa (the five lower majesties). According to that book their personal names are as follows:—To-ri-loṅ-btsan, Khri-btsan-nam, Khri-sgra-dpuṅ-btsan, Khri-thog-rje-btsan, Lha-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan. Thus we see that in the Lhasa chronicles this group contains one more member. This is the last group of kings who are furnished with a group name. After this the kings show more individuality, and may be historical personages. Looking at their various groups, it occurs to me that through their group names they are connected with the three realms of the world, according to pre-Buddhist ideas. According to the *Gliṅ-chos* the world consists of Staṅ-lha, heaven of the gods, Bar-btsan, the earth, and Gyog-klu, the realm of the Nāgas. The first group of kings, the 'seven heavenly thrones', are evidently connected with Staṅ-lha; the second, third, and fourth group, viz. Bar-gyi-ldiṅ, Sa̱hi-legs-drug, and Sa̱hi-lde-brgyad, belong to the earth; and the last group, Smad-kyi-btsan-lṅa, belong to the realm of the Nāgas.

As is stated by S. Ch. Das in JASB., vol. l, p. 193, the reign of king Lha-tho-tho-ri-sñen-bśal was the most flourishing time of the Bon religion. He also states that this king found a salt-mine; but the Ladakh chronicles ascribe this discovery to Gnam-ri-sroṅ-btsan. As we learn from the *Bodhimör* (see I. J. Schmidt, *Ssanang Ssetsen*, p. 320), a few years after the supposed descent of the Buddhist books several strangers arrived in Tibet to make known their importance. The *Spaṅ-skoṅ-phyag-rgya* is included in the *Bka̱h-h̲gyur*, see Beckh's catalogue, p. 57.

His son was Khri-sñan-bzuṅ-btsan (*L* MS.: Khri-sñan). During his lifetime the outlying valleys were brought under notice and cleared for fields.

'The lakes were furnished with gates,
And drawn into irrigation canals.
The glacier-water was collected in ponds,
And the water [which had collected] overnight [was used] for irrigation in daytime.'

Such like things were done in his time.

NOTE

The name of this king is spelt Khri-gñan-bzuṅ-btsan in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 150.

His son was Ḫbroṅ(*L* MS. : Ḫgroṅ)-sñan-lde-ru.

NOTE

In the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 150, his name is spelt Ḫbro-gñan-ldeḫ.

His son was Stag-ri-sñan-gzigs. During the lifetime of this king *mdzos* and mules originated from cross-breeding. The prices of goods were determined, and the grass of the hills was plaited in bundles. Such like things were done.

NOTE

In the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 150, the name of this king is spelt Stag-ri-gñan-gzigs.

His son was Gnam-ri-sroṅ-btsan. During the time of this king there came from China [the arts] of medicine and divination. The King of Gña-żur and others who dwelt in the west of India and Gru-gu were subdued. In the north salt was found. A castle called Khri-brtsegs-ḫbum-gdugs was built.

NOTES

The name of this king is not spelt differently in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 150. As regards Gña-żur, I do not know anything about its situation. Khri-brtsegs reminds me of Khri-rtse in Ladakh ; but I do not venture to identify these two places. Gru-gu is probably identical with Thon-mi, situated in the vicinity of Kamba-rdzoṅ.

p. 31. His son was Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po [Chinese date 600–50 A.D.] (*L* MS. : Sroṅ-btsan-rgam-po), an incarnation of the Bodhisatva Spyan-ras-gzigs (Avalokita). During the lifetime of this king all the kingdoms on the frontier were united under his rule, and every one of the little kings sent presents and letters. Although this king issued innumerable documents signed with his seal, there were no characters in Tibet to send replies to the letters from [various] quarters. And, as [the books of] the famous sanctuary of his ancestor Tho-tho-ri-sñen-bśal remained a mystery, [since they were written] in Indian characters, he thought, 'We must translate them so as to be in Tibetan writing.' Therefore he sent Thon-mi, the son of Ḫ-nu, with a *ḫbre* (a measure) of gold, and sixteen fellow-students to Kashmir to learn the characters. They learned the characters from the Brahman Li-byin; Paṇḍit Seṅ-ge-sgra (Siṃhanāda) taught them (*L* MS. : Paṇḍit Seṅ-ge taught them the language). Bringing them into agreement with the Tibetan language, they made twenty-four *Gsal-byed* [consonants] and six *Riṅs*, [altogether] thirty [characters]. Besides, they made them to agree in form with the Nagara characters of Kashmir. Then, when Thon-mi arrived in Tibet, he met with the king, who was in the garden of his wife 'U-ru. The king said: 'Have you learnt the letters and the language? Then you may offer praise to Spyan-ras-gzigs (Avalokita)!' Thereupon Thon-mi wrote down the *śo-lo-ka* (śloka) :—

Gżal-ras-gsal-la-ṅad-mdaṅs (*L* MS. : *ṅo-daṅs*)-*gaṅ-ba-bzaṅ*,
'A good and full [offering of] fresh scent to Gżal-ras-gsal (Avalokita),'

and presented it to the king. The king was much pleased, and erected the temple of Byin-gyi-khod-mar-rdo (*L* MS. Byin-gyis-thog-mar-rdo); and before the image of Spyan-ras-gzigs these letters (the śloka) were carved on stone. These are the earliest inscription [in Tibet] and the oldest temple.

Then, at the invitation of Thon-mi-Sambhota, there came from Nepal the incarnation of Khro-gñer-ma (Bhṛikuṭī), the Nepalese spouse Khri-btsun. Together with her were brought the Lord Mi-skyod-rdo-rje (Akshobhya-vajra), *Byams-pa-chos-kyi-ḥkhor-lo* (*Maitreya-dharma-cakra*), and the Lady Sgrol-ma (Tārā) of sandal-wood.[1] Then the minister Rig-pa-can brought from China the incarnation of Sgrol-ma (Tārā), the queen and spouse Koṅ-jo. Together with her arrived [the image] of the Lord Rin-po-che (Buddha).

Besides, [the following] worldly inventions were made:—rice-beer, barley-beer, in short,

'All the necessaries for food;
The making of curds from milk;
Butter and butter-milk from curds;
Cheese from butter-milk;
Pots from clay;
Mills turned by water;
Weaving with looms;
And many mechanical arts.'

Then, at Lha-sa, the incomparable monastery of Ra-mo-che and others were erected. Palaces were built on the Dmar-po-ri and on the Lcags-pho-ri, and these two mountains were connected with an iron chain-bridge. As many as 900 monasteries and castles were built.

In his time the Indian teacher Kumara, the Nepalese teacher Śila-mañju, the Kashmiri teachers Tabuta (*L* MS. Tabata) and Ganuta (*L* MS. Ghanuta), the Brahman Li-byin, and the Chinese teacher Ha-śaṅ-mahādheba were invited. The translators (*lo-tsa-ba*) Thon-mi, Dhar-ma-go-śa, and Dpal-gyi-rdo-rje of Lha-luṅ translated religious books in every possible manner and edited them.

During the lifetime of this king Rtsa-mi and Śiṅ-mi of the east, Blo-bo and Żaṅ-żuṅ of the south, and the Hor kingdoms of the north (Turkistan), and others were brought under subjection, and the customs of the holy religion were introduced into them. p. 32

[1] The often-mentioned image of Akshobhya-vajra was seen by Sarat Chandra Das (*Journey to Lhasa*, p. 155) in the Ra-mo-che temple at Lhasa.—F. W. T.

NOTES

As regards local names, the following places are known:—The monastery of Ra-mo-che is stated by S. Ch. Das (Dictionary) to have been built on a plain in the north quarter of Lhasa. But I do not believe that anybody has seen traces of it. Dmar-po-ri, 'the red hill,' is nowadays better known as Potala of Lhasa: Lcags-pho-ri, 'the iron hill,' is still known by its old name; it is situated in the close vicinity of the former. As regards

Lha-luṅ, there is such a place in Ladakh; but I am not sure that there are not other places of this name. Rtsa-mi (pronounced Sa-mi) I feel inclined to identify with Sami of the maps, west of the Manasarowar Lake, especially as the Śinglabcha Pass (probably the old Śiṅ-mi) is in close neighbourhood. Blo-bo is a Tibetan province north of Muktināth. Its ancient capital used to be Lho-mon-sdaṅ (Lo-Mantang of the maps). Żaṅ-żuṅ is one of the provinces of Gu-ge. All these provinces were apparently conquered before Lhasa was made the capital of Tibet.

Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po's two queens, the white and the green Tārā, remind us of the Kesar-saga. Kesar's white wife was Ḥbru-gu-ma, and his green wife is Gyuḥi-dkon-mchog-mo (see my article on Gliṅ-chos in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*). The Ladakhi tale of the minister Rig-pa-can of Shargola in Ladakh, who was sent to fetch the princess from China, is similar to the tale of the minister Gar (see S. Ch. Das' article in JASB., 1881, p. 218). Both versions remind us of the Kesar-saga.

Introduction of Writing.—The characters were formed after the Indian Lañtsha (*Bodhimör*, op. cit., p. 327). The *dbu-med* alphabet was formed after the Indian Vartula (acc. to the *Togbarlova*). This is all fantastical. The Indian script which is most closely related to the Tibetan is the Indian Gupta (North-Western Gupta according to Dr. Vogel) of the fifth to the seventh century (see my article on the Tibetan alphabet written for the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xi, p. 266).

Literature.—Works by Thon-mi-Sambhota :—*Bstan-ḥgyur*, Mdo, vol. cxxiii, *Sku-gzugs-kyi-mtshan-ñid*, by 'A-nuḥi-bu; vol. cxxiv, *Sgraḥ-bstan-bcos-sum-cu-pa*, a grammar; *Luṅ-du-ston-pa-stags-kyi-ḥjug-pa*, by Thon-mi-'A-nu (a grammar). Thon-mi-Sambhota's grammar is practically the same as the one which is printed in the Darjeeling School Series (Tibetan Primer Series, No. iv, where it is stated on p. 1 that the book is an extract from *Thon-mi-legs-bśad-sum-cu-pa*). It is evident that this grammar was written in very ancient days; for it treats of the *drag*, a final suffix which has long disappeared even from the classical language. It treats also of the Tibetan system of tones, and is therefore more than a mere repetition of Indian grammars (see my article in ZDMG., vol. lvii, p. 285). Bu-ston says that the Chinese Kechana were the guides of the Tibetans in the commencement of Buddhism. But there are very few translations by Chinese Buddhists in the encyclopædias. As regards the names of translators, only Kumara and Li-byin are generally known; they occur in the Alci inscription of c. 1000 A.D. Dharma-go-śa may be identical with Dharma-kīrti of the Alci inscription, who is known to have lived during that period; Kumara's name is also found in the Bstan-ḥgyur.

Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po is the reputed author of the book *Maṇi-bkaḥ-ḥbum*, which contains a glorification of Avalokita, and his own history. Wassilieff says with regard to it that it is undoubtedly a modern book. He also wrote a book on horse-breeding (*Bodhimör*, op. cit., p. 329), perhaps the one which is still circulated in Ladakh. His lawbook: S. Ch. Das gives his sixteen moral precepts in his article JASB., vol. 1, p. 219. His 'laws' are also found in the *Bodhimör* (op. cit., pp. 328–9). He had ministers of inner and outer affairs, the *Sain* and *Berke* of the *Bodhimör*.

Progress of Civilization.—The *Bodhimör* states (op. cit., pp. 340–1) that silkworms, mulberry-trees, barley-beer, water-mills, paper, ink, and the calendar were introduced from China.

His son was Maṅ-sroṅ-maṅ-btsan (650–79 A.D.).

NOTES

He is Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po's grandson, according to the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (p. 150) and the *Bodhimör* (op. cit., p. 347). The Chinese chronicles (*Thangshu* in H. Müller's comparative table, *Tibet in seiner geschichtlichen Entwickelung*, Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, vol. xx, p. 325) call him Tsanphu. At first Lutung-tsan (Thon-mi-Sambhota) governs the country; later on Thon-mi-Sambhota's son (Majordomo). Then the *Thangshu* speaks of a war between the Tibetans and the Tukuhun (Turks). The latter, as well as the Chinese, were beaten by the Tibetans. Great extension of the Tibetan empire beyond the Pamir (*Thangshu*, op. cit., p. 329).

His son was Guṅ-btsan (*L* MS. : Guṅ-sroṅ-guṅ-btsan).

NOTE

This name is evidently in the wrong place. As a look at other chronicles shows, Guṅ-btsan was Maṅ-sroṅ-maṅ-btsan's father and Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po's son.

His son was Guṅ-sroṅ-ḫdu-rje (*L* MS.: Ḫdu-sroṅ-ḫdu-rje) (679–705 A.D.). During the time of this king were conquered:—in the east as far as the Rgyal-poḫi-chu (Hoangho); in the south as far as Śiṅ-khun (*L* MS.: Śiṅ-kun) of Nepal; in the north as far as Kra-krag-dar-chen of Turkestan; in the west as far as Chun-riṅs of [B]lo-bo; Naṅ-goṅ on the Balti road, and Śi-dkar of the Lowland. From Rgya (China or India) came tea, *borddha-mal* (?) (*L* MS.: stone drums), clarionets, long trumpets, telescopic trumpets, etc.

Besides, the seven men of great skill arose [as follows]:—Khri-bdun-yul-byin (*L* MS.: Khri-bdun-yul) could jump across chasms which were nine *ḫdom* (27 feet) wide; Gduṅ-grags of Gsal-snaṅ could catch a wild yak by throwing a sling at his feet; Rkod-btsan (*L* MS.: Rgod-btsan) of 'A-thog could seize a lion by his mane; Klu-goṅ (*L* MS.: Klu-koṅ) of Cog-ro could pierce with his arrow a tree, which was two *ḫdom* (18 feet) thick; Ltag-bzaṅ (*L* MS.: Stag-bzaṅ) of Ḫbrom could bring down castles by leading water [below them]; and Gyag-chuṅ of Ḫgos (*L* MS.: Bgos) could twirl round his head a deer's hide filled with gold. [This king] was more powerful than the previous kings of Tibet.

NOTES

The following local names can be identified:—the Rgyal-poḫi-chu is the Hoangho; Kra-krag in Turkestan is probably Karakash near Khotan; Naṅ-goṅ is nowadays the ordinary name of Baltistan; Śi-dkar is one of the most important towns of Baltistan, near Skar-rdo; Gsal-snaṅ is a name of a vihāra, according to Schiefner; as regards 'A-thog, it is the name of the Indus Valley near Skar-rdo, according to Miss J. E. Duncan, *A Summer Ride, etc.*, p. 287; Cog-ro is according to Schiefner the name of a vihāra; it is the home of Śes-rab-bla-ma according to the *Bstan-ḫgyur* (Cordier, p. 161); the *Bodhimör* speaks (op. cit., p. 362) of a powerful clan called Jog-ro, which existed during this period; Ḫbrom is the name of an ancient family of Tibet, and possibly a local name; Ḫgos is the name of a monastery, as well as of a tribe (Schiefner). According to the *Bstan-ḫgyur* (Cordier, p. 131) it is the home of Lha-btsas, the translator.

This king is called Ḫdus-sroṅ-maṅ-rje in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (p. 150), Dusrong-mangbo in the *Bodhimör* (op. cit., p. 347), and Chinu-hsi-lung-tsanphu in the *Thangshu* (op. cit., p. 325); but there is no absolute certainty about the identity of the Tibetan and Chinese names.

Notes from the *Thangshu* (op. cit., p. 330): The Major-domo retained his authority. In 678 a Chinese army was beaten on the Kuku-Nor by the Tibetans. Then several Tibetan chiefs took the side of the Chinese, and the Chinese reconquered Turkestan. The Major-domo was turned out, and he committed suicide together with 100 of his friends (the *Bodhimör*, op. cit., p. 347, mentions two Major-domos during this reign).

His son was Khri-lde-btsug-brtan-mes-'ag-tshoms (705–55 A.D.). During the lifetime of this king the castle of Kha-brag-dar-phu was built at Lhasa; all the lowlands were filled [with buildings]. He built the vihāras Khri-rtse of Gliṅ-bcu ('Ten lands'); at Brag-dmar Ga-chu-śar-sgo, Phaṅ-thaṅ-ka-med, Ka-chu-pan-chub (*L* MS.: Ka-chu-ban-chuṅ), Brag-dmar-mgrin-bzaṅ (*L* MS.: Ḫbrin-bzaṅ), and many others. Su-dgu-śo-ka of Brag-kha (*L* MS.: Dgu-śo-ka of Bran-kha) and Dzñana-kumara of Sñegs became translators (*lo-tsha-ba*), and translated the two books (*Gser-ḫod-dam-pa* (*Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra*) and *Las-brgya-pa* (*Karma-śataka*). Pi-tsi-tsanda-śri (*L* MS.: Pi-tsi-tsantra-śri) translated the *Smad-sbyad* (*L* MS.: *Sman-spyad*), the *Rtsis* (divination), and so forth, and introduced the great ceremonies of religion.

NOTES

Local names: Khri-rtse may be identified with Khri-rtse (or Khrig-rtse) of Ladakh. Ga-chu-śar-sgo reminds me of Śar-sgo-la in Ladakh. But until we know the situation of Gliṅ-bcu nothing can be said for certain.

This king is called Khri-lte-gtsug-brtan-mes-'ag-tshoms in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (p. 150), Thi-lde-oroi-batu-mei-ak-tshom in the *Bodhimör* (op. cit., p. 348), and Chi-li-so-tsan in the *Thangshu* (op. cit., p. 325).

Notes from the *Thangshu*:—He was married to a Chinese princess called Chin-cheng (the Khyim-śaṅ of the Tibetans). The Tibetans had received the towns of Chiu-chu and Kuei-te on the Hoangho as her dowry. There were continual wars about these places. Whenever treaties were concluded, a market for bartering horses was mentioned with emphasis.

Then there was a great war with the Chinese about the possession of Gilgit (see M. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, sections ii and iii).

Gilgit is now identified with Little Poliu, Baltistan with Great Poliu. The King of Kashmir, Muktāpīḍa, assisted the Chinese against the Tibetans, and the Tibetans were aided by the Arabs. The Chinese emperor of the period was Hsüan-tsung, 713–55 A.D.

The *Bodhimör* says (op. cit., p. 349) that the Tibetan king was married to two queens, one from Samarkand, the other from China. The latter was intended for his son, who broke his neck when going to meet her. Therefore the father married her.

As regards the names of the translators, I cannot identify Su-dgu-śo-ka and Pi-tsi-tsan-da-śri. Dzñana-kumara (Jñāna-kumāra) is mentioned again under Sad-na-legs. He is mentioned in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*, as having translated *Rgyud-ḥgrel*, ཆེ, xliv, No. i. The book *Sman-spyad*, which was probably concerned with medicine (*sman*), is not known to me.

His son was Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan (755–97 A.D.), an incarnation of the Bodhisattva Ḥjam-dpal (Mañju-śrī). This king invited the teacher Bodhisattva from India. Ananta of Kashmir became translator, and preached on the ten virtues, the eighteen regions (or elements), and the twelve causes of existence (*nidānas*).

On that account the gods and demons of Tibet became angry, and the hill Dmar-po-ri was struck by lightning, [the plain] Phaṅ-thaṅ was devastated by water, and many diseases of men and animals appeared. Therefore the teacher said, 'The gods and demons of Tibet do not like my preaching. To subdue the gods and demons of Tibet you must invite the teacher Padma-ḥbyuṅ-gnas (Padma-sambhava) from 'O-rgyan (Udyāna). We three unite in prayer before the *mchod-rten* (*stūpa*) of Buddha Ḥod-sruṅ (Kāśyapa)!' Sna-gsal-snaṅ and Co-ro (*L* MS.: Bcog-ro) -legs-sgra were both sent, and invited the teacher. Then all the gods and demons of Tibet were exorcised. And after the model of the Indian temple of 'O-tantra-ri (Otantapurī), the eternal self-created (*Svayam-bhū*) temple of Bsam-yas was built. Many Indian Pandits and seven chosen translators [translated] the *Sde-snod-gsum* (*Tripiṭaka* (*L* MS.) and the first three books of the *Gsaṅ-sṅags-rgyud* (*Guhya-mantra-tantra*) (*S* MS.). In short,

> 'Through these three, the king, the donor, and the priest, in the country of Tibet, which had been dark,
> The holy religion, pure and free from error, spread and was made to flourish.'

Several of the subjects received the new dignity of orders. It was made a custom [among the lamas] to carry on the crown of their heads the pebbles which are below the feet.

At Bsam-yas he built preaching-halls, and at Ḫchiṅ-bu meditation-cells. At the palace of Rluṅ-tshugs (*L* MS. Rluṅ-tshubs) he founded the towns of Skyid-paḫi-[ḫ]byuṅ-gnas and Tshaṅs-paḫi-[ḫ]byuṅ-gnas.

At that time the teacher Padma-[ḫbyuṅ-gnas] presented to the king the life-water of the Vidhyādharas; but the ministers, who did not like it, said to the king, 'It is a maddening drink of the Mons, and poisonous! Pray do not drink it.' So the p. 33. king became doubtful about it, and did not drink.

That leprosy might not enter [the country], he exorcised the Nāga kings Ma-dros (Anavatapta) and Zil-chen (Manasvin) [of the Manasarovar Lake]. Abandoning his *vajra*, Zil-chen took the shape of a boy, and was appointed to be an assistant to the king. He promised to fulfil every wish of the king. The king honoured the pair of Nāgas highly, and they became his tutelary deities. Then the teacher departed to the south-western country of Rṅa-yab to quell the demons.

At that time all Tibet prospered and was happy: the people increased, the harvests were good, and it was a time without strife. All the provinces on the four frontiers were subdued. China in the east, India in the south, Sbal-ti and Ḫbru-śal (Gilgit) in the west, Saḫi-cho-'O-don-kas-dkar of the Turks in the north, were brought under his power. Both political and religious practices were firmly established. During the lifetime of this king the Bon religion was suppressed, and the holy religion was made to spread and flourished. The following ditty was composed :—

'Then the deputy of the conqueror (Buddha), the holy Żi-ba-ḫtsho (Śānti-rakshita),
And the superior master of incantations, the ascetic Padma-ḫbyuṅ (Padma-sambhava),
Kamala-śila (Kamala-śīla), the crest-ornament of the wise,
And Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan, of surpassing thoughts;
Through these four, like sunrise in the dark country of Tibet,
The light of the holy religion spread as far as the frontiers;
These holy men of unchanging kindness
All Tibetans will for ever reverently salute.'

NOTES

Geography.—The following local names can be identified: 'O-rgyan is Udyāna (see note by F. W. Thomas in JRAS., 1906, p. 461, n.), a country in the close vicinity of Mandi (Za-hor), as I believe; the names Za-hor and 'O-rgyan are often mentioned together. The famous *mchod-rten* (stūpa) of Ḥod-sruṅ (Kāśyapa) is situated in Nepal; it is known by the name of Bya-ruṅ-kha-śor. 'O-tantra-ri is the Indian town of Otantapuri in Magadha. The Tibetan temple of Bsam-yas is the oldest existing temple of the country. It is situated 35 miles from Lhasa, some two miles from the north bank of the Yaru River. It was visited by Nain Singh. 'A lofty circular wall, 1,700 yards in circumference, surrounds the place, with gates facing to the four cardinal points. Along the top of this wall there have been erected a large number of small *mchod-rten* and votive piles, built of burnt yellow bricks.' Nain Singh counted 1,030 of these; they seem to be covered with ancient inscriptions in old Lantsha (?) characters, similar to those found near Gayā in India. 'In the centre of the enclosure stands the large *Gtsug-lag-khaṅ*, with radiating cloisters, leading to four chapels, facing at equal distances the four sides of the larger temple.' The explorer found the idols and images contained in these temples of pure gold, richly ornamented with

valuable cloths and jewels. 'The candlesticks and vessels are nearly all made of gold and silver.' Another Survey Agent mentions a famous image of Śākya-muni in copper and gold, ten feet high. Round the temple are Chinese and Lañtsha inscriptions in enormous characters. Ḫchiṅ-bu is probably identical with Ḫchims-phug, a small temple near Bsam-yas. The name of the Nāga king Ma-dros is often used as a name of the Manasarowar Lake. Sbal-ti is, of course, Baltistan, and Ḫbru-śal is Gilgit. 'Odon-kas-dkar most probably stands for Urdum-Kashgar in Turkestan. But Saḫi-cho cannot yet be explained. Dmar-po-ri is a well-known hill in Lhasa. The Mons are descendants of Indian emigrants to Tibet. Co-ro or Lcog-ro is mentioned in the *Bstan-ḫgyur* as the home of Ye-śes-bla-ma and Kluḫi-rgyal-mtshan.

Literature.—The name of Ananta, the Kashmir translator, is found among the inscribed portraits of Alci (eleventh or twelfth century). He is perhaps identical with Ānanda-kara, Ānanta of the *Bstan-ḫgyur*. Padma-ḫbyuṅ-gnas: his life translated by E. v. Schlagintweit (Abh. d. k. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss., 1899 and 1903). Many of his works are found in the *Bstan-ḫgyur*. As regards his connexion with Lahul and Mandi (Rewalsir), see my *History of Lahul* (to appear in *Ind. Ant.*). For his connexion with other parts of Western Tibet see the account of my expedition, 1909, pp. 31, 34, 36. Several works in the *Bstan-ḫgyur* are attributed to Padma-sambhava's fairy friends. See also the *Padma-thaṅ-yig*. Źi-ba-ḫthso is a well-known author of works in the *Bstan-ḫgyur*, and Kamala-śila is known to have been his pupil. The name of Źi-ba-ḫtsho (Śānti-rakshita) occurs in the Alci monastery inscription in the form of Śāntipa. He was a scion of the royal family of Za-hor (Mandi) and received the title of Mkhan-po-Bodhisattva. He is the author of a Rñiṅ-ma song. Cf. B. Laufer, *Roman einer tibetischen Königin*, Leipzig, 1911, p. 130.

This king is called Khri-sroṅ-ldehu-btsan in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (op. cit., p. 350), Thi-sroṅ-lte-bdzan in the *Bodhimör* (p. 151), and So-hsi-lung-lieh-tsan in the *Thangshu* (op. cit., p. 325).

Notes from the Thangshu:—War against China.—The capital, Si-ṅan-fu, was taken by the Tibetans, and a new emperor enthroned. Then the Tibetans had to retreat. When Tai-tsung became emperor of China in 780 A.D., peace was concluded. He sent the Tibetan prisoners home. The Tibetan king did the same with the Chinese prisoners. Great oath of peace. Chinese–Tibetan inscription in Lhasa referring to it. It was brought to light by Waddell (see JRAS., October, 1909, pp. 952 sqq., and 1910, pp. 124 sqq.). Then the Chinese and Tibetans were united against a rebel in Sze-chuan. As the Chinese had treated the Tibetans like barbarians, there was again war between them, and the Tibetans conquered Turkestan. The Tibetan inscription at Endere (see M. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 569, Tibetan *sgraffiti*) may refer to that war.

The Ba-lu-mkhar inscription of Ladakh seems to be of the time of the same king (see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxiv, pp. 203 ff., and ZDMG., Bd. xli, pp. 583 ff.). Ba-lu-mkhar was a custom-house in those early times.

Fall of the Bon Religion.—It is related in full in chapter xxi of the *Rgyal-rabs-bon-gyi-ḫbyuṅ-gnas*, translated by B. Laufer, *T'oung Pao*, vol. ii, pp. 14–18. The trick by which the Buddhists were victorious see in JASB., 1881, p. 223.

His son was Mu-khri-btsan-po (798–804 A.D.). To carry out to completeness the thoughts of his father, [this king] made at Bsam-yas the noble offering of [a copy of] the *Ḫdul-ba*, *Mṅon-pa-*, *Mdo-*, *Sde-gsum* (*Vinaya*, *Abhidharma*, *Sūtra*, composing the *Tripiṭaka*). He gave ample maintenance to the clericals. Three times he equalized the rich and hungry of Tibet. Although in [some] parts of both countries of Rgya (China and India) not all those who had bowed before his father bowed before him, he endured it with patience. He divided the country of Tibet from the countries of Rgya (defined the frontier). All the grass under Tibetan rule grew with points looking towards Tibet.[1]

NOTES

According to Ssanang-Ssetsen (p. 47) Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan had three sons, viz. Muni-Bdzanbo, Muruk-Bdzanbo, and Muthi-Bdzanbo. Muni-Bdzanbo was poisoned, Muruk-Bdzanbo was banished, and Muthi-

[1] Explained as meaning that it grew better on the Tibetan side.

Bdzanbo reigned. According to the *Bodhimör* (op. cit., p. 357) Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan had three sons, viz. Muni-Bdzanbo, Ssubudtu-Bdzanbo, and Shiregihn-Koissun-berke-shudurgho. The first was poisoned by his own mother, because he had married a younger wife of his father's; the second was killed by the relatives of a minister whom he had murdered; and the third reigned for some time. According to the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 151, Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan had two sons, viz. Muni-btsan-po, who equalized the rich and the poor, and presented the *Tripiṭaka* to Bsam-yas, and Sad-na-legs. The same book contains the statement that this old copy of the *Tripiṭaka* is still existent at Bsam-yas. Neither of these kings was known by name to the Chinese. They only speak of certain Tsanphus.

Apparently during this time (see Wieger, *Documents Historiques*, Ho-kien-fu, 1905, p. 1717) Hārūn-al-Rashīd (786–859 A.D.) sent embassies to the Emperor of China to induce him to make war against the Tibetans. But the latter succeeded in winning him over to their plans. In 800 A.D. Arabic armies are mentioned under Tibetan command. Then Alamun concluded a treaty with the Tibetans to guard his eastern frontier.

His son was Sad-na-legs. This king built the temple of Skar-chuṅ-rdo-dbyiṅs [in the] province of Rgya. He invited the Paṇḍit Kama[la]-śila and others to Tibet (*L* MS.). Dzñāna-kumara of Gñegs (*S* MS.) became translator, and translated many religious books which had not yet been translated.

NOTES

As has already been stated, Sad-na-legs is Mu-khri-btsan-po's younger brother, not his son, according to the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (p. 151). As regards the province of Rgya, I feel almost certain that it is Western Tibet; the town of Rgya, situated on the frontier between Rubsho and Ladakh, proves by its extensive ruins that it must at one time have been a place of importance. It may have been the principal place of Western Tibet in those days. Skar-chuṅ-rdo-byiṅs, the name of the temple, means 'Little star, flying stone'; this would be a proper name for a meteor. This name may have been abridged to Skar-rdo, the name of the present capital of Baltistan. The name Skar-rdo is still understood to mean 'meteor'. It is therefore possible that here we have the first mention of the Balti capital. Rgya is the home of the famous translator Brtson-ḥgrus-seṅ-ge, whose name is often found in the *Bstan-ḥgyur* and in the *Rñiṅ-ma* scriptures. The town of Sñegs (SMS.), Gñegs (LMS.), or Gñags (*Bstan-ḥgyur*) I have not yet been able to trace. The same translator has been mentioned already under Mes-'ag-tshoms, about fifty years earlier. Kamalaśila was mentioned under Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan. The names of both these priests occur in the *Bstan-ḥgyur* as those of translators.

His sons were: Gtsaṅ-ma, Ral-pa-can, Glaṅ-dar-ma (by the first wife), and Lha-rje and Lhun-grub, the two by an inferior queen. These five were born. The first son, Gtsaṅ, loved religion. He entered the order [of lamas], admonished men to [adopt] religion, and wrote a book (*śāstra*). Dar-ma loved sin, and was unworthy to rule. Ral-pa-can (804–16 A.D.), the middle one, reigned. He built the town of Ḥu-śaṅ(*L* MS.: Uśa)-rdo, and erected the temple of Rgya-phibs-gyu-sṅon-can ('having a Chinese roof of turquoise colour'). Although during the lifetimes of his ancestors many religious books from Rgya (China or India), Li (Kunawar or Khotan), Za-hor (Mandi), Kha-che (Kashmir), and other countries had been translated, owing to there being many conflicting interpretations it was difficult to learn religion, and he invited the Indian Paṇḍits Dzina-mitra, Śri(*L* MS. Shi)-lentra-bodhi, Dhana-śila, and others [to Tibet]. The two Tibetan translators [called ?] Bka-cog and the priest Ye-śes-sde revised everything and edited it. Finally, he made the weights,

measures, etc., to coincide with those of India, and appointed seven households of his subjects to wait always on each lama. The king [used to] sit in the middle, and had silk streamers tied to the ends of his locks on the right and left. Then he made the clericals sit there, and had the excellent ones on his right and left and [himself] in the middle, all sitting together. During the time of this king were conquered the mountains of Po-lon(*L* MS.: Po-lo)-śan in the east, which look like a curtain of white silk, and which touch the frontiers of China. There a stone pillar was set up with an inscription, on which was carved: 'Downwards from here did I reign!' In the south as far as Blo-[bo] and Mon, India, Li, Za-hor, and the lake of the Gaṅ-gā (Gaṅgāsagara) with its surface like a bowl of iron were subdued; in the west Ḫbru-śal [Gilgit] on the Persian frontier and others were conquered; and in the north all the provinces of Hor (Turkestan) were subdued. In the south he reigned over three or two princes of Ḫdzam-bu-gliṅ, and everywhere, on the frontiers as well as in the central district (*Dbus*), he erected 100 temples. Here ends the 'first spreading of the teaching'.

p. 34.

NOTES

This king is called Khri-lde-sroṅ-btsan-ral-pa-can in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (p. 151), Thi-btsong-lte-bdzan in the *Bodhimör* (op. cit., p. 358: Waddell's identifications are quite uncertain). According to the *Thangshu* (op. cit., p. 341) this king was always ill, and the government was in the hands of his ministers. He is, however, mentioned again in the *Rgyal-rabs* under Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal I, as a model king.

Geography.—The temple of Rgya-phibs-gyu-sṅon-can, the mountains of Po-lon-śan, and the lake of the Gaṅgā cannot yet be identified. [*Śan* usually represents in names of mountains the Chinese for 'mountain', and Gaṅgāsāgara is ordinarily the mouth of the Ganges.—F. W. T.] As regards Li, there were two countries of that name. The one which belongs to Turkestan is identified with Khotan by S. Ch. Das (see his Dictionary, p. 1140). The other is stated to have been situated close to Nepal. I suppose that it is Upper Kunawar, where an important village of that name still exists. Zahor (see above). The Tibetan province of Blo-bo has already been identified (p. 84). Mon may refer to settlements of ancient Indian immigrants in Tibet. Ḫbru-śal is Gilgit. The Ladakhis still call the town by its ancient name of Ḫbru-śal-gi-lid; it is identical with Ḫbru-tsha, Ḫbru-ża of Tibetan literature. One of the Indian states which were dependent on Tibet was probably Brāhmapura, the ancient Chamba State, where an inscription by a Tibetan prince has been discovered by Dr. Vogel.

Literature.—Dhanaśila (Dānaśīla), the translator, is mentioned in the *Bstan-ḫgyur* as the translator of very many works. All the other translators are frequently mentioned in the *Bstan-ḫgyur*, for instance Jina-mitra, Śilendra(Śīlendra)-bodhi, and Ye-śes-sde are mentioned in *Bstan-ḫgyur*, vol. K, 1, 7 as joint translators of the *Dharmakāyāśrayāsāmānyaguṇa-stotra*. This fact is the most certain proof of their being contemporaries. Ral-pa-can's own *śāstra* I have not yet succeeded in tracing. According to S. Ch. Das, JASB., 1881, p. 230, under Ral-pa-can a first history of Tibet was written.

V. Glaṅ-dar-ma's Persecution of Buddhism

(*S* MS.) Then, during the lifetime of the ruler Dar-ma-dbyig-dur-btsan (816–42 A.D.) four heretic Brahmans, in order to abolish the religious teaching—being unable to tolerate either the many Paṇḍits who had been invited to Tibet by the ruler Ral-pa-can, or the offerings of golden writings, or the spread of Buddha's teaching over Tibet—prayed to be reborn in the bodies of four demons, bringing ruin upon Tibet. Then, having slain themselves, they achieved their end. The

ruler Dar-ma-dbyig-dur-btsan, Cog-ro(*L* MS.: Cog-sgro)-legs-sgra, Dabs-do-re-stags-sña, and H̱bal- (*L* MS.: H̱baṅs-)ḫkhor-żes-legs-pa, these four, being possessed by the demons Phuṅ-ḫgoṅ-nag-po, Gnam-rdeḫu-dkar-po, Sa-rdeḫu-nag-po, and Byaṅ-roṅ, dethroned the monks. As in spite of trying to throw [the image of] the god Śākya-muni into the water they did not succeed, they buried it in the earth. The [book] *Byams-pa-chos-kyi-ḫkhor-lo* (*Maitreya-dharma-cakra*) was buried in the sand. The doors of Bsam-yas and H̱phrul-snaṅ [monasteries] in Lha-sa were closed with walls, and plaster was laid [over them]. A letter was written that the monks should drink beer. The distinctive mark of the monks was not kept up. Some were turned out; some fled; the remaining ones were sent hunting with a hunting drum, bow, arrows, and dogs; and some were made butchers. Religious ceremonies were not [again] introduced, and even the subjects were forbidden under penalty to resent it. The [religious] customs were thoroughly destroyed. They were hated within the borders of Mṅaḫ-ris. At that time a mountain of Rgya (India or China) which was under Tibetan rule collapsed. And the great river Rma-chu-skyad (*L* MS.: Rma-chu-skyaṅ) (Hoangho), which flows from Tibet to China, flowed upwards and backwards for three days. Many bad omens of this kind appeared. Then, after some time, Dpal-gyi-rdo-rje of Lha-luṅ, who was meditating in the heart of Yer-paḫi-Lha-ri (*L* MS.: Lha-ri, [the mountain] of offerings), heard of it, and, conceiving a very deep feeling of pity for the king (*btsan-po*, or the monks, *btsun-pa*), is said to have killed him. That is the tale of the submerging of Buddha's religion.

NOTES

This king is called Glaṅ-dar-ma-ḫu-dum-btsan in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-dzaṅ* (p. 151), Glaṅ-dhar-ma in the Mongolian books, and Tamo in the *Thangshu*. He is the last Tibetan king whose name was known to the Chinese.

Geography.—The following local names have already been identified or mentioned:—Cog-ro, Bsam-yas, Rgya (India or China), Lha-luṅ, Lha-ri. The Rma-chu is the same as the Rgyal-poḫi-chu, the Hoangho; H̱phrul-snaṅ is, according to S. Ch. Das's dictionary, a famous temple at Lhasa, built by Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, at the instance of his Napalese wife. Mṅaḫ-ris, the ordinary name of the Western Tibetan empire, is mentioned here for the first time. We find the same name also in other documents of the same time, viz. in a MS. excavated by Dr. M. A. Stein at Mīrān, and in one of the Sheh inscriptions. The latter cannot be dated later than 900 A.D. It proves that the name Mṅaḫ-ris in those days included Ladakh. The words Dabs and H̱bal-ḫkhor may also be local names, but I do not know for certain.

Literature.—A translator called Dpal-gyi-rdo-rje of Lha-luṅ was mentioned under Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po. The present priest of this name is probably supposed to be an incarnation of the former. It is remarkable that one of the heretic Brahmans, viz. Cog-ro-legs-sgra was mentioned under Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan as a famous translator of Buddhist books. The names of the other heretics cannot be traced elsewhere.

General notes.—Ssanang-Ssetsen tells (pp. 49–51) the famous tale of the hermit Dpal-gyi-rdo-rje, who murdered Glaṅ-dar-ma. This hermit approached the king in a dress the outside of which was black, whilst the inside was white. As soon as he had killed the king with his bow and arrow, he put on his dress the other way, white outside and black inside, and escaped. The *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* gives (p. 151) tales which have arisen from popular etymologies. There the tale of Glaṅ-dar-ma is mixed up with that of the famous Svayambhū stūpa of Nepal, Bya-ruṅ-kha-śor, the stūpa which is supposed to contain some bones of the prehistoric Buddha Hod-sruṅ (Kāśyapa). The asses and the cattle of Tibet were not pleased with the fact that no more adoration was offered to them. Therefore they prayed to be reborn as a king of Tibet (Glaṅ-dar-ma means 'ox-dharma')

and his minister. They destroyed the Buddhist religion, but were again overcome by reincarnations of the early erectors of the famous stūpa of Nepal. The *Thangshu* says (op. cit., p. 342) that Tamo was fond of wine, a lover of field sports, and devoted to women, and besides, cruel, tyrannical, and ungracious. According to S. Ch. Das (JASB., 1881, p. 230) Glaṅ-dar-ma uttered the following words when dying: 'Why was I not killed three years back, that I might not have committed so much sin and mischief; or three years hence, that I might have rooted out Buddhism from the country.' He figures in the devil dances of the lamas as the 'enemy of religion'. The Ladakhi kings, who are descended from him, wear their hair in a peculiar fashion, handed down from his time (see my *History of Western Tibet*, pp. 59–60). The earliest version of the legend of the image which cannot be moved out of its position is connected with the story of Glaṅ-dar-ma's persecution of Buddhism.

VI. The Kings of the First West Tibetan Dynasty

(*S* MS.) The story of the later spread of Buddhism is as follows:—H̱od-sruṅ (*c.* 842–70 A.D.) was Glaṅ-dar-ma's son. He asked Dpal-gyi-rdo-rje of Lha-luṅ to honour the Medicine Guru Buddhas and prayed. By the blessing of the Medicine Guru Buddhas he obtained the sovereignty. In harmony with the kindness of his ancestors he firmly established the religious ceremonies and the religious buildings. He protected Mṅaẖ-ris according to religion. Besides, when Rtsad-rab-gsal, Yo-ge-ẖbyuṅ, Dge-ba-rab-gsal, and Sba-rab (*L* MS.: Spa-rab), altogether ten [priests] had arrived, Buddha's teaching began to spread and flourish. Further, temples were erected like the stars of heaven.

NOTES

This king is called H̱od-sruṅs in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (p. 152), and Gerel-Ssakiktshi by the Mongol authors.

The *Rgyal-rabs-gsal-baẖi-me-loṅ*, the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, and the *Bodhimör* (op. cit., p. 51) all agree on the following tale:—H̱od-sruṅ was the real and legitimate son by one of Glaṅ-dar-ma's younger queens. His claim to the throne was contested by Yum-brtan, the foster-son of the 'great queen'. According to Ssanang-Ssetsen (op. cit., p. 51) H̱od-sruṅ did not believe in Buddhism.

The names of the monks who came [from India ?] I cannot trace anywhere else. The names of the Medicine Guru Buddhas are the following:—Śākya-thub-pa, Rin-chen-zla-ba, Mya-ṅan-med-mchog-dpal, Chos-grags-rgya-mtshoẖi-dpal, Gser-bzaṅ-dri-med, Sṅon-mkhyen-rgyal-po, and Mtshan-legs.

p. 35. His son was Lde-dpal-ẖkhor-btsan (*c.* 870–900 A.D.). During the lifetime of this king the monastery of Upper Mṅaẖ-ris, and others, [in all] eight monasteries, were erected. Scriptures like the *H̱bum* and others were copied in great numbers. He swore an oath to build up religion (or temples).

NOTES

This king is called Dpal-ẖkhor-btsan in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (p. 152), Bilamgur-dzan in Ssanang-Ssetsen (op. cit., p. 51), and Esen-berke-tsog-nökör in the *Bodhimör* (op. cit., p. 365). Ssanang-Ssetsen confirms the statement that he erected eight temples. The *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* says (p. 152) that he was murdered by his subjects. I do not know which monastery is meant by the 'monastery of Upper Mṅaẖ-ris'. Regarding the H̱bum, it seems to be one of the many names used for the *Prajñā-pāramitā*.

(*A* MS.) His sons were Skyid-lde-ñi-ma-mgon and Khri-bkra-śis-rtsegs-dpal (*L* MS.: Khri-bkra-śis-brtsegs-pa-dpal), these two. Skyid-lde-ñi-ma-mgon (*c.* 900–30 A.D.), when on his way to Upper Mṅaḫ-ris—Tibet being in a state of revolution—and accompanied by a hundred horsemen under the leadership of Ḫbal-ma-zug-btsan, Khuṅ-mo-ñag-pa, and 'Ā-ka-badzra, these three (*S* and *L* MSS.: a hundred horsemen under the leadership of Dpal-ma-zug-gar, Khyuṅ-dpal-ldan-grub, and 'Ā-ka-badza of Me-ñag, these two (?)) happened to be obliged to eat fish and eggs. [The servant] brought [the food] wrapped in a napkin, and they became satisfied. From this it came to be a custom with the kings of Tibet to use the [so-called] giant's napkin (also explained as a napkin with eight folds). Eventually he arrived at Ra-laḫi-rgyud. He built Mkhar-dmar of Ra-la in the horse-year, Rtse-śo-rgya-ri (*S* and L MSS.: Rtse-tho-rgya-ri) in the sheep-year. He thought of causing many villages and hamlets (towns) to be built throughout the broad valleys of Dam and Lag (or Dam-lag). Mar-yul he left undisturbed. At that time Upper Ladakh (La-dvags-stod) of Mar-yul was held by the descendants of Gesar, whilst Lower Ladakh (Smad-rnams) was split up into small independent principalities. At that time Dge-bśes-btsan (*L* MS.: Dge-śes-bkra-śis-btsan) invited him to Pu-hraṅs, and offered him Ḫbro-za-Ḫkhor-skyoṅ to be his wife, and he married her. She bore him three sons. He now built the palace of Ñi-zuṅs and erected a capital. Then he conquered Mṅaḫ-ris-skor-gsum completely and ruled in accordance with the faith.

NOTES

The name of this king is given in the same spelling in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 152. The *Bodhimör* (op. cit., p. 365) calls him Jir-ghalang-Koissun-itegel, and his brother Ölsöi-dabchur-lagsan. The Central Tibetan as well as the Mongol authors assert that Ñi-ma-mgon was the son of the great queen, and his brother the son of a minor queen.

The following inscriptions from Ladakh are probably of king Ñi-ma-mgon's time, although they do not contain his name:—(1) The Sheh inscriptions; (2) some of the Alci-mkhar-gog inscriptions (see my article 'Archæology in Western Tibet', *Ind. Ant.*, vols. xxxv–vi); (3) several inscriptions at Bya in Zaṅs-dkar, discovered by the Rev. G. Hettasch, of Kyelang. A song of a king Ñi-ma-mgon is found in my article 'Ten Ancient Historical Songs from W. Tibet' (*Ind. Ant.*, 1909).

With regard to king Ñi-ma-mgon's marriage the following may be said:—Dge-śes-btsan is in all probability the name of a king of Pu-hraṅs. Names ending in *btsan* are generally names of kings or of members of royal families. Dge-śes-btsan probably had an only daughter, who was heir to the throne. Thus, in marrying this daughter Ñi-ma-mgon became master of Pu-hraṅs. That he was actually in possession of it is shown by the fact that he handed it over to one of his sons.

Dr. Marx notes that the so-called 'Giant's napkin' is still in use with the kings of Ladakh. It is called Gsaṅ-khebs, 'cover of the hidden thing.' The Ladakhis do not eat fish or eggs. To them a fish is a kind of Nāga. The avoidance of eggs is shared by the Dards.

Geography.—The following place-names have already been identified by Dr. Marx:—Mṅaḫ-ris-skor-gsum usually includes the districts of Ru-thogs, Gu-ge, and Pu-hraṅs only. Here, however, it seems to include all Ladakh, Zaṅs-dkar, etc., as well. (Let me add that in the Sheh inscriptions the word *mṅaḫ-ris* is used inclusive of the whole of Ladakh.) Ladakh, the Persian transliteration of the Tibetan La-dvags, is warranted by the pronunciation of the word in several Tibetan districts. The terminal *gs* has the sound of the guttural *gh* or even *kh* in various Tibetan dialects. The boundary between Upper and Lower Ladakh is the plateau between Basgo (Bab-sgo) and Sa-spo-la. Mkhar-dmar of Ra-laḫi-rgyud is said to be a steppe-district inhabited by nomads, beyond Ru-thog; near it, the ruins of an old castle, called Khar-mar,

still exist. Let me add that a certain Ra-la-jung (probably Ra-la-rdzoṅ, 'castle of Ra-la') is marked on Montgommerie's map of the Western Himalayas, 1874–84.' It is found between Trashisgang and Dakmaru, on the Indus. Dam-lag: in the upper Sutlej valley (map of Turkestan, 1882) I find the names Dam and Luk—could they have any connexion with the places referred to here? Mar-yul and Maṅ-yul include Upper and Lower Ladakh, Nubra, Zaṅs-dkar, etc. Ñi-zuṅs is said to be in Pu-hraṅs.

To these identifications I may add the following: Pu-hraṅs (Bu-hraṅs, Pu-raṅ) is a Tibetan province east of the Manasarovar Lake, and west of Blo-bo. The country is famous for its beautiful girls (cf. my article 'The Paladins of the Kesar-saga', JPASB., 1906, p. 262). The name Rtse-tho-rgya-ri is probably more correct than Rtse-śo-rgya-ri, but I cannot yet identify it. Regarding the 'descendants of Gesar' in Upper Ladakh, I am of opinion that a certain dynasty of chiefs may have accepted the name of the mythological king Kesar (Gesar) as their dynastical name. Thus we learn from inscriptions at Khalatse that one of the chiefs of that town called himself Rgya-byin (Indra); Rgya-byin is Gesar's father according to the mythology of the Kesar-saga. The name Khrom-Ge-sar-Ḫdan-ma (Gesar's court, Ḫdan-ma), which is found in the second chapter of the *Rgyal-rabs*, may refer to Upper Ladakh at a time previous to Ñi-ma-mgon's arrival. In a rather modern inscription at Dpe-thub Ladakh is called Ge-sar-gdan.

His three sons were, Lha-chen-Dpal-gyi-mgon (*c.* 930–60 A.D.); Bkra-śis-mgon, the middle one; and Lde-gtsug-mgon, the youngest, these three. He gave to each of these three sons a separate kingdom, viz. to the eldest, Dpal-gyi-mgon, Mar-yul of Mṅaḫ-ris, the inhabitants using black bows; Ru-thogs of the east and the gold-mine of Ḫgog; nearer this way Lde-mchog-dkar-po; at the frontier Ra-ba-dmar-po; Wam-le, to the top of the pass of the Yi-mig rock (*L* MS.: Gyag-lder); (*A* MS.) to the west to the foot of the Kashmir pass, from the cavernous stone upwards hither; to the north to the gold-mine of Ḫgog (*L* MS.: of Mgon-po); all the places belonging to Rgya. Bkra-śis-mgon, the second, he made ruler over Gu-ge with Pu-hraṅs, Rtse, etc. Lde-gtsug-mgon, the youngest, he made ruler over Zaṅs-dkar-sgo-gsum; with Spi-ti, Spi-lcogs, etc.

NOTES

According to the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (p. 152) the names of the three brothers are Dpal-lde-rig-pa-mgon, Bkra-śis-lde-mgon, and Lde-btsun-mgon, and they are there stated to have reigned over the following countries:—the eldest over Maṅ-yul, the second over Spu-raṅs, and the third over Žaṅ-žuṅ-Gu-ge. According to Ssanang-Ssetsen the names of the three brothers were: Tsoktu-Itegel, Öldshei-Itegel, and Oroin-Itegel. They are said to have gone to Ṅari and to have become the forefathers of the royal family of Kugi (Gu-ge). Dpal-gyi-mgon is the last West Tibetan king whose name is mentioned in Central Tibetan and Mongolian historical works. I believe that Bkra-śis-mgon died without issue, and that his kingdom was inherited by the descendants of Lde-gtsug-mgon. At any rate, we find Lde-gtsug-mgon's descendants in possession of Gu-ge a few years later. Their names are found in Schlagintweit's tables, in Central Tibetan and in Mongolian historical works. See also Minor Chronicles.

Geography.—The following place-names have already been identified by Dr. K. Marx (Ḫgog not known):—Lde-mchog-dkar-po is the Demchog of the maps, south of Ru-thogs, near the frontier, and on the River Indus. Wam-le, the same as Hanle, famous for its magnificent lamasery of the seventeenth century; Yi-mig is the Imis Pass of the maps; the Hanle stream has its source at the foot of this pass; the Kashmir Pass is the Zoji Pass, above the village of Dras. Zaṅs-dkar-sgo-gsum: sgo-gsum, 'the three doors,' may refer to the three valleys that join at the central part of Zaṅs-dkar. Spi-ti, a well-known Tibetan district within British territory south-east of Lahul; 'as to Spi-lcogs, I would venture to suggest that Lahul may be meant by this term. This district would have well rounded off his dominions, and would have been the connecting link between Zaṅs-dkar and Spi-ti.'

To these I may add the following:—A well-known gold-field is the district of Thog-jalung, Thog-sarlang, etc. The name Ḫgog does not occur at all. But, if the original name was Ḫgrog, or Grog, the pronunciation

might easily have become similar to the Thog of the maps. Possibly Ḫgog is not a local name, but the ordinary word *ḫgog*, meaning 'pledge', 'deposit'. 'He received the gold-mines as a pledge.' Ru-thogs is a Tibetan town and district, east of the Paṅ-koṅ lake. Gu-ge is situated south of Ru-thogs, south-east of Ladakh, and west of the Manasarowar Lake. Pu-hraṅs and Mar-yul have already been mentioned. Regarding Spi-lcogs let me note that Spyi-lcog as a place-name occurs in the *Bstan-ḫgyur*. It is there said to be the home of the priest Tho-gar-Dge-mdzes. The word Tho-gar would point to Turkestan, or at least the Hor provinces of West Tibet. Rgya is one of the principal towns of Ladakh, on the frontier between Rub-chu and Ladakh. Ra-ba-dmar-po, Gyag-lder, and Rtse cannot yet be identified. According to the song referred to above (*The Paladins of the Kesar-saga*, tale No. iii) Hor-yul (Turkestan) is famous for its horses, Byaṅ-thaṅ (Ru-thogs) for salt and wool, Bu-raṅs (Pu-hraṅs) for its beautiful girls, La-dvags for its tiger-like heroes, Bu-rig (= Pu-rig, Western Ladakh) for its *Gro-dkar* flowers, Naṅ-goṅ (Baltistan) for its dried apricots, and Kashmir for its white rice.

K. Marx has the following note on the word Lha-chen (great god):—Lha-chen is an epithet usually applied to the eldest son only, and may mean 'the heir apparent'; it is not a component part of the name, as it may be omitted. It dropped out of use from the time of Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal. Let me add that, whenever we find a name which does not contain the word Lha-chen, we may suspect that the particular king was not the eldest son of the preceding king.

Dpal-gyi-mgon, the eldest, had two sons, Ḫgro-mgon (*c.* 960–90 A.D.) and Chos-mgon.

NOTE

Nothing known beyond the names.

Ḫgro-mgon's son was Lha-chen-Grags-pa-lde (*S* MS.: Bla-chen-Grags-pa-lde) (*c.* 990–1020 A.D.).

NOTE

Nothing known beyond the name; perhaps he was a lama.

His son was Lha-chen-Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḫ (*S* MS.: Bla-chen-Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḫ) (*c.* 1020–50 A.D.).

NOTES

He was very probably a lama, like the contemporary kings of Gu-ge. He is mentioned in the Tabo inscription together with Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po, Atiśa, and king Byaṅ-chub-ḫod of Gu-ge. He erected the Tabo and (probably) 'A-lci monasteries, and perhaps several others. His portrait (probably) is found in the 'A-lci monastery together with an inscription by himself. At 'A-lci are also frescoes of the sports of his times, notably hawk-hunting. He probably came to grief in the gold-mine wars; compare the history of Ye-śes-ḫod of Gu-ge (*infra* under 'Minor Chronicles').

His son was Lha-chen-Rgyal-po (*c.* 1050–80 A.D.). In the time of this king the lamasery of Klu-ḫkhyil (*L* and *S* MSS.: Li-kyir) was built, and a brotherhood of lamas caused to settle [there]. The recluses that lived in the neighbourhood of the three lakes near Gaṅs-ri (Kailāsa)—when numerous, about five hundred; when few, one hundred—he for a long time, with untiring zeal, provided with the necessaries of life.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Klu-ḫkhyil (*S* MS., etc., Li-kyir) is a village on the ancient trade-road from Leh, or rather from Basgo to Nyurla (Sñur-la, Sñuṅ-la) and Khalatse. This name would remind us of the pre-Buddhist cult of the *Klu*

(or *Nāgas*). As to the three lakes, the maps mention two lakes only, but there is a possibility that the Kailāsa counts as one and with the two lakes makes up three separate places. Dge-ḥdun-gyi-sde (place of the priesthood), the same as Dgon-sde, monastery. *Sgrub-pa-mdzad-pa*, those who exert themselves to obtain *Sgrub-pa* (*siddhi*).

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

The king's portrait (probably) as a young man is found at Alci, where he is represented together with his father. *S* MS. spells his name Bla-chen, etc. He was probably a lama. He is mentioned in the *Māhātmya* of the Li-kyir monastery, which in its present edition, however, dates from the eighteenth century.

His son was Lha-chen-'Utpala (*c.* 1080–1110 A.D.). In the time of this king the united forces of Upper Ladakh and Gśam (*L* MS.: Śam, Lower Ladakh) invaded Ñuṅ-ti. The King of Ñuṅ-ti bound himself by oath, so long as [the glaciers of] Ti-se (Kailāsa) do not melt away, nor the lake Ma-pham (*L* MS.: Ma-baṅ, Manasarovar) dry up, to pay tribute or dues [to the King of Ladakh], viz. *mdzos*, iron, etc. This treaty has remained in force till this day. He also subjected Blo-bo (*L* MS.: Lho-bo) [and the country] from Pu-hraṅs (*L* MS.: Pu-raṅs) downwards hither; in the south the country of Bre-sraṅ to [the lake] Chu-la-me-ḥbar; in the west, from Ra-gan-ḥgreṅ-śiṅ (*L* MS.: Ra-gan-ḥgreṅ-żiṅ) and Stag-khu-tshur upwards hither; in the north, from Ka-śus (*S* MS.: Ka-brus-phan-chod) upwards. [They all] paid an annual tribute and attended the Darbār.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Ñuṅ-ti, the same as Kulū (Kulūta), present capital Sultānpur (ancient capital: Makrasha, Magarsa.—F.). The lake Ma-pham (Ma-baṅ) is the more easterly of the two famous lakes. *Mdzo* is the name of a well-known cross-breed between yak and cow. (There are no *mdzos* in Kulū; but, as Lahul was apparently under Kulū in those days, the Lahulis may have been ordered by their Kulū masters to send their *mdzos* to Ladakh.—F.) *Dpya*, dues, is spelt *dpya* only in Jäschke's dictionary; all the MSS. unanimously write *spya*. *Żal-lta* (lit. see [the king's] face) is the Tibetan expression for Darbār.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

Gśam is the ordinary name of Lower Ladakh, extending from Sa-spo-la to Lama-yuru. Ti-se (Kailāsa) is possibly a development in the pronunciation of Khri-rtse (throne-summit), which may have been the original name of the mountains. Chu-la-me-ḥbar is still a famous place of pilgrimage on the frontier between Nepal and Tibet. It is probably identical with Chu-bar, near Nalam, the place where Milaraspa died. Stag and Khu-tshur are two villages in Baltistan, west of Skardo. Khu-tshur is situated on the Indus, and Stag is a side valley, branching off near Khu-tshur. The Dard name of Khu-tshur is apparently Gu-sur. Gu-sur is claimed by the Gilgit Dards as one of their colonies. (Compare my article 'The Eighteen Songs of the Bono-nā Festival', song No. vi, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxiv.) The remaining names I cannot yet identify.

King 'Utpala's conquest of Kulū is not confirmed by the chronicles of Kulū; but the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* of Jonarāja (v. 1108) is rather in favour of the statement. It says (in a somewhat obscure passage) that Zainu'l-'ābidīn found Kulū in 1428 A.D. occupied by Tibetans. 'The Treaty with Kulū has remained in force to the present day,' probably meaning that it remained in force to the reign of King Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal, when the *Biography of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal* was compiled. After the battle of Bab-sgo, 1647 A.D., the treaty with Kulū was apparently exchanged for a trade contract (see Minor Chronicles).

p. 36. His son was Lha-chen-Nag-lug (*c.* 1110–40 A.D.). This king built in the tiger-year the palace at Wan-la and in the dragon-year Kha-la-rtse (*L* MS.: the castle of Kha-la-tse).

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Wan-la is situated one march off the Kashmir road, near Khalatse and Lamayuru. Khalatse is situated on the Kashmir road, at the bridge crossing the Indus, 52 miles below Leh. It is the Khalchi of the maps.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

The castles of Wan-la and Kha-la-rtse are the now deserted sites of the old towns of those names. The ruined castle of old Kha-la-rtse is now known by the name of Brag-nag. The last vassal kings of Kha-la-rtse were apparently Rgya-ẑin (Brgya-byin, Indra) and Śi-ri-ma (Śrīmān). For notes on this king's connexion with Kha-la-rtse see my *History of Western Tibet*, pp. 65–6.

His sons were Lha-chen-Dge-bhe (*S* MS.: Bla-chen-Dge-bhe) (*c.* 1140–70 A.D.) and Dge-ḥbum (*L* MS.: Dge-ba-hbum).

NOTES

Nothing known beyond the names. Dge-bhe was perhaps a lama.

His son was Lha-chen-Jo-ldor (*c.* 1170–1200 A.D.).

NOTES

Nothing known beyond the name.

His son was Bkra-śis-mgon (*c.* 1200–30 A.D.).

NOTES

Nothing known beyond the name. But if Lha-rgyal, whose name is found only in *S* MS., has to be omitted, all that is mentioned under Lha-rgyal would refer to his reign. In 1203 A.D. Tibet was conquered by the Mongol Emperor Jenghis Khān, and for a few decades the western districts probably came under his sway. At any rate the west was included in the great census carried out under Kublai Khan. For Mṅaḥ-ris-skor-gsum (i.e. Gu-ge, Pu-raṅs and Maṅ-yul) the return gave altogether 2,635 families residing in the crown lands of the kings of Mṅaḥ-ris (JASB. 1904, extra number, p. 99). I found in a house at Sñe-mo, near Leh, a lamp bearing the inscription *Jaṅgis khān kā dīpa*, 'lamp of Jenghis Khān.'

(*S* MS.) His son was Lha-rgyal (*c.* 1230–60 A.D.). (*A* MS.) This king caused to be written a copy of the *Rgyud-Rdo-rje-rtse-mo*, of the *Ṅan-soṅ-sbyoṅ-baḥi-rgyud*, and of the whole *Rgyud-ḥbum*, all in gold.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

This king is mentioned in Schlagintweit's MS. only. Doubtful. The *Rgyud-Rdo-rje-rtse-mo* is a treatise on the vajra-point (*Vajra-kīla-tantra?*—F.). The *Nan-soṅ-sbyoṅ-baḥi-rgyud* is a 'treatise on the removal of going to perdition'. The *Rgyud-ḥbum* consists of twelve volumes (in the ordinary printed edition); but I have seen also very fine written volumes, one e.g. on indigo-tinted paper, with letters in gold.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

In an article entitled 'Archæology in Western Tibet' (*Ind. Ant.*, vols. xxxv–vi, p. 237) I identified Lha-rgyal with Lha-chen-Kun-dgaḥ-rnam-rgyal of the Daru inscription. I have now given up this identification.

His son was Lha-chen-Jo-dpal (*c.* 1260–90 A.D.). This king performed royal, as well as clerical, duties to perfection.

NOTES

Dr. K. Marx notes that the expression *mthar-phyin-pa* corresponded to *Pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa* (*Pāramitā*). A song in honour of king Jo-dpal is found in *Ind. Ant.*, 1909, pp. 57–68, 'Ten Ancient Historical Songs.'

His son was Lha-chen-Dṅos-grub (*c.* 1290–1320 A.D.). In the time of this king the usage of novices going to Dbus-Gtsaṅ was first introduced. He also repaired the temples that had been built by his ancestors; but, more important than this, he laid down before the prince of faith, the lord of the three worlds, gold, silver, copper, coral, pearls, etc., all [presents numbering] one hundred. He also caused the *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur* to be copied twice and the *Gsaṅ-sṅags-kyi-dkyil-ḥkhor* many times.

NOTES BY DR. MARX

The 'Lord of the three worlds' is either Buddha or Avalokiteśvara. The Tibetan word translated by 'copy' is *bžeṅ-ba*. It agrees most closely with the German *stiften*, *Stift*, *Stiftung*; an exact equivalent in English I have not been able to discover. The *Gsaṅ-sṅags-kyi-dkyil-ḥkhor*, 'Wheel of Dhāraṇīs' (secret spells), is a kind of book, of which there exists a great variety.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

This king is mentioned in the *Māhātmya* of Li-kyir as having come to the throne seven generations after Lha-chen-Rgyal-po. Introduction of the *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur*, which had just then been completed by Bu-ston. The Mongols received the *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur* in 1310 A.D. But it was not translated into Mongolian before the seventeenth century. See the *Hor-chos-byuṅ* of *Ḥjigs-med-nam-mkhaḥ*. If we can trust the Kashmir chronicles, this king was killed by the Kalamanyas (people of Mkhar-maṅ or Parkuda). Dbus-Gtsaṅ, two important provinces of Central Tibet. Dbus is supposed to be identical with Ptolemy's Dabasae.

His son was Lha-chen-Rgyal-bu-rin-chen (*c.* 1320–50 A.D.) (*L* MS. omits the epithet Lha-chen).

NOTES

This king is in all probability identical with Riñchana Bhoṭṭa of Jonarāja's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kashmir, vv. 157–254. See my article, 'References to the Bhoṭṭas in the Rājataraṅgiṇī,' *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, pp. 181–92. The Persian *History of Kashmir* by A'ẓam tells of Rainchan-Shāh's conversion to Muhammadanism, of the erection of the Bulbul-Lankar in Srinagar by him, and of his erection of a mosque (the Awwal-Masjid of Srinagar). The Persian *History of Kashmir* by Maūlavī Ḥaidar Malik contains a translation of a lost inscription by Riñchana in his mosque. According to these he was only half Muhammadan. The Ladakhi *Song of the Bodro-Masjid* speaks of the great saint Bulbul, the king's friend. A song entitled *Prince Rin-chen's Departure* is found in my article 'Ten Ancient Historical Songs', *Ind. Ant.*, 1909, pp. 57–68.

His son was Lha-chen-Śes-rab (*c.* 1350–80 A.D.). In his lifetime this king, having built the hamlet of Seṅ-ge-sgaṅ on the top of the so-called Haṅ-rtse-mo [rock] in Sa-bu, made it a dependency of the Spyaṅ castle of Sa-bu in Mar-yul.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Sa-bu is a village 6 miles south-east of Leh, off the main valley (Survey map: Sobu). The Haṅ-rtse-mo is a rock well known there. The castle is in ruins.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

This king is omitted in *S* and *L* MSS. I visited Sa-bu in 1906, and people told me that the rock was called Ḥlaṅ-rtse-mo (Glaṅ-rtse-mo), and the castle Śaṅ-mkhar (Śaṅ would be the Ladakhi pronunciation of Spyaṅ). But the name of the village of Seṅ-ge-sgaṅ was no longer known. The site is on the ridge of mountains west of Sa-bu, and I found the hillside covered with ruined houses.

His son was Lha-chen-Khri-gtsug-lde (*c.* 1380–1400 A.D.). This king built [one row of] *mchod-rtens* [numbering] 108 at Slel (Sle, *L* MS.: Gles) and two [rows] of 108 at Sa-bu.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

108 (*brgya-rtsa*, abbreviated from *brgya-rtsa-brgyad*, as we find it given in a document excavated at Kyelang) is a sacred number. 108 is also the number of beads in the ordinary rosary of Lamaists, etc. The rows of *mchod-rtens* referred to here usually consist of *mchod-rtens* not higher than 2 or 3 feet, and resemble low walls, built at random anywhere across the desert. Slel, sometimes Sle, is the ordinary spelling of Leh, the capital of Ladakh.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

As to the spelling of the name of the capital of Ladakh, I believe that Sle, Gle, Gles is the more correct; a *hles* or *lhas* is an enclosure for cattle, and this is supposed to have been the beginning of the Tibetan, not Dard, town of Leh. The European spelling of Leh may be due to the German orthography of the Moravian missionaries. Leh is here mentioned for the first time. Apparently it was then made the capital. Previous to Leh, Śeh (Śel) seems to have been the capital of the country. Down to the present time it has been considered necessary that the heir apparent should be born in Śeh. The rows of *mchod-rtens* which were built at Leh have not yet been discovered. Of those at Sa-bu there is still a fragment left, of about 6 yards, as Dr. Shawe told me. It looks as if the remainder had been carried away by a flood.

Towards the end of this reign the Tartar emperor Tīmūr may have passed through part of the Western Tibetan kingdom on his way from Jammu to Samarkand. At that time the Christians and Buddhists were being persecuted in Central Asia by the Muhammadans. The Nestorian inscriptions at Brań-rtse in Ladakh may be the work of fugitives during that period.

His two sons were Lha-chen-Grags-ḥbum-lde (*c.* 1400–40 A.D.) and Grags-pa-ḥbum. Grags-ḥbum-lde held Slel (*L* MS.: Gle), etc. He erected, for the sake of his reputation with posterity, the Red Monastery (*L* MS.: many monasteries) and a Rgyal-ba-Byams-pa (Buddha Maitreya), the lord, in size [such as he will be] in his 8th year. On his right and left were Ḥjam-dbyańs (Mañju-ghosha) and a Phyag-na-rdo-rje (Vajra-pāṇi), each one story high. He caused to be painted as fresco pictures representations of the departed Buddhas, of the preserver of the universe, and of all his own private deities. He also built a triple temple (one surmounting the other) on the pattern of [the one at] Mtho-gliń. As a symbol of the word, he caused to be written a copy of the *Gzuńs-ḥbum-chen-mo*, *Dkon-mchog-brtsegs-pa* and the *Lań-kar-gśegs-pa* and some others. As a symbol of the spirit, some fatality having occurred at Sle (Leh), he built over [closed] the Teḥu(*L* MS.: Tiḥu)-gser-po ('Yellow Crag') completely, outside in the shape of a *mchod-rten*, inside containing 108 temple shrines. This *mchod-rten* is called Teḥu-bkra-śis-ḥod-ḥphro. Again, there being in the lower part of the Sle Valley a crag resembling an elephant, the king caused a brotherhood of four lamas to settle down below this rock. Then he said, 'If I die now, it matters not.' [At that time it happened that] the omniscient of the period of degeneration (the Kali age), the great Tsoń-kha-pa-Blo-bzań-grags-pa, having in his possession a *Tshe-dpag-med* (*Amitāyuḥ Sūtra*), about as long as a finger joint, made from the blood of his nose, entrusted the same to two ascetics, and said, 'Give it either to the one called Grags-pa, or to the one called Lde.' When the two arrived in Mar-yul, the one called Grags-pa was in Nub-ra. They went into his presence, but he did not

deign to bestow even a glance at them. So they went on to Slel. On the morrow the king gave command: 'At to-day's Darbār, whosoever attends, be it ascetic, or Bhe-da (*L* MS.: Bhe-da-pha), or Mon, or Ti-śi, he shall not be refused admittance.' Now, when the two ascetics came into his presence, the king rose and went to meet them. p. 37. The two ascetics made over the present, and the king was delighted with it. Taking the precious law of Buddha for his guide, he built the lamasery of Dpe-thub, though in reality he did not build it, but it came into existence by a miracle. Having built it, he caused many brotherhoods of lamas to settle [in the country].

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

The 'red college' built by this king is probably the one on the Rnam-rgyal-rtse-mo hill at Leh. In that temple there is a statue of Maitreya, the head of which reaches through the ceiling of the first storey. But the statues of Mañju-ghosha and Vajra-pāṇi, which are said to have been on the right and left, are no longer there (although there are traces of the pedestal of at least one of them.—F.). The 'preserver of the universe' is probably Maitreya. Mtho-gliṅ, pronounced Tholding, on the Upper Sutlej. Map of Turkestan: Totlingmat, where *mat* (*smad*) = 'the lower', i.e. 'lower part of the city'. The *Śam-bha-la-paḥi-lam-yig* contains a reference to this temple: 'It was built by Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po (*c.* 1000 A.D.). The Hor (Turks?) burnt it down; but at some later date it was rebuilt, and now, in its lowest compartment, it contains the Dhāranīs.' Adolf von Schlagintweit (and Captain Rawling) visited it. (The temple in Ladakh, built on its model, has not yet been discovered.) But there is in the middle of the old town of Leh a temple, called 'the old Byams-pa (Maitreya) monastery', which is reported to have been built by King Ḥbum-lde. In its present condition, however, it does not look like a triple temple. The *mchod-rten* called Teḥu-bkra-śis-ḥod-ḥphro, 'brilliant good fortune,' still exists, though in a dilapidated condition, about 2 miles up the Leh Valley from the British Joint Commissioner's compound. The monastery below the crag resembling an elephant is also still extant at the suburb of Leh called Dgar-ba (Skara). It is now called *Glaṅ-chen-dgon-pa*, 'Elephant Monastery.' Dpe-thub, lamasery and village, on the River Indus, 5 miles south-west of Leh. The lamas belong to the Dge-ldan-pa order of lamas. The lamasery has an incarnated Sku-śog. It is vulgarly called Spi-thug (Survey map: Pittuk). Other lamaseries of the Dge-ldan-pa order in Ladakh are Khrig-rtse (Survey map: Tokzay), Saṅ-kar (a Leh suburb), Li-kyir, Ri-rdzoṅ, and many small ones. N.B.—Although the order primarily refers to the lamas, yet every family or house (*groṅ-pa*) in the country is affiliated from time immemorial to one or other of the lamaseries, and hence is attached to the respective order of lamas as a kind of lay dependency, and worships the same tutelary deity (*Yi-dam*).

Gzuṅs-ḥbum-chen-mo means 'the great 100,000 Dhāraṇīs'. *Dkon-mchog-brtsegs-pa* is the *Ratna-kūṭa Sūtra* and *Laṅ-kar-gśegs-pa* is the *Laṅkāvatāra*. Blo-bzaṅ-grags-pa is the spiritual name of the great reformer Tsoṅ-kha-pa. The expression *dpes-nas* probably means that King Ḥbum-lde adopted the reformed doctrines of Tsoṅ-kha-pa.

Rgya-ma-phyag-rjes-su means 'for the sake of his reputation with posterity'. German *Nachruhm!* *Sku-gsuṅ-thugs*, 'body, word, and spirit,' or in the common parlance *lus-ṅag-yid*, and mystically expressed by the formula *ōṃ ā hūṃ*, have each their own special *rten*, or symbols; *skuḥi-rten*, 'the image'; *gsuṅ-gi-rten*, 'the scriptures'; *thugs-kyi-rten*, 'the *mchod-rten*.' They represent a kind of triad, corresponding to the 'three holies', *dkon-mchog-gsum*, i.e. the Buddha, the Law, and the Order of Monks (cf. Sir M. Monier Williams, *Buddhism*, ed. 2, p. 175). But, just as *dkon-mchog-gsum* is not without some underlying idea of a Supreme Being, ruling over all, there may be some other more obscure and deeper meaning embodied in these symbols. *Tshe-dpag-med*, 'time without measure,' 'eternity,' an epithet of Gautama Buddha. (It is Amitāyus, or Amitābha, F., and the book indicated is the *Amitāyur-nāma-dhāraṇī*.) *Bhe-da*, professional musicians of low caste, Muhammadans, of Balti extraction. They, as well as the other low-caste inhabitants of Ladakh, now may possess fields and houses. *Mon*, joiners and carpenters by profession, also of low caste, though not quite so low as the *Bhe-da*. They probably are remnants of the tribes of aborigines which at one time occupied the hill districts of the Himalayas. Though Buddhists, the zamindars keep apart from them, and any zamindar who would marry a Mon maiden would by doing so lose his caste. *Ti-shi*, another low caste, shoemakers by profession. They also are Buddhists.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

The biography of the famous reformer Tsoṅ-kha-pa is found in G. Huth's *Hjigs-med-nam-mkhaḥ* (vol. ii, pp. 176 sqq.). I do not believe that any of Tsoṅ-kha-pa's writings have as yet been translated. Inscriptions of the times of the reformation are found in the desert between Poo (Spu) and Spyi-ti, and a single specimen at Kha-la-rtse (see my article, 'Historische Dokumente von Khalatse,' ZDMG., vol. lxi). Rock-carvings representing the reformer are found on the rock below the Dpe-thob (Spithug) monastery. For King Ḫbum-lde's rock-edict at Mul-bhe see my article in the *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxv, p. 72. For the invasion of Zainu'l-'ābidīn of Kashmir, which probably took place during the reign of this king, see my article, 'References to the Bhoṭṭas in the Rājataraṅgiṇī,' *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, pp. 181–92. Schlagintweit's spelling Glaḥi-rgyal-po is probably a mistake, Gleḥi-rgyal-po, 'King of Leh,' being intended. At the Byams-pa-dmar-po monastery we find a picture representing this king together with his wife and his son Blo-gros. From the inscription we infer that in old age he became a lama and made over the kingdom to his son.

His son was Blo-gros-mchog-ldan (*c.* 1440–70 A.D.). In the time of this king were brought from Gu-ge 18 coats of mail, the most excellent of their number being the Dmu-khrab-zil-pa (the 'resplendent devil-coat-of-mail'), the Ma-moḥi-mun-sgribs ('devil-darkness'), the Khrab-chuṅ-dkaḥ-ru (the 'little coat-of-mail Heavy-weight'?), and the Lha-khrab-dkar-po (the 'white Deva-coat-of-mail'); 18 swords, amongst them being the Nam-mkhaḥ-khrag-ldag (the 'licking-blood off the sky'), the Ḫbroṅ-rtse-riṅs (the 'wild yak, long point'), and the Glog-dmar-me-gsod (the 'killer of the red lightning-flame'); 15 knives, whereof the best were the Ddud-gri-nag-po (the 'black devil-knife') and the Dam-gri-gẓuṅ-brgyad (the 'knife of eight marks', seals?); 15 turquoises, the best of these were the Lha-gyu-ḥod-ldan (the 'luminous deva-turquoise') and the Lha-gyu-dkar-po (the 'white deva-turquoise'); 20 saddles, amongst them the Sga-ma-ji-khri-stêṅs (the 'raised glory-throne (?) saddle') and the Bkra-śis-ḥod-ldan (the 'good fortune, light-emitting'). [Also] ponies, viz. 50 grey ones, 50 isabel, 20 black, 30 piebald; also 20 young yak-cows, and 20 light-brown yak-bulls, besides sheep, etc., in short, tribute, revenue, and presents in vast quantities. Having conquered Mṅaḥ-ris-skor-gsum, [the state] grew much in extent and flourished.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Names given to weapons, etc., are very common in Tibetan literature. They present a serious obstacle in reading, e.g. the Gesar epic. Schlagintweit also, in this passage, failed to recognize the fact that it chiefly consists of proper names. Coats of mail in Ladakh usually were either chain armour or made of scales of metal. At Phyi-dbaṅ (Survey map: Phayang) lamasery a collection of such armour is still shown to visitors.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

Probably during the reign of this king the expedition of the Kashmir king Ādam-Khān to Tibet took place. (See my article, 'References to the Bhoṭṭas in the Rājataraṅgiṇī,' *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, pp. 181–92; Śrīvara, i, 71 and 82.) This king is also mentioned in the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī* (Trans., pp. 418–19, 460) as still living in 1532 A.D.; probably his descendants are called by his name. There his name is spelt Lata-jugh-dan. As mentioned above, a portrait of this king is found in the Byams-pa-dmar-po monastery at Leh. In the inscription below the picture he is named Blo-gros. Before becoming king he was a lama. As regards the Kashmir expedition, it is possible that Blo-gros took the side of the Kashmiris and assisted them in their conquest of Gu-ge. The booty indicated above may have been taken on that occasion. The Khri-dpon of Pu-rig seems likewise to have joined the Kashmir army (see inscription No. 192).

VII. The Early Kings of the Second West Tibetan Dynasty

(*A* MS.) Lha-chen-Grags-pa-ḫbum (*c.* 1400–40 A.D.) had ruled over Rab-brtan-lha-rtse, Gte-ya (*L* MS. : Te-ba), etc. He built the royal city of Gtiṅ-sgaṅ.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Rab-brtan-lha-rtse is the proper name of the palace of Basgo (Survey map: Bazgo), now in ruins. Gte-ya is situated near Sñur-la (Sñuṅ-la; Survey map: Snurla), but off the main valley to the north (Survey map: Teah). Gtiṅ-sgaṅ is situated close to Gte-ya (Survey map: Temesgam). It is, according to our ideas, a village. It is one of the prettiest villages in Ladakh.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

A seal attributed to this king is still in the possession of the ex-kings of Ladakh. The impression of the seal which I was able to see was too indistinct to allow of any deciphering. It contains Sanskrit formulas in Lañtsha characters, but not a royal name. The king is mentioned in a votive inscription from Bde-skyid, Nub-ra.

His son was Lha-chen-Bha-ra (*c.* 1440–70 A.D.).

NOTES

Nothing known beyond the name.

His son was Lha-chen-Bha-gan (*c.* 1470–1500 A.D.). This king being very fond of fighting, he and the people of Śel (*L* MS. : Śes), having formed an alliance, deposed and subjected the sons of the King of Sle (Leh, Gle), Grags-ḫbum-lde, [viz.] Blo-gros-mchog-ldan, Druṅ-pa-'A-li, and Slab-bstan-dar-rgyas (*L* MS. : Slab-bstan).

NOTES

Śel, vulg. Śe (Survey map: Shay), village 10 miles S.S.E. of Leh, on the right bank of the Indus. It has a palace of the Ladakh rājā (cf. *B* MS.). To this note by Dr. K. Marx let me add that the spelling Śes-pa would suggest the translation 'the wise men', as Schlagintweit actually took it. But, as Dr. K. Marx received his information from lama Bkra-śis-btsan-ḫphel, who was an authority on the history of Ladakh, I believe that his version, founded on the spelling of *A* MS., ought to be accepted. Śel is apparently the Śaya-deśa of Jonarāja's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, v. 1107; cf. *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*, p. 460 n. It is probably the ancient capital of the country, and it is the town where the heir apparent must be born. This village contains a Sunni mosque, asserted to be more ancient than any of the mosques at Leh. It was probably erected by the Kashmir kings of the time.

During this reign, according to Śrīvara's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (iii, 32, 396, 440–4), the invasion of the Kashmir king Ḥasan-Khān probably took place. It ended in the defeat of the Kashmiris. (See my article, 'References to the Bhoṭṭas in the Rājataraṅgiṇī,' *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, pp. 181–92.) It appears strange that the second of Grags-pa-ḫbum-lde's sons had the half Muhammadan name Druṅ-pa-'A-li. Perhaps King Ḫbum-lde was compelled by Zainu'l-'ābidīn to marry a Muhammadan lady.

Bha-gan (Skt. Bhagavān) is the founder of the second West Tibetan or Rnam-rgyal dynasty. He called his two sons Rnam-rgyal (*L* MS.: Gnam-rgyal), or 'perfect victors', and the word Rnam-rgyal, combined with other names, is found in the names of all his descendants. Being the founder of the Rnam-rgyal dynasty, he possibly accepted the name Lha-chen-Kun-dgaḫ-rnam-rgyal, which is found in the Daru inscription. The latter contains also the name of his minister Phyag-rdor, and the name of the same minister occurs also in inscriptions (Nos. 152, 179, 180, 205) of his son Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal. This minister seems to have done service under two kings.

A certain Baghan is mentioned, as a *Chui* (*Jo*) of the provinces of Tibet, in the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī* (Trans., p. 463). Bha-gan was possibly still alive in 1532 A.D.

His sons were Lha-chen-Lha-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal and Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal (*c.* 1500–32 A.D.), these two. Lha-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal had great bodily strength and dexterity.

But Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal, the younger, being very crafty, caused the elder brother's eyes to be plucked out. Still, for the continuance of his race, he stationed him, together with his wife, at Liṅs-sñed. To him were born three sons: Lha-chen-Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal, Rnam-rgyal-mgon-po, and H̱jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal. These three sons grew very tall in stature.

> They grew taller within a month
> Than others grow in a year;
> They grew taller within a day
> Than others grow within a month.

In his time the king Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal reigned. This king conquered [all the country] from Pu-rig upwards, and from Gro-śod downwards hither. He brought [home] herds of ponies in inconceivable numbers. He built the castle Slel-rnam-rgyal-rtse-mo, and founded the hamlet of Chu-bhi (*L* MS.: Chu-bi). He fought against an invading force of Turks (Hor), and killed many Turks. On the Rnam-rgyal-rtse-mo hill he erected the 'House of the Lords' (Mgon-khaṅ) and laid the corpses of the Turks under the feet of [the images of] the [four] Lords. (*B* MS.) Again, by building the 'House of the Lords', he obtained power over the demon that turns back hostile armies. (*A* MS.) He invited from H̱bri-khuṅ (*L* MS.: H̱bri-guṅ) the 'Real Buddha', whose name was Chos-rje-ldan-ma, and then built the lamasery called Sgaṅ-sṅon-bkra-śis-chos-rdzoṅ. He made the rule regarding the number of children that were to be sent by every village to become lamas, and introduced the doctrine of the *Bsgrub-rgyud*. p. 38. On the spot where the lamasery is seen [for the first time] he suspended a long prayer-flag. Whosoever, whether thief or liar, in short, anyone guilty of offence against the king's palace or life, if he escaped to this spot, should be rid of his crime. Again, he presented to the H̱bri-khuṅ (*L* MS.: H̱bri-guṅ), Sa-skya, Dge-ldan, Lha-sa, and Bsam-yas [lamaseries] cushions, gold-water, long prayer-flags, [tea for] tea-generals, all an hundredfold, etc. He also caused a *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur* and *Bstan-ḥgyur* to be copied, besides many other books, and erected many *mchod-rtens*.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Liṅs-sñed, Liṅ-śed (Survey map: Linshot) in Zaṅs-dkar, four marches south of Khalatse. Pu-rig, district crossed by the Kashmir road from the Zoji-la to the Photo-la. Capitals: Kargil and Kartse. The inhabitants are partly Buddhist, partly Shiah Muhammadans. They are a race distinct from either Baltis or Ladakhis. They wear an upper garment of a dark-brown colour, by which they may be distinguished from Ladakhis, and a small round skull-cap. The long locks of hair on the temples, in fashion with Baltis, are not seen with Pu-rig men. They all but monopolize the carrying trade between Ladakh and Kashmir, ponies—though not a very good breed—being their chief wealth. Gro-śod, name of a district about the twenty-fifth stage from Leh to Lha-sa between Maryum-la and [the river] Cha-chu-sangpo. The palace built by Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal occupies the very summit of the precipitous rock (Rnam-rgyal-rtse-mo) at the foot of which the city of Leh is built. The 'Leh palace' (built by Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal; see later) is at a lower level. At present only some religious buildings remain, the fort itself being in ruins. Chu-bhi: about a dozen houses at the foot of the western declivity of the Rnam-rgyal-rtse-mo [hill]. Mgon-khaṅ: the temple and images still remain (information from Bkra-śis-bstan-ḥphel). H̱bri-khuṅ, a Tibetan lamasery. It gives its name to a special order of lamas of the 'red' persuasion. Sgaṅ-sṅon-bkra-śis-chos-rdzoṅ is the proper name of the lamasery at Phyi-dbaṅ, 8 miles west of Leh, vulgarly called Sgaṅ-sṅon-dgon-pa. As has

already been mentioned, it contains a collection of ancient armour. Sa-skya, Tibetan lamasery of 'red' lamas. It gives its name to the Sa-skya-pa order. This order is represented in Ladakh by the Maḥ-spro lamasery (south of the Indus, near He-mi). Dge-ldan (Dgaḥ-ldan), Lha-sa, and Bsam-yas are lamaseries belonging to the 'yellow' persuasion.

Regarding *btsun-gral*, 'tax order of children to be made lamas.' Under the old régime every family of more than one or two male children had to give up one—not the eldest, however—to be made lama. At present, of course, this tax is no longer compulsory, and hence the great falling off in the number of lamas. The lama child, Btsun-chuṅ, stays at home until his 8th year, wearing the red garment and the red or yellow cap from the first. Then he goes to a lamasery, or is apprenticed to a lama, in order to receive his primary education, until he reaches his 14th or 15th year, being all this time called Btsun-chuṅ. Then he goes to Lha-sa, where his studies receive the finishing touch. After a sojourn there of one or two years, or longer—now under the name of Dge-tshul (*upāsaka*)—on passing an examination, conducted by the head lama of the respective lamaseries, he is baptized, and thereby made a Dge-sloṅ (*Bhikshu*). Then he usually returns to his own country, in order to perform there the functions of a village priest, or to enter one of the lamaseries, where special duties await him. N.B.—There is a prevalent error regarding the dress of lamas, which is propagated even by Sir Monier Williams (*Buddhism*, ed. 2, pp. 268 and 278), viz. that the dress of lamas of the 'red' persuasion is red, that of the 'yellow' persuasion yellow. This is not so. The dress of both the 'red' and 'yellow' lamas is red (with the exception of one special order of lamas belonging to the Dge-ldan-pa, who, to my knowledge, exist only in Zaṅs-dkar, whose dress also is yellow); but lamas of the 'red' persuasion also wear red caps and red scarfs round their waist, whilst in the case of the 'yellow' lamas these, and these only, are yellow. The *Bsgrub-rgyud* is a 'treatise on Esoteric Doctrine'. Gold-water, i.e. gold, finely divided by long trituration, suspended in water, extensively used for gold-washing the images. Regarding the sentence which occurs only in *B* MS., I am not quite confident as to the correctness of my translation; but if *mthaḥ dmag* means 'the hostile army', and not the army of the country 'operating at the frontier', I think the sentence could not be rendered differently.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

Liṅs-sñed. I visited the place and found the palace of the kings of Leh in ruins. I could not trace any more traditions regarding the blind king Lha-dbaṅ, who had once resided there. Pu-rig, often spelt Bu-rig. Bu-rig is probably the original form. Pu-rig is the outcome of an attempt of many people at pronouncing the name Bu-rig after the fashion of Lha-sa. Thus, the personal name Bu-khrid was also converted to Pu-khrid. Many Ladakhis who have been to Lha-sa do their best to introduce the eastern pronunciation of Tibetan into Ladakh. Bu-rig means 'clever boys', probably because the Dards, the ancient inhabitants of the country, were superior to the Ladakhis in general culture. The Dard language is still spoken between Kargil and the Zoji Pass. The district consisted of two principalities, one with the capital of Cig-tan, the other with Dkar-rtse as its capital.

An inscription mentioning Lha-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal was found at Gtiṅ-mo-sgaṅ; see my *Collection of Historical Inscriptions*, No. 38. An inscription and a portrait of Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal exist in the Mgon-khaṅ temple at Leh. I visited this temple, and found the figures of the four lords artistically carved in wood. The principal figure represented Rnam-thos-sras (Vaiśravaṇa). Another inscription of Bkra-śis is found in the Gsum-rtsag temple at Alci, which he renovated. *Ladakhi Songs*, No. v, refers to this renovation. The pedestal of his flagstaff is still in existence at Phyi-dbaṅ. I am inclined to believe that he erected the flagstaff because he wished to appease his own conscience. He himself had committed a *crimen læsæ majestatis*. By embracing the flagstaff himself he hoped to get rid of the crime. He was apparently a great politician. When the Turkomans invaded his country, he instigated them to fight all his disobedient chiefs one after another (cf. the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*, p. 422); but possibly he was killed by the Turkomans in 1532 A.D. There is in the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī* (p. 422) a Balti or Nub-ra chief of those times called Bahram. He is probably the Bhag-ram-Mir of the Nub-ra inscription (No. 41 of my collection). The Turkomans call Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal Tashi-kun, which corresponds to Bkra-śis-mgon. It is remarkable that the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī* (pp. 423, 460), after having told of Tashi-kun's death, goes on to speak of him as if he had never died. I believe that the Turkomans, when once they had grasped the name of a Tibetan chief, did not let it go again, but called his successor by the same name. This would also explain why they speak of Blo-gros-mchog-ldan as still living in 1532 A.D. It was his successor, whom they called by the same name.

Then the incarnate king Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal (c. 1532–60 A.D.) was invited to assume the royal functions. Going to war, while yet quite a young man he conquered [all the country] from Ṅam-riṅs in the east (*L* MS. : in the north) downwards hither, (viz.) Blo-bo, Pu-hraṅs, Gu-ge, etc.; to the south, Ḫdzum-laṅ and Ñuṅ-ti, both; in the west as far as Śi-dkar and Kha-dkar (*L* MS. : Khab-gar). He also said that he would make war against the Turkomans (Hor) north [of Ladakh]; but the people of Nub-ra petitioned him, and he desisted. He brought the chiefs of all these [districts], (*S* MS.), having spoken to them in a friendly manner, (*A* MS.) [with him] as hostages, and placed his own representatives in [their] castles. All Mar-yul grew much in extent and flourished. Gu-ge had to pay as tribute and dues annually 300 *żo* of gold, (*S* MS.) silver, 100 three years' sheep, and one horse. (*A* MS.) Ru-thogs had to pay 260 *żo* of gold in addition to 100 three-year-old sheep, one riding horse, ten tanned skin bags, and [the proceeds from the royal domains] of Ḫkhar-ḫo-ldoṅ and Żiṅ-dar-chen-dar-chuṅ; [indeed], from all sides they brought in tribute and dues in inconceivable quantities. The king came to consider: 'My ancestors have, on the pattern of Lha-sa and Mtho-gliṅ of Gu-ge, placed the bones of the Buddha-Elephant on the Rtse-mo; but, as the people do not go there on pilgrimage, or in order to worship, or to offer up sacrifices, or perform circumambulations, I will, instead, (*S* MS.) for the benefit of the creatures, (*A* MS.) build a monastery and establish the doctrine of Buddha on a basis similar to what it had under my ancestor Ral-pa-can.' But, as his work on earth was finished, he went to heaven.

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Ṅam-riṅs, on the road from Lha-sa to Ladakh, twenty-one marches from this side of Lha-sa. Ḫdzum-laṅ, not known. May be identical with Jumla in Nepal. Śi-dkar (Shigar), a large village (and principality) in Baltistan. Kha-dkar (Khaskar, *d* preceding *k* in Ladakh being frequently pronounced like *s*). There certainly is a Kashkar (Chitral) further west, but it is very improbable that the Ladakh Empire should ever have extended so far. Trade with Chinese Turkestan is almost essential to the welfare of Nub-ra. It is in Nub-ra that all the caravans going to or coming from Yarkand obtain their supplies for man and beast. Consequently most grown-up people in Nub-ra know the Turki language fairly well. Ḫkhar-ḫo-ldoṅ and Żiṅ-dar-chen-dar-chuṅ are said to be the names of two estates near Ru-thogs? (Let me note that on Montgomerie's map of the Western Himalayas there is marked a place Darchan a little north-east of the Manasarowar Lake.—F.) The Rtse-mo is the Rnam-rgyal-rtse-mo hill at Leh.

Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal is supposed to have been an incarnation of Phyag-na-rdo-rje (Vajrapāṇi). Gautama Buddha, in one of his births, figures as an elephant. His bones are supposed to be the relics referred to in this passage. They were destroyed by the Baltis during the time of Ḫjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal. (Communication by Bkra-śis-bstan-ḫphel.) Ral-pa-can is the name of one of the ancient kings of Tibet (see *ante*).

Gte-pa, 'hostages' (according to Jäschke, Dict.; the MSS., however, are unanimous in writing *ste-pa*; pronunciation also *ste-pa*). One *żo* of gold is stated to weigh ½ *tola*, equivalent to almost 3 grammes. Its value in silver is said to be equivalent to from 15 to 18 rupees. This would correspond to the British guinea. One *żo* of gold is the price charged, e.g., for large printed volumes like the *Mdo-maṅ*, which may be had at Leh lamasery, printed to order for this price. *Sems-can-gyi-las*, 'his work on earth.' It would be far-fetched to explain this by 'the work (*karma*) of a prior existence in their efforts being exhausted', as suggested by Schlagintweit [' the merits of living creatures (i.e. his people) were exhausted'?—F. W. T.].

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It is not at all improbable that Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal's empire extended to Kashgar (Chitral). As we know from the Balti chronicles (see Ahmad Shah's account), the Balti kings actually held Chitral. Dr. A. Neve, of Srinagar, tells me that he was shown at Chitral a chenar-tree which, according to local tradition, had been planted by a Balti king. When the Ladakhi king beat the Baltis, he gained power, of course, over all their possessions. Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal built the Byams-pa monastery at Bab-sgo, where there is a portrait of him, together with those of his two brothers. His conquest of Kulū (Lahul) is confirmed by the chronicles of Ko-loṅ (Lahul). For a song of old Bum-bha, his minister, see *Ind. Ant.*, 1909, pp. 57–68, 'Ten Ancient Historical Songs,' No. vi. Rock-inscriptions referring to constructions of roads by this king are found under Nos. 44 and 77 of my collection.

Upon this all the vassal princes in one place after another lifted up their heads. H̱jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal reigned (*c.* 1560–90 A.D.). In the time of this king two chiefs in Pu-rig did not agree. He came with the Ladakh army to the assistance of one of them, Tshe-riṅ-malig. But the time had now come when the period of darkness should supervene, the period when royal supremacy should well-nigh be destroyed. The army of 'A-li-Mir, Duke of Naṅ-goṅ (*C* MS. : of Skar-rdo), broke forth. They met, and by dint of stratagem, [ever] putting off [fighting] from one day to the next, [he succeeded in holding them on] until all the passes and valleys were blocked with snow, and the king with his army, wherever they went, were compelled to surrender. All Ladakh was [soon] overrun by Sbal-tis, who burnt all the religious books with fire, threw some into the water, destroyed all the monasteries, whereupon they again returned to their own country. After this it pleased 'A-li-Mir-Śer-Han (Khan) to give his daughter, Rgyal-Kha-thun (*L* MS. : Rgyal-Ka-thun) by name, who was an incarnation of the white Sgrol-ma (Tārā), to H̱jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal to be his wife.

(*B* MS.) After he had sojourned there for no long while,
[It happened that] 'A-li-Mir had a dream.

[He dreamt] he saw, emerging from the river below his castle, a lion, which sprang and disappeared in [the body of] Rgyal-Kha-thun. It was at the identical time that Rgyal-Kha-thun conceived. Now, after 'A-li-Mir had prepared a feast for all the soldiers, and Rgyal-Kha-thun had put on all her jewels, he invited H̱jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal to mount the throne, and then said :

p. 39. Yesterday in a dream
I saw a lion [emerging] from the river in front [of the castle];
And, jumping at Rgyal-Kha-thun, he disappeared into her body.
At the same time also
That girl conceived.
Now it is certain that she will give birth to a male child,
Whose name ye shall call Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal!

Having said this, he gave [the king] leave with the army of Ladakh to return home and to resume his royal functions. (*A* MS.) To him were born two sons : Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal and Nor-bu-rnam-rgyal, these two. At that time H̱jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal bethought himself : 'In the first instance I went with my army to the assistance of Tshe-riṅ-malig of Pu-rig ; the consequence was that all Ladakh was laid waste. Now

I will employ any means that may serve towards the propagation of the religion of Buddha and make it spread. But, as the religion of Buddha is entirely dependent upon the people for its propagation, I must, on my part, relieve them from all taxation, and protect them like my own children!' Having thus resolved, he equalized rich and poor three times. This king united under his sway [all the country] from Pu-rig upwards, and from Brañ-rtse downwards. Tshe-riñ-rgyal-mo, the daughter of Ḫjig-rten-dbañ-phyug, whom he had married before he took Rgyal-Kha-thun, also bore him two sons, Ṅag-dbañ-rnam-rgyal and Bstan-ḫdzin-rnam-rgyal. These two sons were sent to Dbus-Gtsañ (Central Tibet) in order to [lay down] before the precious Jo-bo (Buddha) gold-water and cushions. At Ḫbras-spuñs and Ra-luñ gold, silver, pearls, coral-beads, amber, trident-banners, [tea for] tea-generals, all in numbers of one hundred. At De-rnams long prayer-flags, and also messengers to invite the Ḫbrug-pa incarnation [to Ladakh]. For the sake of his reputation during his lifetime (?) he caused a copy of the [B]*rgya*-[*r*]*tog-gser-gsum*, the *Dkar*(*Bkaḫ*)-*rgyud-gser-ḫphreñ*, and other [books] to be written in gold, silver, and copper. For the sake of posthumous fame he would have very much liked to rebuild and present anew whatever had been destroyed by the Sbal-tis, but, his life being short, he went to heaven [without having been able to accomplish his purpose].

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Nañ-goñ, 'central and upper [districts],' viz. of Baltistan. Brañ-rtse (Survey map: Tankse), well-known village east of Leh, on the road to the Pañ-koñ Lake and Byañ-chen-mo. The limits given here include less territory than there had been under the kings of Ladakh at any other time. Ḫbras-spuñs, a Dge-ldan-pa lamasery in Central Tibet. Ra-luñ, also written Smra-luñ, and once Ḫbrug-ra-luñ, an important lamasery of the Ḫbrug-pa order, near Lha-sa. De-rnams, a lamasery (Dge-ldan-pa), two or three days' journey west of Lha-sa.

Jo-bo: I am informed there are really three images called by this name; two of them, the best known of all, are the Jo-bo-Rin-po-che and Jo-bo-Mi-skyod-rdo-rje (Akshobhya-vajra), both in the Jo-khañ at Lha-sa, one on a lower, the other on an upper platform. The third, Jo-bo-Śākya-muni, is the one at Ra-mo-che. The Jo-bo-Mi-skyod-rdo-rje was brought by the queen Khri-btsun from Nepal (see above, p. 88, n. 1); the Jo-bo-Śākya-muni, on the other hand, by the queen Koñ-jo from China (see above). Where the Jo-bo-Rin-po-che came from I do not know.[1] *Cab-dar*, not *Cob-dar*, a long tuft of silk threads, suspended from a trident (*kha-ṭam-kha* or *rtse-gsum*) and supported on a pole. It may be carried about or placed on the roof of lamaseries and palaces. The Ḫbrug-pa incarnation is probably an incarnation of Dpal-Ye-śes-mgon-po, the tutelary deity of the Ḫbrug-pas. *Brgya-rtog-gser-gsum* is a religious trilogy, consisting of the *Brgya-stoñ*, the *Rtog-gzuñs*, and the *Gser-ḫod*. Frequently the last-named title is applied to the whole. (A copy of the *Gser-ḫod-dam-pa*, written throughout in the ancient Tibetan orthography, was recently discovered at Kyelang. It was bought by the Archæological Department.—F.) *Kar*[*Bkaḫ*]-*rgyud-gser-ḫphreñ*: Bkra-śis-bstan-ḫphel, late head lama of the Stag-sna lamasery in Ladakh, and probably the most learned lama in the country, informed me that this is a kind of clerical genealogy, or a list containing the names of the chief lamas of his own order, the Bkaḫ-rgyud-pa, from its very commencement. The Bkaḫ-rgyud-pa, who are supposed to derive their name from this genealogy, are a subdivision of the Ḫbrug-pa order. (Let me add that in No. 128 of my collection of inscriptions the names of the 'church-fathers' of the Bkaḫ-rgyud-pa order are given as follows: (1) Rdo-rje-ḫchañ, (2) Ti-li (Te-lo-pa), (3) Na-ro, (4) Mar-pa, (5) Mi-la, (6) Rgam-po, (7) Thar-sab-pa, (8) Gnas-phug-pa, (9) Dpal-ldan-ḫbrug-pa. The images of several, if not all, of them may be seen at the Lamayuru monastery.—F.) Although polygamy is not common with Ladakhis—polyandry being more in vogue—yet no one objects if a man, in case his first wife has no children, takes a second wife. The first wife is then

[1] [According to Sarat Chandra Das, *Journey to Lhasa* (p. 201), it was brought by Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po's wife Koñ-jo from China; cf. also Landon's *Lhasa*, vol. ii, p. 310.—F. W. T.]

called *chan-chen* (*lcam-chen*?—F.), the second wife *chan-chung* (*lcam-chuṅ*?—F.); *chan-ma* is said to be 'a woman who prepares food'; the spelling of the word is uncertain.

Żag-ci-ḫgro, 'what day do you think [we shall fight]?'; *ḫgro*, 'it is likely' (Jäschke, *Dict.*). *Yal*, 'succumbed, lost, waned.' *Rgya-mar*, the same as *Rgya-mar-phyag-rjes-su*.

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The two chiefs of Pu-rig who did not agree were the Khri-Sultan of Dkar-rtse and the Pu-rig Sultan of Cig-tan. Both had recently embraced Muhammadanism. For a song on Ḫjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal's alliance with Tshe-riṅ-malig of Cig-tan see my article 'Ten Ancient Historical Songs', No. viii, *Ind. Ant.*, 1909, pp. 57–68. In this song the Ladakhi king is called Mdzes-ldan-rnam-rgyal (Cārumant). Rnam-rgyal-mgon-po seems to have reigned for a short time before Ḫjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal ascended to the throne (see the Mdo-mkhar inscription, No. 108 of my collection). For an inscription referring to Ḫjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal's marriage to a Sbal-ti princess see my article 'Rock Inscriptions at Mulbe', *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxv, pp. 79–80. For Ali-Mir-Sher-Khān's position in Sbal-ti history see my remarks on song No. v of my collection, 'Ten Ancient Historical Songs,' *Ind. Ant.*, 1909. The word *mtsho*, 'lake,' which is found in the 'Song of Ali-Mir', refers to the Indus. The broadest part of the Indus at Skar-rdo is called *Rgya-mtsho*, 'ocean' (see Vigne's *Travels*, vol. ii, p. 268, Gemtsuh).

Ḫjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal and his wife (Kha-tun) are mentioned in a votive inscription at Gtiṅ-sgaṅ (No. 208).

His son was the king of faith, Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal (*c.* 1590–1635 A.D.). From his childhood he was very strong, and in wrestling, running, jumping, shooting with [bow and] arrow, as well as matchlock, and riding—in every kind of sport—he was to be compared with Don-grub (Siddhārtha), the son of Zas-gtsaṅ (Śuddhodana), of olden time. The king, yet a youth, made war against the back-steppes of Gu-ge. Even so far as from the northern slope of Ti-se (Kailāsa) he carried away ponies, yaks, goats, and sheep, and filled the land with them. Some time later he made war against the central provinces of Gu-ge also. Śa-waṅ (a kind of game?) and Ża-ye (*L* MS.: Ża-yas?) he allowed to be killed, and he made all La-dvags to be full of yaks and sheep. He married the princess (owner) of Ru-śod, Bskal-bzaṅ-sgrol-ma, and made her queen. He invited the King of Siddhas (*grub-thob*), called Stag-tshaṅ-ras-chen, [to Ladakh]. This Buddha, who had obtained the rainbow-body, had visited India (*L* MS.: India and China), 'O-rgyan (Udyāna), Kha-che (Kashmir), etc., and had seen all the eighty Siddhas face to face. In fulfilment of his father's intention he erected at Bab-sgo an [image of] Byams-pa (Maitreya), made of copper and gilt, in size [as he will be] in his 8th year, and adorned with all kinds of precious stones; (*C* MS.) he offered up turquoise and coral jewellery and other things. (*A* MS.) He introduced the great deities of all India, east and west. He appointed for the duration of the [present] Kalpa five lamas to be in perpetual attendance, and to offer up sacrifices and keep the sacred lamps burning both day and night. He set up sashes made of the most wonderful Chinese silks, [and also] umbrellas, long prayer-flags, etc. Again, in fulfilment of his mother's intention, he sent, to be laid down at the feet of the incarnation of Ḫphags-pa-rab-ḫbyor (Subhūti), the

p. 40. Pan-chen, Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan [A.D. 1569–1662], golden earrings, silver earrings, amber [pieces of] the size of apples 108, smaller ones 108, coral beads of the size of fowls' eggs 108, pearls of the size of Chinese peas 108, and smaller ones a great many. (*B* MS.) At . . . Lha-sa, Khra-ḫbrug, Bsam-yas, and other [monasteries], he offered up sacrifices everywhere one thousand. To the Dge-[ldan], Ḫbras-[spuṅs], Se-r[a], Ḫbrug-Ra-luṅ, Sa-skya, and all the other lamaseries both great and small, he made presents of [tea

for] the tea-generals, and other things, all numbering one hundred, in plenty. (*C* MS.) At Wam-le, Rgod-yul, Kha-nag, Gtsaṅ-dmar, Skyu-dmar-naṅ, Me-ru, Dar-rtse, he gave the entire population [to the monasteries]; and, besides, in Upper and Lower Ladakh and throughout his dominions, he gave estates as sites for religious purposes for the duration of the present Kalpa. (*A* MS.) To the Siddha Stag-tshaṅ-ras-chen, the same [as mentioned before], he gave, in the several districts that belonged to himself, estates as well as sites in plenty for religious buildings; and Stag-tshaṅ-ras-chen, during the reigns of both the father Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal and the son Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal, the father then being in the decline, and the son in the prime of his life, satisfactorily completed (*S* MS.) innumerable monasteries, of which the chief were these three, the Byaṅ-chub-bsam-gliṅ monastery of He-mi, the Theg-mchog monastery of Lce-bde, and the Bde-chen monastery of Wam-le, (*A* MS.) also the Bkra-śis-sgaṅ monastery and others. Thus the law of Buddha made progress and flourished. (*C* MS.) To the great Siddha, Stag-tshaṅ-ras-chen, the supreme, he presented 100 ponies, 100 yaks, 100 cattle, 1,000 sheep, 1,000 goats, 1,000 silvers (Ladakhi rupees), 100 *żo* of gold, 3,000 loads of grain, one string of pearls, one string of coral beads, one string of turquoises, 25 matchlocks, 25 spears, 25 swords, 15 coats-of-mail, 25 pieces of silk, 10 pieces of brocade, 25 pieces of gauze with and without a pattern, 25 pieces of broad gauze for 'scarfs of blessing', and other presents inconceivable. Then he reared the Sle-chen-dpal-mkhar (palace) of nine stories, and completed it within about three years. His own private utensils for religious worship were all made of gold and silver, and very numerous. He also caused a *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur* to be copied in gold, silver, and copper, and, besides, many other [religious] volumes and books. (*S* MS.) Then also, he built a *sku-gduṅ* (kind of stūpa), six stories high, furnished with copper and gilt prayer-wheels. At Leh he erected three *man-thaṅ* (Mendong, *maṇi* walls), and in Zaṅs-mkhar one, with altogether 100 millions of *maṇi* stones. As a scent-offering he erected the images of the golden chain of the Dkar(Bkaḥ)-rgyud lamas, and the great Thub-[pa] (Buddha) at Śel (Śeh). [Thus] he caused the precious teaching of Buddha to rise like the sun over all men. (*B* MS.) All his dominions lived according to the rule of the ten virtues, and thus the whole earth was filled with the saying: 'In the whole world is there a king like Seṅ-ge or a lama like Stag; the priest and the donor; sun and moon, a pair?' After this, Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal bethought himself: '[My] uncle Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal ruled indeed as far as Ṅam-riṅs in the north-east; but he did not live long, and during the reign of [my] father Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal all the vassal princes again rose.' So he again went to war [and came] as far as Ṅam-riṅs in the north. At Śi-ri-dkar-mo he stopped (or, he was routed at Śi-ri-dkar-mo). Upon this there arrived an ambassador from Tibet, and it was agreed that the frontier should remain as before, and that his dominions should include all the country up to Dbu[s]-Gtsaṅ. On his return journey he died at Wam-le. (*L* MS.) Further, [this king] made many small offerings and gave many hundreds of loads of saffron, different kinds (?) of linen, and tufts of silk threads. As an 'offering of the word' [he presented] the *Stoṅ-phrag-brgya-pa*, the *Mdo-sde-Bskal-bzaṅ-po*, on five

occasions copies of the five divisions of the *Byams-chos*, and on two occasions copies of the *Brgya-[r]tog-gser-gsum*. He caused the biography of Stag-tshaṅs-ras-chen and the *Mgur-ḥbum* to be copied in gold, silver, and copper. He caused many hundred million of *maṇi* formulas to be recited, and for them offered many sacrifices of a hundred or a thousand each. Besides he built the Stag-sna [and other monasteries], although in reality he did not build them, but they came into existence by a miracle. He introduced the teaching of the *Bsgrub-rgyud*. During the time of this king, 'Adam-mkhan, the king of Sbal-ti, having brought in the army of Pad-cha-Śa-ḥjan, they fought many battles at Mkhar-bu, and, many Hor (Mughal soldiers) being killed, a complete victory was gained over the enemy. An army being sent against Gu-ge, its chief and owner was deposed, and Rtsa-braṅ of Gu-ge, as well as [the] Los-loṅ (the really blind one), were seized. The 'Aṅ-pa (chief?) of Ru-thog was also deposed, and Ru-thog was seized. [Then] war was made against Dbus-Gtsaṅ, and Śi-ri as well as Kyar-Kyar were made tributary. The King of Dbus-Gtsaṅ, Sde-pa-gtsaṅ-pa, presented many mule-loads of gold, silver, and tea; and after [Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal] had paid his respects (?) he went home together with the army of Ladakh. He also brought Lho-mo-sdaṅ into his power. He reigned from Bu-raṅ, Gu-ge, Zaṅs-dkar, Spyi-ti, and Bu-rig, as far as the Mar-yum pass in the east. Ru-thog and the districts as far as the gold-mines were brought under his sway, and La-dvags spread and flourished.

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NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Ru-śod, an upland district (about 15,000 feet elevation) between Ladakh and Lahul and Spiti, usually called Rupshu (Drew) or Rukshu (Survey map). The present 'queen' of Ladakh is also a Rupshu princess. Bab-sgo, village on the River Indus, about 18 miles west of Leh (Survey map: Bazgo). The temple and image (the so-called Se-ljaṅ monastery) still remain, whilst the palace is in ruins. The place is well worth a visit. Khrag-ḥbrug is a Dge-ldan-pa lamasery at Lhasa. Bkra-śis-sgaṅ, in Tibet, about two marches from the frontier, on the River Indus (map of Turkestan: Tashigong). He-mi, famous lamasery in Ladakh (Survey map: Himis), about 18 miles S.S.E. of Leh. The Himis fair in summer is the chief attraction to sight-seers in Ladakh. This lamasery is at present still the greatest landowner in Ladakh, and its steward one of the most influential persons in the country. The lamas are of the Ḥbrug-pa order of the 'red' persuasion. Theg-mchog of Lcẹ-ḥbre is a sister lamasery to He-mi, north of the Indus (vulg. Chemre; Survey map: Chimray). Byaṅ-Nam-riṅs; Northern Ṅam-riṅs: the word Byaṅ has probably come to be a compound part of the name. Śi-ri-dkar-mo, name of a small lamasery on a rock on the right bank of the River Charta-Sangpo (map of Turkestan). The difficulty of crossing the river may to some extent account for the defeat of the Ladakh army (cf. Koeppen, ii, p. 146, n. 1). Rgod-yul is the name of the Hanle (Wam-le) district Kha-nag (Drew's map: Kharnak; Survey map: Khanuk; vulg. Kharnak), a valley in Zaṅs-dkar. Gtsaṅ, abridged from Gtsaṅ-kha, a valley near He-mi. Dmar, abridged from Dmar-rtse-laṅ (Drew: Marchalong: Survey map: Marsahing), near He-mi. Of the combination Skyu-dmar-naṅ: Skyu = Skew or Skio (Survey map) in the valley of Dmar-kha in Zaṅs-dkar; Dmar stands for Dmar-kha (Drew and Survey: Markha); Naṅ, probably a hamlet in the same valley. Me-ru (Survey map: Miru), on the Rgya River, one march south of He-mi. Dar-rtse? (A village called Dar-rtse is found in the upper part of the Bhāga Valley, Lahul.—F.) The Sle-chen-dpal-mkhar is the palace of Leh, a conspicuous building immediately above the city. (A picture is given in Cunningham's *Ladak*, where there is also another of the Wam-le (Hanle) monastery.)

Grub-thob, *Siddha*, according to Sir Monier Williams (*Buddhism*, ed. 2, p. 536), seems to denote the degree next to and below Arhatship. This passage, however, properly refers to Jainism. The word occurs again in the text four lines further down, where the eighty *Grub-thob* are mentioned. The only 'eighty' referred to anywhere in Buddhistic literature are, I believe, the 'eighty great disciples', *Mahā-śrāvakas*. They, indeed, were not

supposed to have attained to Arhatship during life, but became Arhats at the moment of their death. Hence the *Grub-thob*, or *Siddha*, would seem to be 'a candidate for Arhatship', one who will obtain *Grub-pa*, i.e. perfection, when he dies. Two characteristics of the *Grub-thob*, incidentally mentioned here, also prove that between him and an arhat designate is very little difference. The first is that he is able to have intercourse with the 'eighty great disciples', i.e. that time to him is of no account. The second is that he has obtained the 'rainbow-body' (*ḥjaḥ-lus*), i.e. a body which at death vanishes out of sight, not leaving any trace behind, just like the rainbow. Compare the seven Khri (thrones) in Chapter IV (*ante*). This, of course, amounts to obtaining *Parinirvāṇa*. Now, as according to Sir Monier Williams (*Buddhism*, ed. 2, p. 134), the third and highest degree of Arhatship is identical with Supreme Buddhahood, it is no longer difficult to understand why Stag-tshaṅ-ras-chen should be styled a Saṅs-rgyas, i.e. a Buddha. Stag-tshaṅ is said to be the author of the little book of travel, the *Śam-bha-la-paḥi-lam-yig*, referred to once or twice in these notes. (Portrait statuettes of Stag-tshaṅ may be seen at He-mi and Lce-hbre.—F.) The *Rgyal-mtshan* is a crinoline-shaped kind of parasol, but cylindrical, not conical, in form, about 3 feet in height by 1 foot in width; it consists of two or three hoops with a covering of black woollen threads or of trimmings of calico. (It is of Indian origin.—F. W. T.) It is planted on the roofs of lamaseries and palaces. The Paṇ-chen-rin-po-che at Bkra-śis-lhun-po is not usually supposed to be an incarnation of Subhūti; but, as he may be an incarnation of Amitābha, of Mañjuśrī, of Vajrapāṇi, and of Tsoṅ-kha-pa, there is no reason why he should not be an incarnation of Subhūti as well. (But see Grünwedel, *Mythologie*, p. 207, where Subhūti is placed at the head of the hierarchs of Bkra-śis-lhun-po.—F. W. T.)

Tibetan *glog* (i.e. *klog* reading)=fire-arms. As to Śa-waṅ and Ża-ye (Ża-yas) no information was available. Bkra-śis-bstan-ḥphel, however, was confident that *mar-jag-la-gloṅ-ba* means 'to kill'. *Dgoṅs-rdzogs-la* really has a much more profound meaning than simply 'in memory'. I think its primary meaning is 'to complete what may be supposed to have been the intention of the deceased person to do, but was left undone'; a secondary meaning would be 'to perform meritorious works on behalf of a deceased person, so as to benefit him or her in the *bar-do* purgatory'; and thirdly (once in *C* MS., distinctly so), 'funeral rites and prayers read for the benefit of the soul.' The litany used on such occasions is called, in the case of the Dge-ldan-pa sect, *Sbyaṅ-lam*, 'the way of removing obstacles,' viz. in the road to a happy rebirth, and is usually read for forty-nine days (as Sir Monier Williams gives it, *Buddhism*, ed. 2, p. 334). *Rgya-lha*, 'great deities'; I follow in this translation Bkra-śis-bstaṅ-ḥphel's explanation; but still some misgivings as to its accuracy remain. *Ḥbum-tshaṅ* are large earrings of silver or gold, consisting of a ring about 2 inches in diameter, on to which are strung, like beads, a large number of very diminutive rings of silver or gold. *Sa-phud*, a first offering, earnest of land. *Tsho-smad*, 'decline of life'; *tsho-stod*, 'prime of life.' 'The king was like a lion and the lama like a tiger' is an allusion to their proper names: *seṅ-ge*=lion, *stag*=tiger. *Mchod-yon*, *mchod*=lama; *yon*=donor, i.e. *yon-bdag* (*dānapati*), present lord. One Ladakh rupee is equal to ⅜ rupee British coinage. *Rkyan-khab*=Urdu *Kimkhwāb*, cloth. *Men-tse*, silk-gauze with dots; *gliṅ-ri*, the same without dots. The two words combined are *men-gliṅ*. *A-śe* is a broad variety of this kind of loose gauze. For 'scarfs of blessing' see Huc & Gabet's memoirs, etc. *Lo-ṅo-gsum*, compare Jäschke's *Dict.*, sub voce *ṅo*, *zla-ba-ṅo-bcu* means 'the first half of the tenth month', hence here we probably ought to translate 'the first half of the third year'. *Naṅ-rtan* means 'his own private utensils for religious worship'.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

As regards the works of literature mentioned in the above account the following may be said: The *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur* is, of course, the well-known encyclopædia. The copy in gold, silver, and copper writing mentioned above is apparently still existent at Bab-sgo. The *Stoṅ-phrag-brgya-pa* is a well-known work of Mahāyāna philosophy, the *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñā-pāramitā*, comprising 100,000 ślokas. *Mdo-sde* is the name of one of the divisions of the *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur*, viz. the sūtras. (*Skal-bzaṅs* is the *Bhadra-kalpa*, the beginning of the *Mdo*.—F. W. T.) *Byams-chos* is perhaps the abridged title of the work *Byams-pas-żus-paḥi-chos-brgyad*; but this work has eight, not five, chapters as stated in the text. For *Brgya-rtog-gser-gsum*, the well-known trilogy, see notes on Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal. The biography of Stag-tshaṅ-ras-chen has not yet been discovered, but will probably soon come to light. The *Mgur-ḥbum* are the well-known 100,000 songs of Mi-la-ras-pa.

The additional lines from *L* MS. are of particular importance, for they tell us of Shāh Jahān's attempt to conquer Ladakh. He did not succeed, however, in capturing the town of Mkhar-bu. This town was built

on the top of a steep rock, and is now in ruins. On a plain below the ancient town, and above the present village of Mkhar-bu, there are many graves, possibly those of Mughal soldiers killed during that campaign. An obliterated inscription by Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal is found on a rock below the entrance to the old town. It contains a date, possibly that of the battle of Mkhar-bu, viz. the water-dog year (1622+12=1634 A.D.). Cunningham, who on p. 322 of his *Ladak* gives a very similar account of that war, says that it was Jahangir who made an unsuccessful attempt to conquer Ladakh. In connexion with the tale of this war the name of a Sbal-ti chief Adam-Khan, is given. This name, however, cannot be traced in any of the tables of Sbal-ti chieftains. On the other hand, the Cig-tan chief of those times was called Adam-Khan. Cunningham, in his *Ladak* (pp. 345 sqq.), says that the name of the Sbal-ti chief was Ahmed-Khan. This is quite in keeping with Cunningham's tables of Sbal-ti chiefs, for the most important of Alī-Mīr-Sher-Khān's sons was Ahmad-Khan. The note on the conquest of Tsaparang (Rtsa-braṅ) is also of great importance. This is in all probability the conquest which led to the end of d'Andrada's mission at Tsaparang. *Los-loṅ*, 'the really blind one,' is apparently the nickname of the Tsaparang king, who was favourably inclined towards Christianity. Two inscriptions, evidently referring to the same king, the last vassal king of Gu-ge, Khri-bkra-śis-grags-pa-lde, and to d'Andrada's mission, were discovered by me on my Spiti journey in 1909. In Duka's *Life of Csoma de Körös* (p. 96) we read that a work by a Romish missionary on Tibet, the Speculum veritatis, dated 1678, was discovered in an obscure spot of Kunawar, in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Dr. Gerard believed it to be connected with d'Andrada (or his mission ?). It was sent to Csoma. King Seṅ-ge's Central Tibetan expedition was directed against Sde-pa-Gtsaṅ-pa, 'the king of Tibet.' This Sde-pa-Gtsaṅ-pa is a well-known historical personage. He is mentioned in S. Ch. Das' article, 'The Hierarchy of the Dalai Lama' (JASB., 1904, pp. 85, 86), as having fought against the yellow-cap church from 1615–41 A.D. Whether Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal was successful to the very end of his expedition or not, I find it as yet impossible to decide, the text not being sufficiently clear.

As regards dates referring to Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal's reign, the following may be mentioned. (It must be understood, however, that Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal's reign overlapped that of his son Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal. This son had taken charge of part of his father's work before the latter died.) According to part xi of the chronicles, the famous willow-tree at Leh was planted in 1594. In the same year, under Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal, the Kashmir mosque of Leh is stated to have been built. This is somewhat doubtful. In Schlagintweit's inscription from the He-mis monastery the following dates are given: Erection of the monastery in the water-tiger year (1602+12=1614 A.D.); completion of the building in the water-horse year (1642+12=1654 A.D.); erection of the great maṇi wall at the Seṅ-ge-sgo doorway (at Leh or He-mi?) in the iron-dog year (1610+12=1622 A.D. or 1670+12=1682 A.D.). Above the door of the Lce-hbre monastery there is a silver plate, which contains nothing but the following date, possibly that of the completion of the building: The water-ox year (1613+12=1625 A.D.). The Jesuit mission at Tsaparang came to an end in 1652 or 1656, according to H. Hosten's *Jesuit Missionaries in Northern India* (p. 17, n.). Thus it lasted from 1624 to 1652 or 1656 A.D.

In K. Marx's *B* MS. the great Buddha statue and the great stūpa, both at Sheh, are stated to have been erected by Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal. Their construction was possibly begun under Bde-ldan's father, Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal. The Bkaḥ-brgyud lamas are the nine church-fathers of the Hgrug-pa sect of Tibet. See notes under Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal. According to the text, given above, this king introduced all the great deities of India. It was probably during his reign that 'the Ladakh people imbibed faith in the doctrine of Guru Nanak', as stated in the *Ḥdzam-gliṅ-ye-śes* (JASB., vol. lvi, p. 192). Even nowadays the Golden Temple at Amritsar is a Ladakhi place of pilgrimage. King Seṅ-ge's orders regarding the dress of his subjects are found in my manuscript collection of proverbs from Rgya. A picture of the royal household of his times is found on a temple flag at Ño-ma in Ladakh. The history of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal's step-brother, Ṅag-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal, is to be found in my 'History of Lahul', written for the *Ind. Ant.* Ṅag-dbaṅ's name is also connected, according to tradition, with the Ladakhi monasteries of Stag-sna and Ṅod. The following inscriptions of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal's time are found in my *Collection of Historical Inscriptions*: No. 50, Report of the construction of a bridge at Sa-spo-la; No. 51, Hymn addressed to the king from Bab-sgo; No. 52, Votive tablet from Liṅ-sñed; No. 53, Decree from Stag-ma-gcig; No. 54, Hymn addressed to the king from Skyur-bu-can; No. 55, Historical inscription from Mkhar-bu; No. 56, Votive tablet from Roṅ-do, Nub-ra; No. 57, Votive tablet from Hun-dar, Nub-ra; No. 58, Votive tablet from Sa-spo-la.

VIII. The Last Independent Kings of Ladakh

(*B* MS.) To him were born three sons, Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal (*c.* 1620–45 A.D.), 'In-ḍa-bhoti-rnam-rgyal, and Bde-mchog-rnam-rgyal. Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal was made king. (*S* MS.): He lived according to the ten virtues, even during his youth. He protected his subjects according to religion. He wrote a biography of his father, in accordance with his [father's] character (or acted after the manner of his father's life.—F. W. T.). He showed unceasing kindness to others, and his courage was as great as that of four heroes combined. (*B* MS.) 'In-ḍa-bhoti-rnam-rgyal was ordained lama by Chos-rje-Smug-ḥdzin of Stag-sna, and came to be the most prominent amongst the disciples of Stag-[tshaṅ]-ras-[chen]. At the time of the erection of the He-mi and Theg-mchog [lamaseries] he was proclaimed [head lama ?], and became the most excellent amongst the clericals who delight in the doctrine. (*L* MS.) According to the teacher Stag-tshaṅ's advice (*B* MS.) he was made ruler of Gu-ge. To the youngest son, Bde-mchog-rnam-rgyal, Spyi-ti and Zaṅs-dkar were allotted, and he ruled there. Then Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal resided in Ru-thog in summer, and in La-dvags in winter. He united under his sway [all the country] from Bu-rig to Mar-yul (*L* MS. to the Mar-yum pass). (*C* MS.) He united under his sway Mṅah-ris-skor-gsum, Ku-ge, Ru-thog, Maṅ-yul, Spyi-ti, Zaṅs-dkar, Bu-rig(s), Hem-bab, Skar-rdo, Śi-gar, Bhal-ti, all these countries, and protected them like children; they were happy. (*B* MS.) In fulfilment of an intention of his father (or in memory of his father) he erected at Śel an image of [Śākya]-Thub-pa, made of copper and gilt, three stories high; also a relic-receptacle (*mchod-rten*), five stories high, of which the thirteen wheels, the canopy and the crowning-piece were of copper and gilt. Carrying out an intention of his mother, (*C* MS.) he built on the plain at the head of the Lte-bar gorge a 'long maṇi wall' 500 paces long (*B* MS.), having at either end a stūpa, one of the great Byaṅ-chub, the other of the great Rnam-rgyal [type]. At the Leh palace he put up an image of [Śākya]-thub-pa made of copper and gilt, two stories high. As it had been customary with his father, so he likewise appointed permanently for Ldum-ra, Zaṅs-dkar, Ba-mgo (Bab-sgo), Gtiṅ-sgaṅ, and other places 108 lamas each, who were to perform the 100 millions of *Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ* incantations there once a year. Furthermore, for the sake of his own reputation with posterity, he erected at Slel an image of Spyan-ras-gzigs (Avalokita), made of copper and gilt (*C* MS. a silver Spyan-ras-gzigs), two stories high; an assembly-hall, and a silver stūpa, two stories (*C* MS. three stories) high. Also at that time he appointed his minister, Śākya-rgya-mtsho, field-marshal. In the female water-ox year (1613 + 12 = 1625 A.D.) the Ladakh army took the field. Many men and women of Mkhar-bu were carried away captive. He-nas-ku and Stag-rtse were reduced and brought into subjection. Next, Cig-gtan and Śa-dkar (*L* MS. Śa-gar) were taken (broken). Then he led his army on to Sod-pa-sa-ri. He took Sod castle and gathered in the harvest of the fields. On his way back he sent his army against Sum-ḥbraṅ and conquered it, then attacked Dkar-rtse and again was victorious, bringing away with him its chief, the Khri-Sultan. In the male wood-tiger year (1614 + 12 = 1626 A.D.) he marched against Kha-pu-lu and conquered Chor-ḥbad (Chos-ḥbad) and Mtho-rtse-

mkhar. These districts he assigned to Hatam-Khan (Hetan-Khan ?), Sultan-Khan, and (*L* MS.) 'A-li-Khan (*B* MS.), these three severally. The chieftain of Skar-rdo and all the Sbal-tis were unanimous in their complaints to the Nawābs (Nawāb of Kashmir) [of these high-handed proceedings]. In anger [thereat] an army of Hor (Mughal) numbering 200,000 arrived at Pa-sa-ri; but the minister Ḫbrug-rnam-rgyal of La-dvags and the forces occupying [the castle] fought a battle against the Hor army, and killed many Hor soldiers. They captured ensigns and kettle-drums, winning a complete victory over the enemy.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

The Śakya-thub-pa of Shel is an image of Buddha at Shel which is still there, as well as the *mchod-rten*. The thirteen wheels of a *mchod-rten*: in Ladakh, wherever there are any, there are always thirteen of these wheels; but many *mchod-rtens* are entirely without them. They are almost always red, and decrease upwards in size from below, so as to form a slender cone. In this case they are of copper and gilt. I believe their number is in some way connected with Shamanism. Radloff, in speaking of the Shamanists in Siberia, mentions thirteen worlds, through which the man who strives to obtain perfection has to press upwards. The top ornament of a *mchod-rten*, which resembles a large open flower (lotus), is called *zar-ra-zag* (*za-ra-tshag*). There are eight types of *mchod-rtens* (stūpas); the *Byaṅ-chub* is distinguished by square steps, the *Rnam-rgyal* by circular steps. The name 'long *maṇi*' for *maṇi* wall is given in contradistinction from the 'round *maṇi*', the *maṇi* driven by water, wind, etc. The 'long *maṇi*' mentioned above is the most conspicuous *maṇi* wall in the whole country.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

Local names. Hem-bab is the half Tibetan, half Dard name of the town and district of Dras, on the Tibetan side of the Zoji pass. It means 'snow (*hem, hima*) falling'. The Lte-bar (Te-bar) gorge is situated half-way between Leh and the Indus bridge, on the road to Chu-śod. Ldum-ra (lit. 'fruit-garden') is the classical Tibetan name of Nub-ra (lit. 'western realm'), a province of Ladakh in the Shayok valley, north of Leh. He-nas-ku is a castle and town in a side valley at the eastern end of the Bod-Mkhar-bu valley. It formed part, apparently, of either the principality of Cig-tan, or that of Dkar-rtse. After its conquest a branch line of the West Tibetan dynasty resided there (see later). Stag-rtse was a castle of the chiefs of Cig-tan, situated on the right bank of the Cig-tan River in the Bod-Mkhar-bu valley. Śa-dkar (Sha-gar) is another castle of the Cig-tan chiefs. It is situated in a side valley on the right bank of the Cig-tan River, a few miles below Cig-tan. Śod is a castle in the vicinity of Kargil (Dkar-kyil). Sum-ḫbraṅ is not known to me. Kha-pu-lu is a Sbal-ti principality on the lower Shayok. Chor-ḫbad is a district in the Shayok valley, north of the Chor-ḫbad pass. The situation of Mtho-rtse-mkhar is not known to me.

With regard to the war mentioned in the above account, it is, in my opinion, identical with Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal's Mughal war. Here we hear of Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal's exploits in that same war. The general drift of events seems to have been as follows:—At first Prince Bde-ldan marched against the two Pu-rig chiefs, those of Cig-tan and Dkar-rtse, who were subdued. Then he crossed the Chor-ḫbad pass and conquered part of Baltistan. The conquered districts were made over to three Muhammadan chiefs, possibly younger brothers or relatives of the reigning chiefs of those districts. Then the Sbal-ti chiefs asked the Nawāb of Kashmir to intervene. In consequence of this Shāh Jahān sent a large army of Mughal soldiers against the Ladakhis. Then King Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal himself had to march against the enemy, and, in the end, the Mughal army was compelled to leave Ladakh without having conquered it. I do not yet know of any clear account of this war from a Mughal point of view. It is incidentally mentioned by Bernier (London, 1914, pp. 421 sqq.). But the date given by Bernier evidently refers to the battle of Bab-sgo (see later). 'In-ḍa-bhoti-rnam-rgyal was made vassal-king of Gu-ge, on Stag-tshaṅ's recommendation. His Lamaist training made him particularly fitted for the post of exterminator of Christianity in that principality. Bde-mchog-rnam-rgyal became vassal-king of Zaṅs-dkar and Spi-ti. Several inscriptions containing his name were discovered by two Tibetan munshis, sent to Spi-ti by Mr. G. C. L. Howell, Assistant Commissioner of Kulū. The line of Zaṅs-dkar kings which ended with Rin-chen-don-grub-rnam-rgyal in 1841 A.D. was probably descended from him.

Also King 'Aṅ-phyug-rnam-rgyal of Zaṅs-dkar, a contemporary of Mi-pham-mgon, who is mentioned in a document from Phug-thal, was apparently a descendant of Bde-mchog-rnam-rgyal. The following inscriptions of my collection refer to King Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal:—No. 59, votive tablet from Da-ru; No. 60, votive tablet from Da-ru: No. 61, votive tablet from Tag-ma-cig; No. 62, votive tablet from Dpe-thug; No. 63, edict of Kha-la-rtse, relating to the irrigation water; No. 64, hymn in honour of Bde-ldan; No. 65, votive tablet from Phe; No. 106, votive rock inscription from Mdo-mkhar. The campaigns under this king are also related in two land-grants addressed to the generals Śākya-rgya-mtsho and Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje.

His son Lha-chen-Bde-legs-rnam-rgyal (c. 1645–80 A.D.) came to the capital. At that time the people of Lho-ḥbrug (Bhutān) and the Tibetans had a dispute. Now, [the head-lama of] Lho-ḥbrug was the patron-lama (patron-deity) of the King of Ladakh. The latter sent a letter to Tibet, saying that he was prepared to take up his quarrel. The Tibetans carefully considered the matter: 'Supposing,' they said, 'the king's army should arrive here first, it would, in accordance with his name, lead to an overturn of the State (*Bde-legs*, lit. 'good fortune', and *Sde-brlags*, 'overturn,' may have a similar sound in Tibetan pronunciation). Would it not, therefore, be well to raise an army [here] first?' To this suggestion they all agreed. At that time there happened to be at Dgaḥ-ldan lamasery a Mongol lama, called Tshe-dbaṅ. The calculations pointed out him [as the destined leader]. He, accordingly, turned layman, and, heading the Mongol tribe and a powerful army [of Tibetans], he [soon] reached [Ladakh]. After a first engagement at Żva-dmar-ldiṅ the Mongol army in due course arrived at Ba-mgo (Bab-sgo). At that time the king was staying at Gtiṅ-sgaṅ castle, whilst the Ladakhi general and some forces following him seized Ba-mgo castle. Although they fought for three years, the Mongol army would not return [to Lha-sa]. So the King of La-dvags despatched a messenger to the Nawāb of Kha-chul (Kashmir). Then, an immense army appearing on the scene, a battle ensued on the Bya-rgyal plain near Ba-mgo. The Tibetan army was routed; they left behind them a large quantity of armour, bows, and arrows. Their rout continued until they reached Dpe-thub; the Mongol army in its flight [eventually] reached Bkra-śis-sgaṅ. There they built a fort, shut it in with a wall, and surrounded it with water. Inside they made it secure against an assault of armies, and there they abode. Upon this the Sde-pa-gżuṅ (Lhasa government), apprehending that the King of La-dvags might once more come and bring succour, and that thus another war might ensue, desired the Ḥbrug-pa-Mi-pham-dbaṅ-po to go and negotiate for peace. Accordingly the Ḥbrug-pa Omniscient [undertook the journey] and arrived at Gtiṅ-sgaṅ. Simultaneously some other messengers of the Tibetans arrived there as well. (*C* MS.) The King of La-dvags heard that the patron-lama of his forefathers had arrived. What these two agreed upon was not to be overturned again. [The result of their deliberations was as follows:—] As in the beginning King Skyid-lde-ñi-ma-mgon gave a separate kingdom to each of his sons, the same delimitations still to hold good. (*B* MS.) The Tibetans have come to consider that, since Tibet is a Buddhist, and Kha-chul (Kashmir) is a non-Buddhist country, and since Buddhist and non-Buddhist religions have nothing in common and are hostile to each other, if at the frontier the King of La-dvags does not prosper, Bod (Tibet) also cannot enjoy prosperity. [This being so], the occurrences of the recent war should be

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considered things of the past. The King, [on the other hand], shall in future keep watch at the frontier of Buddhist and non-Buddhist peoples, and out of regard for the doctrine of Buddha must not allow an army from India to proceed to an attack [upon Tibet]. As to privileges of Kha-chul (Kashmir) [the following agreement was come to]:—The fine wool of goats of Mṅaḥ-ris-skor-gsum shall not be sold to any other country; the price of fine and coarse wool mixed shall be fixed at eighty *ñag* to two rupees (*C* MS.) [or] the price of fine and coarse wool mixed be fixed at forty *ñag* to one rupee, (*B* MS.) [to be paid in both money and kind]; the Byaṅ-[thaṅ] people shall not be allowed to use the *ñag* of Roṅ (Indus gorge?); it shall not be said of the wool of Byaṅ-[thaṅ] that it contains soil, stones, or moisture. To Ru-thog proper none but the court merchants [of Ladakh] are to be admitted. [Regarding] the goat wool [trade]:—four Kashmiri merchants shall reside at Dpe-thub, and do the trading with the Kashmiris of Kashmir. Besides these men, who are called Kha-chul-ḥgro-rgya, no Kashmiri of Kashmir shall be allowed to go to Byaṅ-thaṅ. Those Ladakhi-Kashmiris who go to Byaṅ-thaṅ shall not be allowed themselves to go down to Kashmir with loads of wool of goats. Regarding Mṅaḥ-ris-skor-gsum Mi-pham-dbaṅ-po's stipulations were to this effect:—It shall be set apart to meet the expenses of sacred lamps and prayers [offered] at Lha-sa; but at Men-ser (*C* MS. Smon-tsher) he king shall be his own master, so that the kings of La-dvags may have wherewithal to pay for lamps and other sacrifices at the Gaṅs-mtsho [lake]; it shall be his private domain. With this exception the boundary shall be fixed at the Lha-ri stream at Bde-mchog. From Tibet the government trader shall come with two hundred loads of tea; and nowhere but by La-dvags shall rectangular tea-bricks be sent across the frontier. Should the government trader fail to come every year, then the above stipulations shall no longer be binding. The King of La-dvags, on the other hand, shall on the occasion of the *Lo-phyag* (biennial embassy) offer presents to the clergy. (*C* MS.) This embassy has to be sent with presents from La-dvags to Tibet every third year. (*B* MS.) As regards presents to ordinary lamas, the quantity is not fixed, but to the Bla-braṅ steward shall be given ten *thur-żo* of gold (*C* MS. two *thur-żo* of gold) (ten *tolās*); ten *sraṅ* of scent (saffron); six pieces of calico from Hor (the Mughal empire? or Turkestan?); and one piece of soft cotton cloth. Throughout their sojourn [the members of the Lo-phyag] shall receive [daily] rations. For the road [shall be supplied] [beasts of burden, to carry] 200 loads; (*C* MS.) 25 riding horses; 10 men [to act as] groom, cook, and servant; (*B* MS.) p. 43. 15 baggage ponies, 10 riding ponies, and 3 men to act as groom, cook, and servant. (*B* MS.) There [in Tibet] the horses shall have fodder without restriction. For the steppe-districts (Ḥbrog-sde) [will be given] one large tent and [three] small tents for the leader, the head-cook, and the treasurer. The baggage ponies [will be supplied] according to stages and (*C* MS.) both going and coming the goods shall be transported on well-trained docile ponies. (*B* MS.) It also had been stipulated that with every mission (Lo-phyag) one of the three [provinces of] Mṅaḥ-ris-skor-gsum should be made over to (*C* MS.) Mi-pham-dbaṅ-po; (*B* MS.) but the King entered a request with the Sde-pa-gżuṅ that he, begging to differ from Mi-pham-dbaṅ-po's decisions, would prefer

that they should give three districts in Tibet proper to Mi-pham-dbaṅ-po, in the place of Mṅaḥ-ris-skor-gsum. Thereby a provocation to Mṅaḥ-ris-[skor-gsum] might be avoided. Accordingly, the Sde-pa-[g]žuṅ made over to Mi-pham-dbaṅ-po three estates. Gu-ge, Ru-thog, etc., were annexed to Lha-sa in order to defray [from the revenue derived from these districts] the expenses of sacrificial lamps and [the reading of] prayers. Then the Nawāb of Kha-chul sent his army back [to Kashmir], and the Nawāb and the King of La-dvags became friends. Likewise, the King of La-dvags had to send his filial share to Kashmir every third year, and along with that 18 piebald horses, 18 pods of musk, and 18 white yak tails; (*C* MS. or 6 every year); whilst it was also settled that 500 bags of rice (*C* MS. 300 bags of rice each year), being the revenue accruing to the King of La-dvags from his *jagir* Na-gu-śa-har (Naushahr) should every year be sent up from Kha-chul. This rice ceased to be sent when the Ladakhi kingdom was overthrown by the Siṅ-pa (Dogras). Peace and prosperity being restored, the king in all his acts and plans had no superior, and his kingdom received great extension and flourished. (*S* MS.) When this Bde-legs-rnam-rgyal began to reign, the Mongol Dgaḥ-ldan-tshaṅ, who had eyes like a bird, brought an army.

The king, occupying Bab-sgo,
With the assistance of an army from Kashmir,
Beat the Mongols,
And the Mongols had recourse to flight.

Again the kingdom flourished as before, and enjoyed the highest felicity of virtue and happiness.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

The treaty between Lhasa and Ladakh is still in force to this day; only a few slight alterations in favour of Ladakh have been made. The Bla-braṅ steward is an official of the Dalai Lama; see Köppen, *Die Religion des Buddha*, ii, p. 334. Instead of 200 loads, as stated in the above contract, the caravan conveys 260 loads nowadays. *Thur-žo*, 'delicate pair of scales,' gold weights. Twelve *ṅag* are equal to one *batti* (4 lb). Žva-dmar-ldiṅ is situated half-way between Bkra-śis-sgaṅ and Gar-kun-sa. Sde-pa-gžuṅ, the palace of the Dalai Lama, has usually the meaning of 'Supreme Government'.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

Of this campaign we have a fuller account in the grant of land to General Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje (see 'Minor Chronicles', *infra*). From the grant to Śākya-rgya-mtsho (*infra*) we learn that the names of the Nawābs were Ibrāhim Khān and Tīmūr Beg.

The date of the battle of Bab-sgo:—Moorcroft says (vol. i, p. 336) that it took place one and a half centuries before 1820 A.D., viz. 1670 A.D. The Chronicles of the Bashahr State place it in the middle of the seventeenth century, viz. 1650 A.D. As regards Bernier's account (ed. 1914, pp. 421 sqq.) of a Mughal campaign in Ladakh, it shows traces of the battle of Bab-sgo as well as of Shāh-Jahān's siege of Mkhar-bu. He says that the Mughal army besieged a castle. This might refer to the siege of Mkhar-bu; but, when he adds that they took it, the account reminds us of the battle of Bab-sgo, when the Mughal troops were victorious. According to Bernier this expedition to Ladakh had taken place seventeen or eighteen years before 1664, viz. in 1646–7 A.D. It is quite probable that the people who told Bernier of these campaigns were unable to distinguish between the two. That the battle of Bab-sgo must actually have taken place before 1664 A.D. is moreover indicated by Bernier's note on the Leh mosque. He says that the representative of the King of Ladakh who treated with Aurangzīb in 1664 A.D. again promised (p. 424) that a mosque should be built at Leh. This was

one of the conditions of the 'Peace of Gtiṅ-mo-sgaṅ'. The present mosque of Leh was erected, according to a Persian inscription, in 1077 A.H. I believe that we shall not be mistaken, if we accept *c.* 1650 A.D. as the probable date of the battle. It is remarkable that, whilst Cunningham gives (*Ladāk*, pp. 327–8) a Tibetan date of the battle, none of the MSS. at my disposal contain such a date. If Cunningham's dates were correct, we should have to place the battle about ten years earlier. But Cunningham's account is not quite trustworthy; for he places the battle in King Bde-ldan's reign, whilst it certainly took place under King Bde-legs, as stated in all my MSS. Mir-Izzat-Ullah, who wrote in the *Quarterly Oriental Magazine* (vol. iii, pp. 103 sqq.), adds the following items with regard to Bde-leg's dependence on the Mughal emperor:—(1) Bde-legs had to accept the Muhammadan name of Akabet-(or Akabal) Mahmūd-Khān; (2) he had to coin the *jau* (a Ladakhi coin worth 3¼ annas, pictured in Cunningham's *Ladāk*, pl. xii) in the name of Mahmūd-Shāh; (3) a mosque had to be erected at Leh; (4) one of his sons, Hjig-dpal (? Cunningham's Jigbal), had to go to Kashmir as a hostage. A document with Aurangzīb's seal was discovered at Lamayuru by Moorcroft (ii, p. 14). It testifies to the dependence of the Ladakhis on the Mughal emperors after the battle of Bab-sgo. Inscriptions containing the name of Bde-legs-rnam-rgyal as King of Ladakh have not yet been discovered; but some mentioning Mi-pham-mgon (Mi-pham-dbaṅ-po) as regent of Ladakh after the battle of Bab-sgo have been found at Sñur-la, Rgya, and Phug-thal (compare No. 108 of my collection). After the battle a treaty was concluded between the Tibetan and the Bashahr State. Several documents of this treaty have come to light recently. A fresco representing the treaty is to be found in a garden house of the Rājā's palace at Rampur. A song of the siege of Bab-sgo (Ba-mgo) is found in my article 'Ten Ancient Historical Songs from W. Tibet', *Indian Ant.*, 1909, song No. X. According to popular tradition the numerous ruins at Mkhar-rdzoṅ in Nub-ra are connected with the Mongol general Dgah-ldan-tshe-dbaṅ, of whom a portrait head may be seen at the Bde-skyid monastery, where it is placed in the hands of the ogre Mgon-dkar.

(*B* MS.) His sons were Lha-chen-Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal, Ṅag-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal (*L* MS. Ṅa-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal), Dbaṅ-phyug-rnam-rgyal, (*L* MS.) Don-grub-rnam-rgyal, and (*B* MS.) Dgaḥ-ldan-rnam-rgyal. Of these four (five) brothers Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal (*c.* 1680–1720 A.D.) was made king. (*S* MS.) Through the prayers of the brave-minded religious kings (Mahāsattvas) he erected all kinds of religious buildings and statues, according to the religious merit of all beings. (*B* MS.) In accordance with the rule of acting upon the model of the biographies of the ancient kings of faith,

He lauded the virtuous,
And suppressed evil-doers.

In pronouncing judgment even he never merely followed what first presented itself to his own mind, but [always] in the first place consulted his state officers. From every village he appointed as elders men of superior intelligence to assist him, and such as wanted his decision in rescripts, questions relating to field or house [property], he did not leave at the mercy of interlopers or partial advisers; but, having instituted [the councils of] three state officers and elders, he introduced the oath on the three symbols (body, mind, and word); first he investigated the primary origin [of any dispute], and extracted the root whence future [evil] report might spring. This edict surpasses in excellence any of those that were passed by all the dynastic kings of Tibet.

(*C* MS.) He lauded the virtuous
And showed honour to excellent men.
p. 44. Old men were respected
And devotion was shown to the lamas.
Evil-doers were suppressed;

The laws were purified.
He was impartial towards the nobility,
And his subjects he loved like children.
He was appreciative to both master and servant.
Sacrifices were offered to the gods on high,
And alms were given to the poor below.

And so on. Continually, and without break, innumerable *mchod-rtens* and other monuments were erected. At Lha-sa the great lamas received offerings of one hundred severally. To the monasteries of the Uplands, as well as to those of his own dominions, he was merciful and appreciative without partiality towards particular districts. He extracted beforehand the root of the tree of [future] evil reputation, and in its place planted good report. (*B* MS.) This same King of Faith presented to all the monasteries in Tibet, but especially to Lha-sa and Bsam-yas and similar(?) lamaseries, gold-water and sacrificial lamps. To all the great lamas without distinction he made presents, whilst the brotherhoods were invited to tea-generals. The congregations that were under his own sway, great and small, received honours without distinction. [He erected] images of the Lha (god) that he himself worshipped out of gold and silver, [caused] holy books [to be written, and built] the Rdza-nan̄-gi-ma-ṇi-rin̄-mo (a maṇi wall). Materials were collected for erecting the symbols of body, word, and spirit (the image, the scriptures, and the stūpa); printing blocks were made for the *Ḥjam-sdud-bzan̄-gsum*, the hymn to *Ḥjam-dbyan̄s* called *Gan̄-blo-smon-lam*, the *Śes-bya-kha-dbyin̄s*, the *Gser-ḥod-gyan̄-skyabs*, the *Bkaḥ-sgyur-ro-cog* (*mchog*) and the *Le*(= *Las?*)-*bdun*. All these having been satisfactorily completed, he distributed sacred books amongst all the laity. He [also had] a *Ma-ṇi-then-skor* (prayer-wheel) put up, made of gold, silver, and copper. (*C* MS.) Many *Dhāraṇīs*(?) were completed (engraved), and Man̄-yul clave together like curdled milk and was happy. (*B* MS.) Again, amongst all the people there occurred neither strife, nor robbery, nor theft; it was a life passed in happiness such as that of a child with his fond mother. After this, when the king's wife had given birth to a son, Lha-chen-Bde-skyon̄-rnam-rgyal, she died. He having afterwards married Zi-zi-Kha-thun of Bu-rig, she bore a son, Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal, and a daughter, Bkra-śis-dban̄-mo, in all two children.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

The *maṇi* wall called Rdza-nan̄-gi-ma-ṇi-rin̄-mo is found near the Leh bridge over the Indus. [This must be a mistake. People tell me that it is found near the village of Dga-ra (Skara). Thus we had better say, 'near the bridge over the Leh-brook'.—F.]. It is generally asserted that it was built by the Mongols, which is an error.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

The Jesuit Desideri visited Leh in 1715 A.D. He calls the king Nima-Nimghial, and testifies to the absolute independence of the Ladakh Empire. The Latin Bible found by Moorcroft (vol. ii, pp. 22–8) in Ladakh was probably left there by Desideri. It came from the Papal Press, and was dated 1598 A.D. For a legal document and inscriptions of this king see my article 'Archæology in W. Tibet', *Indian Ant.*, vols. xxxv, xxxvi. Inscriptions of the time of this king are very common. The following are found in my collection:—No. 66,

votive tablet from Tag-ma-cig; No. 67, hymn addressed to Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal from Sa-spo-la; No. 68, hymn addressed to Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal, from Skyur-bu-can; No. 69, construction of a road under Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal A-ci-na-thaṅ to Ha-nu; No. 70, votive tablet from Skyur-bu-can; No. 71, hymn addressed to Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal, from Bde-skyid in Nub-ra.

In the list of the king's brothers at the beginning of the paragraph the name of Ḥjig-dpal is missing. It was probably erased on account of his conversion to Muhammadanism.

Regarding the works of literature I must confess that I cannot trace them anywhere. The *Bkaḥ-sgyur-ro-mchog*, 'sweet commandments,' must not be confused with the *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur* itself. The *Gser-ḥod-dam-pa* has been mentioned previously; the *Gser-ḥod-gyaṅ-skyabs* is perhaps a chapter of that work. [Possibly *Ḥjam*, *Sdud*, and *Bzaṅ* are abreviations for three several works.—F. W. T.]

The modern castle of Charasa in Nub-ra is said to have been erected by this king: of his treasury at Gtiṅ-sgaṅ we read in Tshe-brtan's account of the Dogra war (see 'Minor Chronicles', *infra*).

(*B* MS.) Later on Bde-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal (*c.* 1720–40 A.D.) married Ñi-zla-dbaṅ-mo of Lho-mo[n]-sdaṅ (*C* MS. Lho-mon-thaṅ), and himself was appointed king. After a son, Sa-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal, had been born, [the two] separated on account of disagreement of temper, and the queen returned to the south. (*C* MS.) Then Kun-ḥdzom was asked to become queen, and a son, Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal, was born. (*B* MS.) Subsequently the king married another wife and a son, Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal, was born; (*L* MS.) [and also] Rab-brtan-rnam-rgyal. (*B* MS.) The state officials, council of elders, and the people having sent in a request that Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal should be ordained and become a lama, or else reside at Gtiṅ-sgaṅ palace, the father, Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal, [once more] turned king of faith. Prince Bde-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal's mother having died prematurely, Zi-zi-Kha-tun took care of him; consequently, whatever his kind [foster-]mother said could not be refused. The government was good. Soon, through the persuasion of the queen-mother, Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal was appointed to rule from the Pho-tog pass over all Bu-rig. At the Dṅul-mdog palace of Mul-bhe he built a reservoir(?) (or subterranean granary?). He married a daughter of the minister of Tog, but had no children. Princess Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-mo was taken by the King of Kasṭawar as his consort. Although prayed not to give her away, because the language as well as the religion of the people of India were different, the queen, saying, 'A child's rulers are father and mother!' would not listen, but gave her away. [Soon after, however], several servants, with Dgaḥ-phel as their leader, were sent to her. They said that she was not even allowed to see the light of day, upon which an army was despatched with orders to bring the girl back by whatever means. When the girl was being carried off, the king and queen of Kasṭawar, who were both very fond of her, said, 'Let us also go to La-dvags!', and set out with a few chiefs. But Zi-zi-Kha-tun here [in Ladakh] gave secret orders to this effect:—'If the King of Kasṭawar should arrive here, and not be killed in some clever way [beforehand], it might injure my son Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal's rule [over Bu-rig].' So without the knowledge of the authorities [at Leh] a servant of the queen went, and at the bridge on the frontier, between Kasṭawar and Pa-ldar, the servant, approaching the king in the manner of a servant with a request, threw him into the water. The fatal rumour soon spread all over the country. Consequently, although Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal and the elder son Sa-skyoṅ

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deserved to be made lords of the castle, the younger brother, Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal, through treachery of his mother, made him (Sa-skyoṅ) lama at He-mi.

NOTES

Lho-mon-sdaṅ, or Lho-mon-thaṅ, is a town situated a few miles north-west of Muktināth of Nepal. Pho-tog-sa is situated on the road from Lamayuru to Zaṅs-dkar. The above passage seems to refer to a pass in the vicinity. A pass named Pho-tho is found in Pu-rig, just above Lamayuru. Kasṭawar (Kishtwar) is a principality in the Chenab valley, between Kashmir and Chamba: nowadays it forms part of the Kashmir State. Pa-ldar is a town on the Chenab, a little east of the town of Kasṭawar.

For a song on little Prince Bde-skyoṅ see *Lad. Songs*, No. XVI, 'The Girl of Sheh.' According to an inscription at 'A-lci Bde-skyoṅ restored the outer court of the Rnam-par-snaṅ-mdzad temple at 'A-lci. Votive inscriptions mentioning this king are found under Nos. 72, 73 of my collection.

(*B* MS.) Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal reigned (*c.* 1740–60 A.D.). But his uncle Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal tried to seize the rule over the Kashmir traders and [Phun-tshogs'] Ladakhi subjects by soft means as well as by beating. (*C* MS.) Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal and Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal were quarrelling about the government. (*B* MS.) The report reaching the Rgyal-ba-rin-chen (the Dalai Lama), viz. that a disturbance with the king on the frontier (in Ladakh) had arisen, and that this might be made an occasion for an Indian army to enter Tibet, at that identical time, just when he was in contemplation as to whom amongst the Bkaḥ-rgyud lamas he should give an order to act as peacemaker, it happened that the 'great man of wisdom' (*rig-ḥdzin*) of Bkaḥ-thog, Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu, arrived from Kham[s] on his way to Nepal, where he intended to replace the 'Wood of Life' on the great *mchod-rten* of Bal-yul (Nepal). At the same time the Rgyal-ba Omniscient (Dalai Lama) sent word to the 'great man of wisdom', 'The task of making peace in La-dvags being laid upon you, you should go!' He, extolling the word of the Rgyal-ba, promised to go to La-dvags. He arrived at Sgar. There, following the suggestion of the King of La-dvags, Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal, and the ministers, the ministers of Zaṅs-dkar and Graṅ-dkar went as chamberlains to meet the saviour, the great wise man. They explained to him the condition of Upper and Lower La-dvags. Thereupon, together with messengers of the two governors of Sgar, he arrived at Wam-le lamasery. There he met with the King of La-dvags and his ministers, and in due course the Bu-rig king and minister arrived. They then deliberated upon the terms to be made. They all agreed to the decisions and obligations imposed upon them by the saviour, the 'great man of wisdom'. The results arrived at through these deliberations were :—Whatever the number of sons born at the castle of La-dvags may be, the eldest only shall reign. The younger ones shall become lamas at Dpe-thub, Khri-rtse, etc., but there shall not be two kings. The King of Zaṅs-dkar, having his dominion at the Indian frontier, shall remain king as before. The He-nas-sku [rulers], obviously being of royal descent, and their kingdom of little importance, shall also remain. With these two exceptions, it shall not be permitted that in one kingdom exist two kings.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Bkaḥ-thog is a district in Tibet. *Rig-ḥdzin* is the name of an order of married lamas. (As the dictionaries are not in keeping with this rendering, I have preferred to take the word in its ordinary sense, viz. 'Man of wisdom'.—F.)

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

King Phun-tshogs' name is connected with a rock sculpture of Mañjuśrī in the Mañ-rgyu valley. The inscription below the sculpture is found in my *Second Collection of Historical Inscriptions*, No. 113. This inscription was re-examined in 1909, and a few errors in my first reading of it were corrected. Other votive inscriptions of the reign of this king are found under Nos. 74, 75, and 114 of my collection.

Grañ-dkar is the capital of Spi-ti. Sgar is the Garthog of the maps, in Gu-ge.

(*L* MS.) His son was Tshe-dbañ-rnam-rgyal. (*B* MS.) He was elected king. (*S* MS.) Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal's sons were Tshe-dbañ-rnam-rgyal (*c.* 1760–80 A.D.) and Mi-ḥjigs-tshe-brtan-rnam-rgyal, the two. The elder son reigned in La-dvags, and the younger in Zañs-khar(dkar). (*B* MS.) Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal, mother and son, having equally divided the property at the castle of Slel (Leh), appropriated it, afterwards residing at the castle of Khri-rtse (Gser-khri-mkhar [1]), Bañkha (?). Sa-skyoñ entered at He-mi the order of the Rig-pa-ḥdzin-pa; and queen Kun-ḥdzom bore a son, Skyabs-mgon-rgyal-sras-mi-ḥpham-tshe-dbañ-[ḥphrin-las]. Clerical authority (?) increased. Another son was born, who became very clever in medicine, and went to Lha-sa. There was [also] a daughter, who was taken to Tibet as a wife of a Hor-khañ-gsar. King Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal, as long as he lived, remained ruler at Bu-rig. Afterwards it was united with La-dvags. By this settlement and agreement all the noblemen and the council of elders, as well as the whole empire, were rendered happy and contented. The princes were reconciled, and the lamas and chiefs went to the Śel palace. At that time a messenger of the Nawāb of Kha-chul arrived with the request that the [plain] 'A-phi-chen-moḥi-thañ should be cleared of water. On the occasion when the messengers had their audience p. 46. the tea from one silver teapot [miraculously] in consequence of a blessing sufficed for all the men who took part in the banquet (were sitting in their order). The messengers believed, and went home. After that, the great *Rig-ḥdzin* deposited a copy of the settlement at the palace of Slel (Leh), one at the palace of Mul-bhe, one in Zañs-dkar, and one at He-mi lamasery; thereupon he returned to Tibet. Later on [a princess from] Bzañ-la castle was asked to become King Tshe-dbañ-rnam-rgyal's wife. About that time it happened that the devil entered the king's mind, and, giving way to the influence of bad servants, he married a [woman] called Bhe-mo-rgyal, (*C* MS.) a Bhe-mo from Tshañ-ra. (*B* MS.) The Bzañ-la queen consequently returned to Bzañ-la, and became the wife of the king of Zañs-dkar. His doings, etc., were not as before; unusual and strange. He had one groom only for each 500 horses, and a lamp, etc., in grandest style [at night]. The horses' feet and genitals (?) were paid much attention to (for finding felicitous days ?). [Text very uncertain.] The princes and the people could not endure such doings [for long], and once, when the king, through his royal prestige, made the taxes payable by the people three times [in one year], (*C* MS.) the noblemen and the subjects offered a petition, praying him not to do such things. But he would not listen. As no other means remained, they collected many soldiers, pressed into the palace, turned the Bhe-mo out and imprisoned her. The minister of Tog also was deposed and

[1] Additions in parentheses without reference to a particular MS. are taken from Dr. K. Marx's English translation. Such names or dates cannot yet be traced elsewhere.

imprisoned. (*B* MS.) Then they asked Bhe-kim-dbaṅ-mo (Bhe-khyim-dbaṅ-mo) (*C* MS. Bi-kim-dbaṅ-mo) of Sod (Śod) to become queen. She had three daughters and two sons. The name of the elder son was Lha-chen-mi-ḫgyur-Tshe-brtan-rnam-rgyal; that of the younger son, Tshe-dpal-mi-ḫgyur-Don-grub-rnam-rgyal. The lesser queen, Kha-tun-Tshe-riṅ, had one son, who was called Ḫjigs-med-rnam-rgyal. Then king Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal died, and Skyabs-mgon of He-mi held a council with the princes and the noblemen.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Hor-khaṅ-gsar is the name of an important family in Lha-sa. Bzaṅ-la is a castle in Zaṅs-dkar (Drew's map: Zang-la). A Bhe-mo is a Mohamedan woman of the lowest caste, masc. Bhe-da. Tshaṅ-ra is a village in Bu-rig. Tog (Stog) is a village opposite Leh, south of the Indus. Sod is a village and castle in Bu-rig, near Kargil. The Council of Elders (Rgan-gsum) is in Ladakh polity the lowest grade of councillors of the king. The Council of Elders consisted of about three or four persons of some standing and experience, specially selected. The second grade were the hereditary Blon-pos (ministers), also a small number; the first grade were the Bkaḫ-blons (prime-ministers), likewise four or five only, and also hereditary.

NOTES BY THE PRESENT AUTHOR

The above account contains a number of doubtful passages. Whenever I could not obtain any certainty concerning them, I have followed Dr. K. Marx's translation. The following renderings are doubtful:—*mo-spyid*, clerical authority; *ti-bi-chag*, horse; *gsaṅ*, genitals.

In the above account the word *Rig-pa-ḫdzin-pa* is used as if it actually signified an order of lamas. This does not imply, however, that *Rig-ḫdzin* must have the same meaning. The word *Bhe-kim*, etc., is explained by the natives as the Tibetan pronunciation of the Urdu word *Begam*, lady. According to an inscription Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal restored the Ḷikir monastery after a fire; and the restoration of the Maṅ-rgyu monastery was apparently also carried out during his reign (inscription). The following votive inscriptions of my collection mention king Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal:—No. 76 from Pho-tog-sa, No. 78 from Mdo-mkhar, No. 79 from Skyur-bu-can, No. 80 from Skyur-bu-can, No. 115 from Skyur-bu-can. Inscriptions of the time of this king are not at all rare. In 1915 Joseph Tshe-brtan of Leh discovered an interesting document treating of Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal's marriage of a low caste woman which lead to his abdication.

(*B* MS.) On behalf of Prince Tshe-brtan-rnam-rgyal (*c.* 1780–90 A.D.) they asked at Pas-kyum castle in Bu-rig for a consort, and that prince was appointed to the government. (*C* MS.) At that time there arrived from Tibet the Ḫbrug-pa Omniscient Kun-gzigs-chos-kyi-snaṅ-ba, who stayed at the He-mi monastery. King Tshe-brtan-rnam-rgyal made him a present of 50 ponies, 50 yak-cows, 1,000 goats and sheep, 25 ingots of silver, 3,000 Nānak-Śāhī rupees, 100 *żo* of gold, one string of coral beads, 15 pieces of brocade [*kinkhāb*], one piece of red broadcloth, [one piece of yellow broadcloth], 25 pieces of calico, 25 pieces of silk tafetta. Besides there were presents from the nobility more than can be conceived. (*B* MS.) The younger prince Tshe-dpal-rnam-rgyal became lama at He-mi. The son of Kha-tun Tshe-riṅ became lama at Khri-rtse. One daughter was given in marriage at Pas-kyum castle, and another [daughter] was given to the minister (Bkaḫ-blon) Tshe-dbaṅ-don-grub, the young nobleman (No-no) Tshe-dbaṅ-don-grub, who was made minister. The third went and stayed at Gzims-cuṅ. Afterwards, when king [Tshe-brtan]-rnam-rgyal was grown up, his personal appearance was very beautiful. (*C* MS.) This king was very strong, and he was clever at [fighting with] a sword, or a spear, or [bow and arrow], all three.

(*B* MS.) He was diligent, and obtained proficiency in Tibetan grammar and mathematics, Persian letters and language, the Kashmir language, (*C* MS.) the Yar-khen language, and (*B* MS.) other such languages, which he knew thoroughly. (*C* MS.) He was devout, and knew well the duties of kings. Before the enemy he was fearless. His solicitude for the welfare of his people was great. Between himself and another he saw no difference. As there had been thus far no principle regulating the taxes and revenue, he [made a rule] that henceforth taxes should be raised only [in accordance with the income], great or little proportionately. It is certain that this king was superior to all the kings that preceded him in their order. (*B* MS.) With a view to fulfilling an intention of his father he built a great *maṇ-thaṅ* at the lower end of the Kyi-gu (*C* MS. Kyiu) [gorge]. (Kyi-gu-ma-ṇi-riṅ-mo). (*C* MS.) It was 350 paces long, (*B* MS.) with high *mchod-rtens* at either end of the *rnam-rgyal* and *byaṅ-cub* types. (*C* MS.) At the palace he erected a silver *stūpa*, two stories high. (*B* MS.) He also knew well how to govern, and he gathered merit through overpowering foreign foes by p. 47. his splendour. He had no son. An epidemic of small-pox breaking out in the country in consequence of want of merit in the people, he died in his 24th year at Kar-zu. Then the H̱brug-pa Omniscient [Kun-gzigs-chos-kyi-snaṅ-ba], being present at He-mi lamasery, (*C* MS.) performed the funeral rites in grand style.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

The castle and village of Pas-kyum (Dpal-kyum) is situated near Kargil in Bu-rig, on the Wakha brook. The Kyi-gu-ma-ṇi-riṅ-mo is found opposite Leh. At its head is the Muhammadan graveyard. Kar-zu (Dkar-bzo) is the old royal garden at Leh. At present it is the British Joint Commissioner's compound.

NOTES BY THE PRESENT AUTHOR

Gzims-cuṅ is not known to me. Yar-khen is Yarkand. The Yar-khen language is the Turkoman language. In the seditious placard at Leh in Moorcroft's time (vol. i, p. 458) King Tshe-brtan's reign was compared favourably with that of his younger brother. Tshe-brtan was a great polo-player. There is a song still known, according to which he used to play on the polo-ground of the Mu-rtse garden, below Leh. Popular tradition says that once his pony shied, ran away with him, and threw him off. In this accident he is said to have lost one eye. The following votive inscriptions from the times of this king are found in my collection:— No. 81, from Skyur-bu-can; No. 82, from Skyur-bu-can; No. 83, from Bde-skyid in Nub-ra; No. 116, from Ñur-la; No. 117, from Skyur-bu-can.

(*B* MS.) Thereupon Tshe-dpal-[mi-ẖgyur-Don-grub]-rnam-rgyal, the monk of He-mi, was induced to turn layman, and was invested with royal power. (*S* MS.) As the life of the first son, Tshe-brtan-rnam-rgyal, was uncertain (he died soon), the younger one, Tshe-dpal-mi-ẖgyur-Don-grub-rnam-rgyal [reigned] (*c.* 1790–1841). (*B* MS.) A daughter was born to Tshe-brtan-rnam-rgyal after his death. While he was king, a daughter, Bhil-cuṅ, and a prince, Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan[-rnam-rgyal], were born to him. Through the profound wisdom of the Prime Minister Tshe-dbaṅ-don-grub [the kingdom] was united in friendship with the kings on the frontier (neighbouring states), and letters as well as presents were exchanged in a virtuous manner from both sides. Like a mother, he brought the kingdom to prosperity and to the side of virtue. Then, beginning at a certain time, some deleterious influence (*C* MS.: the devil) took possession of the king's mind.

All the servants in his presence were upstarts, and with them only he took counsel. In the country many fields and houses became ruined ('went wrong'). No oath was ever observed. In judgment also he regarded the riches of men. (*C* MS.) Until an oath was sworn, the king himself would not allow [the culprit] to go anywhere; he was sealed up and put aside. (*B* MS.) The private servants in the palace were not allowed to sleep or lie down at night, as in the daytime they had to sign a written contract [that they would not sleep?]. The king also did not sleep the whole night. He rose when the sun grew hot. In the morning, when washing his hands, he required twelve buckets (*C* MS.: 12 or 13) full of cold and hot water mixed to wash his hands. A regulation [of the water-buckets] was established, lasting from the first till the twelfth supply of water: in this way he washed his hands. When he travelled about in the provinces, he went only at night with lamps and torches held aloft. With the officials of the old régime he could not agree. This king took the privy seal from the Prime Minister [to the palace], and himself consulted with the headmen of villages, lords, etc., all men of a new type. The noble families he did not attend to. The king of Zaṅs-dkar, the minister of Bu-rig, and others were kept in La-dvags imprisoned. The new men that stood before him were made governors of the palace, and everywhere the old good customs were destroyed. At that time, having passed through Ñuṅ-ti (Kuḷū) and Dkar-žva (Lahul), the Baḍa-Sahib (Moorcroft) and the Choṭa Sahib (Trebeck) came with great wealth to Sle (Leh). They gave all sorts of rich presents to the noblemen of La-dvags and others. 'We must see the king!' they declared. It was said, 'What evil may come from men (India?), one cannot know!'; and, all having consulted, an audience was for several months refused. At last they saw the king. They presented a variety of things, chief among which were a penknife, scissors, and a gun. They said, 'We have come to see the way in which you yourself, your ministers, workers, and servants manage things, and your own wisdom; and, as there is some danger of this country being conquered by others, we might build a tower (fort) here, which in the end might prove useful to the king.' The king and ministers, considering the case, said, 'If they build a fort, no one knows what harm may come!', and did not allow them to build. Then they gave him (the king) a letter in a box and said, 'May the king himself accept this; it may cure the king's mind!' After staying through both summer and winter, they departed. These were the first European Sahibs who came. Next the army of Ñuṅ-ti (Kuḷū) invaded Spyi-ti, and, after having destroyed the villages and carried away all the property, returned home. They petitioned [the king] that he should wage a war of retaliation, but he said, 'You yourselves are of no use,' and punished them. Later on, Ñuṅ-ti (Kuḷū) and Khu-nu (Kunawar) of Dkar-žva conspired against Zaṅs-dkar, and laid waste [Dpal-ḥdum-mkhar] and the central districts. The symbols of Body, Word, and Spirit were destroyed. They robbed ponies and yaks and whatever there was of property, and again returned home. Later on Ratan-Śer-Khan of Pa-ḍar brought an army, and destroyed every village from 'A-tiṅ to Dpal-ḥdum. Throughout Dkar-žva and the central districts, on both sides of the river, they fought; and, although afterwards peace was concluded and they went back, yet the king said, 'You yourselves are of no use,' and punished them. One year later a Maṇḍe

p. 48. and Waran army came and devastated Upper Zans-dkar up to Dun-rin. They burnt the villages with fire; and whatever they got of wealth and cattle they carried back with them. As the king again paid no special attention, the treasures he had passed into the hands of other nations. At that time the treasure was lost beyond recovery. Afterwards, as a memorial for himself, the king rebuilt the palace of Tog. He lived at the Dkar-zu [garden] of Sle, and there he built a palace, a Kha-tun-ban (*khatmband*), etc. The queen sent a messenger to Tibet to ask for a wife for her prince. A request relating thereto was addressed to the Sde-pa of Lha-rgya-ri. As a residence for the same the Sku-mkhar-so-ma (New Palace) was built at Sle above the temple of Spyan-ras-gzigs (Avalokita). In the end, however, through some accident happening in Tibet, the Lha-rgya-ri princess could not be asked to come here. The king erected an image of his own patron deity, Phyag-rdor (Vajra-pāṇi), in size like the king himself, made of gold and copper above the throat, which was of silver. He also erected a *stūpa* of silver, with a top ornament of gold, variegated with precious stones, one story high. In the Iron-Tiger (Water-Tiger) year (1770 + 12 = 1782; or 1782 + 12 = 1794 A.D.) he erected at Sle in the Theg-chen-gon-ma (hall) an image of Guru Padma-ḥod-ḥbar, made with thirteen maunds of silver. At Śel he erected an image of Rgyal-ba Tshe-dpag-med, made with seven maunds of silver. And at Tog palace he erected an image of the revered White Sgrol-ma (Tārā), made with nine maunds of silver. Then, after a while, in the Wood-Ox year (1805 + 12 = 1817 A.D.) the Master of Perfect Insight, Yan-ḥdzin (Yon-ḥdzin)-lna-pa, realized that the prince was an incarnation of Sku-żabs Bhil-ba-rdo-rje of He-mi. He then made his residence at both He-mi and Theg-mchog. [Having thus become] so important a personage, he found it difficult to obey even father and mother. The queen travelled about in Bu-rig, Ldum-ra, and La-dvags, never remaining at one and the same place. She also asked the prince to join her, and took him with her. For the sake of the prince's amusement they passed their time, both day and night, in dancing and singing. Not heeding the king's command, the queen herself listened only to the repeated suggestions of her own steward, Bsod-nams-dban-phyug, and Prince Mchog-sprul's mind turned in the same direction. Even before this the king, the ministers, and others had for some time attempted to induce him to marry, for the sake of the dynasty; but he refused and would remain at He-mi. But, as there was no other son, and as a Rig-pa-ḥdzin-pa must reign in the sphere of the world (kingdom), as well as in the sphere of religion, he consented to the [united] intercessions of the king, the ministers, the council of elders, the lords, the stewards of the twin lamaseries, the *Sgrub-dban*, the *Atsaryas* (*Ācāryas*, teachers), and others, and married the younger daughter of Prime Minister Tshe-dban-don-grub, Bskal-bzan-sgrol-ma by name. Before one year had elapsed the princess conceived. After that he married Btsun-mo Bsod-nams-dpal-skyid of Pas-kyum castle and Zo-ra Kha-tun. These three ladies he married in one year. In the following (Water-Horse) Wood-Horse year a Sin (Dogra) army arrived in La-dvags (1822 + 12 = 1834 A.D.). (*S* MS.) During the time of his (Tshe-dpal's) son, Mchog-gi-sprul-sku, the army of the Sin (Dogras) tampered with his minister (Dnos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin), and robbed the king of his dominion.

NOTES

Local names:—Dpal-ḥdum is the capital of Zaṅs-dkar, the Dpaḥ-gtum of the Zaṅs-dkar chronicles, and the Spadum, Padum, Padam of the maps. 'A-tiṅ is a town in Zaṅs-dkar, situated on a tributary from the left-hand side to the Zaṅs-dkar river. Waran is the Wardwan valley. The Wardwan river is a tributary of the Chenab in Kashmir State territory. Manḍe is probably a valley or town in the vicinity of Wardwan. Duṅ-riṅ is a village in Zaṅs-dkar, but I do not know its exact situation. The Dkar-zu (Dkar-bzo) garden at Leh once contained a royal palace and a *khaṭmband*. The latter kind of building is distinguished by its ceiling, as Joseph Tshe-brtan tells me. Most of the Tibetan houses have ceilings made of twigs only. A *khaṭmband* has a ceiling made of a number of little boards put together in such a way as to form geometrical patterns. The Lha-rgya-ri province of Tibet is not known to me; nor do I know where is the Theg-chen-goṅ-ma hall at Leh.

During the reign of king Tshe-dpal-rnam-rgyal Ladakh was visited by Moorcroft and Trebeck, between 1820 and 1822. Moorcroft mentions a war between Ladakh and Baltistan, see vol. I, p. 336. He was asked to interfere. A Tibetan document referring to this war was published by me in my article *Historische Dokumente von Khalatse*, ZDMG., vol. lxi, pp. 583–614. Another document, treating of wars between the Ladakhis and Baltis during that period, is entitled "The services of Bsod-nams-bstan-ḥdzin, minister of Sñon-dar". A tender of allegiance from the Ladakhis to the British Government was communicated by Moorcroft, but not accepted by the East India Company. A letter from the Czar of Russia to the king of Ladakh was shown to Moorcroft. Trebeck witnessed a war between Kuḷū and Ladakh: see Moorcroft, vol. i, p. 456, vol. ii, pp. 63–4. Rab-brtan-rnam-rgyal and Mchog-sprul-rnam-rgyal are two different names of the same person. Rab-brtan probably received the name Mchog-sprul when he was discovered to be an incarnation of Bhil-ba-rdo-rje. As we know from Tshe-brtan's account of the Dogra war, Prince Mchog-sprul was made Regent of Ladakh a short time before Zorawar overran the country.

A seal of this king in Tibeto-Mongolian character is still in the hands of the present ex-king. The following votive inscriptions of my collection refer to the reign of this king:—No. 84, from the road between Mdo-mkhar and Skyur-bu-can; No. 85, from Hun-dar in Nub-ra; No. 86, from Dpe-thub; No. 87, from Da-ru, in honour of the minister Tshe-dbaṅ-don-grub; No. 118, from Mdo-mkhar; No. 119, from Skyur-bu-can. This king is mentioned in *Ladakhi Songs*, Nos. i and ii. The latter song contains also the names of his son Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan, of his minister Tshe-dbaṅ-don-grub, and of his wife Dpal-mdzes-dbaṅ-mo. The name of Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan's wife, Bskal-bzaṅ-sgrol-ma, is found in Song No. xvi.

IX. The Dogra War

(*Cc* MS.) History of the war waged by Mahārādza-Gulāb-Siṅg's soldiers against Ladakh and Tibet.

After that, there arrived at Man-ldra-baḥi (Mandre and Waran), together with a great host of soldiers, Zo-ra-war (*Ca* MS.: Zo-ra-war of Gu-lo-ri), the wazir of the reigning Maharaja Gu-lāb Siṅ, and generals Ne-rdab Siṅ, Mi-yan Siṅ, Mi-ya-no-ta, Ba-sti Ram, 'Ab-dar-bi-zar, and Mir-za Ra-sul Beg. At that time Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-phyug of Sa-phud, father and son, were in command of the castle of Dkar-rtse in the Su-ru [valley]. When they heard [of the appearance of the enemy], they sent a report to the king at Slel (Leh). The king appointed the minister of Tog, Rdo-rje-rnam-rgyal, chief of the army, and sent him off with a great army. Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-phyug of Sa-phud, father and son, gathered together about 200 soldiers at Dkar-rtse in the Su-ru [valley]. Then the Wazir [Zorawar] also arrived there. They fought for about two days; but [the Ladakhis] could not resist. Father and son both died in that battle. Then the minister of Tog p. 49.

arrived with his army at Laṅ-gar-(mkhar)-rtse. Three or four great battles ensued. But neither side gained a victory nor was beaten. They remained equal. Then during one or two days snow fell more or less. The Wazir sent Lasu-mandru, a merchant from Kastrawar, to Rdo-rje-rnam-rgyal, to tell him [as follows]:—'If you are ready to pay a tribute [*nazar*] of 1,000 silver [rupees] to my government, we shall certainly go back [to Jammu]!' Then the minister of Tog wrote to the king of Slel (Leh) in a letter, 'If you will graciously pay a tribute of 1,000 rupees, they will go back! Therefore do graciously pay the money! If you will not show us this favour, I shall take six *jau* (a coin) from every soldier here.' Although the king as well as Tshe-brtan-rnam-rgyal and Don-grub-rnam-rgyal could see the necessity of this, queen Zi-zi would not listen. She said, 'The minister of Tog is of no use. Therefore Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin and the minister of Ldum-ra both shall go and bring the Wazir [Zorawar's] head!' Night and day reinforcements were sent [to the army]. Then both [the new generals] arrived at Laṅ-mkhar-rtse. On the following day a great battle was fought, which lasted from sunrise till past noon. On the other side many Si-pas were killed. Then they remained one day without fighting. The following day they fought from dawn. A little after noon Rdo-rje-rnam-rgyal, the minister of Tog, was hit in his right shoulder by a bullet. Although Mi-ya-Ne-rdab-siṅ at once surrounded the minister with twenty-five sword-bearing youths, he, standing on a boulder and seizing his sword with his left hand, did not allow anybody to come near him. But, a certain Rohila firing a bullet, the minister died. Then Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin also with his army appeared on a mountain ridge, and he [also began to] fight. About fifty Si-pas were killed. Just before sunset Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin was hit by a bullet in his right wrist. [Then] the minister of Ldum-ra as well as Ḫgur-med, together with their army, fled; and Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin, his servant Bya-luṅ-(Bya-ruṅ)-tshaṅ, and Myur-lha, these three, were left alone. As no other choice remained, Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin gave his servant a packet of 100 rupees, which he had carried in his breast pocket, and sent this money, together with his humble salutations, to the Wazir [Zorawar]. The Wazir showed him [much] respect, and guarded him like the apple of his eye. The minister of Ldum-ra with his great army went across the river, and escaped through La-luṅ-bsil-mo. Later on No-no Ḫgyur-med also went before Wazir [Zorawar]. But Rta-mgrin, the Wazir of Mul-bhe, was in command of 300 men of Upper Bu-rig. While he stayed [in the valley of] Srin-po-sna-ḫgugs (sna-khuṅ), the Wazir [Zorawar] arrived there unexpectedly by way of Sar-re (?). The Wazir Rta-mgrin with his army attacked him on the road and killed between fifty and sixty Si-pas. Two bullets at least hit the Wazir [Zorawar]'s palanquin, without hurting his person. [Zorawar's] treasurer (quarter-master ?) died there also. On that day the Wazir [Zorawar] became stupified (?) and did not know what to do. [Text uncertain.] But the Wazir Rta-mgrin, seeing the great army of the Wazir [Zorawar], ran away over night. Then the Wazir [Zorawar], who had no more fighting men against him, marched to Pas-kyum by way of Dkar-skyil. He broke the castle of Pas-kyum, and turned the chief (*Jo*) out. All the treasures that he found he sent to Kastrawar, [accompanied by] 100 Si-pas. Then Baṅ-kha-pa, heading 300 soldiers from Gśam (Lower Ladakh),

marched across the Sod pass. He pursued those 100 Si-pas and caught them at Bhatura. He killed them all, not leaving a single one. Carrying away the treasure, as much as he found, he fled to Skar-rdo. Then, in course of time, the Wazir [Zorawar] arrived at Bab-sgo. The king of Slel (Leh) went there also, and both met. All went to Slel, the capital, and there they remained for several days. The kingdom was returned to the king, and not a single Si-pa or other man was placed in the fort as a guard. It was arranged that 5,000 Rs. should be paid uninterruptedly as tribute to the [Jammu] government. Then [Zorawar] returned to Su-ru.

NOTES

Place-names:—Man-ldra-bahi stands for Mandre and Waran, as I am told. Sa-phud seems to be the name of the territory on the Manasarowar Lake, which remained in the hands of the Ladakhi kings after the peace of Gtiṅ-sgaṅ. Laṅ-mkhar-rtse is a town in the Suru valley, below Dkar-rtse. La-luṅ-bsil-mo seems to be the valley of a small tributary of the Indus from the left; it falls into the Indus opposite to Chulichan. (Map: Laloo–Simool.) Bya-luṅ or Bya-ruṅ is the name of a house at Leh. Srin-po-sna-hgugs (sna-khuṅ) is the name of a rock in the Suru valley, as I am told. The Sod pass is probably identical with the Hamoting pass. Gu-lo-ri = Kahlur, Bilaspur, the home of Zorawar in the Panjab.

With the above account of the campaign the accounts of Bastī-Rām and Tshe-brtan of Kha-la-rtse should be compared. Bastī-Rām, a Dogra officer and governor of Leh, wrote his reminiscences of this war at the request of Cunningham, who published them in his *Ladak* (pp. 332 sqq.). All the numbers given by Bastī-Rām are evidently wrong, either exaggerated or diminished. But the general course of events seems to be accurate. Both accounts are to be found in the Minor Chronicles (*infra*).

Bastī-Rām	Tshe-brtan	*Rgyal-rabs*
1. On the 16th August, 1834 A.D., the first battle in the Suru valley. The Tibetan general was Maṅgal (?).	1. First battle at Saṅ-khu.	1. First battle near Dkar-rtse. The Tibetan general was Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-phyug.
2. The Dogras advance to Suru, where they stay eight days.	2. Dogras advance to Laṅ-mkhar-rtse.	2. Three or four battles near Laṅ-mkhar-rtse.
3. Conquest of Pas-kyum and Sod; capture of 6,000 (?) Ladakhis.	3. Dogras advance to Pas-kyum, remain there for fifteen days.	
4. Negotiations at Mul-bhe.		4. Negotiations about 1,000 Rs.
5. Baṅ-kha-pa attacks the Dogras in the rear.		
6. Dogras retreat to Laṅ-mkhar-rtse.	6. Dogras retreat to Laṅ-mkhar-rtse.	
7. Baṅ-kha-pa advances to Laṅ-mkhar-rtse. Battle at Laṅ-mkhar-rtse. 1,200 Ladakhis are made prisoners, among them Dṅos-grub-bstan-hdzin and his son Hgyur-med.	7. 9,000 Ladakhis advance to Laṅ-mkhar-rtse. Battle at Skyid-mar-rtse; 300 Ladakhis are killed, among them the minister of Tog.	7. Ladakhis under the minister of Tog, Dṅos-grub-bstan-hdzin, and Baṅ-kha-pa advance to Laṅ-mkhar-rtse. The minister of Tog is killed in the battle. Dṅos-grub-bstan-hdzin and Hgyur-med are made prisoners.
8. Dogras advance to Pas-kyum, Mul-bhe, Mkhar-bu, Lama-yuru, Bab-sgo.	8. Dogras advance to Mkhar-bu, Lamayuru, Wanla, Sñe-mo, near Bab-sgo.	8. Conquest of Pas-kyum. Baṅ-kha-pa recaptures the treasure of Pas-kyum.
9. At Bab-sgo the Ladakhi king meets Zorawar; both go to Leh (April, 1835).	9. At Sñe-mo the Ladakhi king meets Zorawar.	9. At Bab-sgo the Ladakhi king meets Zorawar.

Bastī-Rām	Tshe-brtan	*Rgyal-rabs*
10. Zorawar remains at Leh for four months. Peace concluded. The Ladakhis have to pay an annual tribute of 20,000 Rs., and 50,000 Rs. for the expenses of the war.	10. Peace negotiations in the Kar-bzo garden at Leh. Every peasant has to pay an annual tribute of 10 Rs. 6 As. 2 Paisa.	10. Peace negotiations at Leh. The Ladakhis have to pay an annual tribute of 5,000 Rs.
11. Zorawar goes back to Suru, by way of Sod.		11. Zorawar goes back.

On the whole, the agreement between the three versions is all that could be desired. The only difficulty is the conquest of Pas-kyum, followed by an attack of Baṅ-kha-pa, which in Bastī-Rām's account (see his Nos. 3 and 5) is placed before the battle of Laṅ-mkhar-rtse, and in the *Rgyal-rabs* after that battle (see No. 8). Possibly Pas-kyum was conquered twice.

Then Baṅ-ḳha-pa and Bsod-nams-dbaṅ-phyug became chief councillors and gave the bad advice that an army should be sent after the Wazir [Zorawar]. A *si-pa* [called] Dam-bha and several others who did not wish the king well sent a secret letter to the Wazir. At Raṅ-ḥdum this letter reached the Wazir's hands, and he, passing through Zaṅs-dkar, reached Sle [again]. He turned the king out of the castle and gave orders that [the village of] Tog only was to provide him with provisions, wheat, and butter for food, and with grass, wood, etc. He also assigned [to the king] a *jagir* of 1,159 Rs. 11¾ as. and established him there. Prince Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan fled to Spi-ti, passing p. 50. through Ldum-ra and Draṅ-tse. (*Ca* MS.) After having stayed there for one or two months, Mchog-sprul died. (*Cc* MS.) Rājā Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin was elected viceroy. At Kara (Dgar-ba) a Ki-la (Qila) was erected and handed over to Magna, the Tha-na-dār. It was agreed that an annual tribute of 9,000 Rs. was to be paid to the [Jammu] Government. The Wazir [Zorawar] then returned [to Jammu, travelling] through Żiṅ-spyan. (*C* MS.) To Queen Zi-zi (Mchog-sprul's wife) a son was born, whose name was (*Cc* MS.) Ḥjigs-med-chos-kyi-seṅ-ge-mi-ḥgyur-kun-dgaḥ-rnam-rgyal. (*C* MS.) To another Zi-zi was born (*Cc* MS.) Bstan-sruṅ-gyul-rgyal, who became king of Maṅ-spro. They also received a *jagir* of 507 Rs. 12¼ as., together with wheat, butter, grass, wood, etc. Then Raja Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin reigned for five years.

NOTES

Raṅ-ḥdum is a monastery on the road from the Suru valley to Zaṅs-dkar. Ka-ra (Dgar-ba, Skara) is a village one mile below Leh. Żiṅ-spyan is said to be a village on the Zaṅs-dkar River near Phyi-gliṅ. Maṅ-spro is a village on the left bank of the Indus, immediately above He-mis. It is still the residence of Bstan-sruṅ-gyul-rgyal's descendants.

The following is a comparative table of the above campaign, according to the three authorities:—

Bastī-Rām (*Ladāk*, pp. 340 sqq.)	Tshe-brtan	*Rgyal-rabs*
1. The Sikh governor of Kashmir excites the Ladakhis to revolt.		1. The Ladakhi king is calumniated.
2. Zorawar marches to Zaṅs-dkar. The chief promises to pay a tribute. News of insurrection at Leh.		2. Zorawar marches to Zaṅs-dkar.
3. Zorawar marches to Leh.		3. Zorawar marches to Leh.

Bastī-Rām	Tshe-brtan	*Rgyal-rabs*
4. The Ladakhi king waits on the Wazir at Chu-śod. He is deposed.		4. The Ladakhi king is deposed.
5. Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin is made king of Ladakh.	5. Drag-śos of Kha-la-rtse refuses to be made viceroy of Ladakh. Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin accepts the dignity.	5. Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin is made viceroy.
6. The queen and her son go to Leh (?).	6. Mchog-sprul's flight towards Lahul. Drag-śos is punished.	6. Prince Mchog-sprul's flight to Spi-ti, where he dies.
7. A fort is built outside Leh.	7. A fort (Kyi-la) erected at Leh.	7. A fort (Ki-la) built at Leh (Dgar-ba).
8. Zorawar goes to Jammu. Bastī-Rām is sent against Balde (?).	8. Zorawar on his way home destroys the treasury of Gtiṅ-sgaṅ.	8. Zorawar returns to Jammu.
		9. Two sons are born to Prince Mchog-sprul's wives.

Ladakhi Songs No. i is a song written by minister Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin. No. xviii is addressed to the same person.

In the sixth year the Wazir himself came back [again to Ladakh], and reached Zaṅs-dkar. The [old] king of Slel (Leh) went to meet him. At Pi-pi-tiṅ he met with the Wazir, and the Wazir showed him great kindness. Raja Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin and the minister of Ba-mgo arrived there one day later, and met with the Wazir at Pi-pi-tiṅ in Zaṅs-dkar. [He] would not accept their presents. He pretended to be angry, and they all travelled to Slel. [Then the Wazir] said to Raja Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin: 'The tribute of five years has not been fully paid!' Having abused the rāja, he fined him 50,000 Rs.: the minister of Ba-mgo (Bab-sgo) was fined 30,000 Rs., the Jo (chief) of Rgya 15,000 Rs., and all the other officials proportionately. [The old] king was made king again. [Then] the Wazir's army, as much as there was, marched off to make war against Baltistan, together with the king and the ministers of La-dvags. The chief of Khar-maṅ led the way, and the castle of Skar-rdo was ruined. The chief 'Ag-mad-Khan (of Baltistan) was dethroned, and, after all Baltistan had been conquered, [the armies] marched back to Slel. The father-king of Ladakh was taken ill in Baltistan with small-pox and died. Mgon-po, the steward, escorted the corpse to Tog, where it was cremated. Then Ḫjigs-med-chos-kyi-seṅ-ge-mi-ḥgyur-kun-dgaḥ-rnam-rgyal-ba was appointed king, and invested with throne and power. The Wazir, rising himself, presented him with a suit furnished with gold trimmings [*kinkhāb*], a double girdle of wool, a piece of velvet, and a pair of golden finger-rings. He said:

"Thy father fled, and left thee alone (behind).
During my life-time I have had the pleasure of seeing thee grow up.
Thou art a king even over me: reign over me!

18,000 Rs. annually have to be paid to the high government! What can be got out of La-dvags beyond this sum may be considered as the king's own property!"

NOTES

Pi-pi-tiṅ is a little village near Spadum in Zaṅs-dkar. Mkhar-maṅ is identical with the principality of Khartakchan and Parkuda. The Jos of Mkhar-maṅ (or Parkuda) are a family of Balti chiefs, from whose daughters the kings of Baltistan used to select their wives. When the Balti Prince Muhammad-Shāh was disinherited in favour of his younger brother Muhammad-Alī, he fled to the chief of Mkhar-maṅ, his uncle, who took up his cause. It was only natural for the chief of Mkhar-maṅ to assist the Dogras in their campaign, because in particular the latter professed to defend Muhammad-Shāh's right to the throne of Baltistan. Bastī-Rām's narrative ends immediately before the Balti war. The remainder of the history was compiled by Cunningham from 'Other Information'.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE BALTI WAR ACCORDING TO THE THREE AUTHORITIES

Bastī-Rām (pp. 343 sqq.).	Tshe-brtan.	*Rgyal-rabs.*
1. Gulāb Singh is displeased with Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin's election.		
2. Zorawar conquers Balde and Chatrgarh, then Zaṅs-dkar.		2. After six years Zorawar goes to Zaṅs-dkar.
3. Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin runs away, but is seized at Ta-bo.		3. The old king, as well as Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin, both go to meet him at Pi-pi-tiṅ in Zaṅs-dkar.
4. The old king reinstated, the taxes being raised to 23,000 Rs. annually.		4. The old king is reinstated. Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin is punished.
5. Zorawar goes back to Jammu.		
6. Next year he comes to Leh again, to make war against Baltistan.	6. After six years the Ladakhis and the people of Pu-rig start an insurrection. Zorawar arrives at Leh, coming from Zaṅs-dkar. War is made against Baltistan.	6. War is made against Baltistan.
Cunningham's 'Other Information' (pp. 346 sqq.).		
7. Prince Muhammad-Shāh is to be placed on the throne of Baltistan.		
8. Submission of the chiefs of Khatakchan and Khapulu.		8. The chief of Mkhar-maṅ acts as guide to the Dogra army.
9. Mia-Nidhân-Singh with 5,000 men is beaten by the Baltis.	9. Battle of Tse-tse-tsan: several Si-pa are killed (Dogras beaten).	
10. Bastī-Rām builds a bridge across the Indus. The Baltis are beaten at Marwan.	10. Zorawar beats the Baltis.	
11. Skar-rdo surrenders for want of water. Muhammad-Shāh is placed on the throne of Baltistan.	11. Skar-rdo surrenders after a siege of twelve days. The chiefs of the insurgents are cruelly punished.	11. Skar-rdo is conquered.
12. Don-grub-rnam-rgyal of Ladakh dies of small-pox.	12. The father-king and Baṅ-kha-pa both die at Skar-rdo. They are cremated at Tog.	12. The father-king dies of small-pox. He is cremated at Tog.
13. Ḥjigs-med-rnam-rgyal is acknowledged king of Ladakh.	13. Back to Leh. Zorawar spends the winter at Leh.	13. Ḥjigs-med-rnam-rgyal is acknowledged king of Ladakh.

The chief difficulty with regard to the events told in this chapter is the tale of Dṅos-grub-bstan-hdzin. According to Bastī-Rām he was deposed a long time before the Balti war; but according to the Tibetans it was immediately before the war, after a reign of five or six years (1835–40 or –41). According to Bastī-Rām he ran away to Spi-ti as soon as he heard of Zorawar's approach; but according to the *Rgyal-rabs* he went to meet him in Zaṅs-dkar. With regard to Prince Mchog-sprul, Cunningham says in this chapter that he went as far as Kotgur, where he died in 1839, being 21 years old. A 'Song of Prince Mchog-sprul's flight' is found in my *History of Western Tibet* (p. 152), where we find also (p. 160) a song on King Hjigs-med-rnam-rgyal.

No long time after [that event Zorawar] deliberated with regard to the question of sending an army against Yar-khen (Yarkand) and Byaṅ-thaṅ. As it was a long way to Yar-khen, he resolved to send an army against Mṅaḥ-ris-skor-gsum. Therefore the Wazir with as many officers and soldiers as he had with him; the Ladakhi [chieftain] No-no-Bsod-nams; the minister of Ba-sgo (Bab-sgo); Go-lam-Khan; Mgon-po, the steward; the minister Sa-bi; and all the other great councillors and soldiers went to make war against Mṅaḥ-ris. (*Ca* MS.) Mi-yā-Mag-na, the Tha-na-dār, was made responsible for all Ladakh. (*Cc* MS.) The He-mi monastery contributed 12,000 bushels of grain, 300 horse-loads, and 70 horses. At first they marched across the Byaṅ-la [pass]. Ru-thog was destroyed; and the minister of 'A-lci was stationed there as commandant of the castle. It was very doubtful whether a Tibetan army would ever arrive [there], excepting the 500 soldiers who were natives of Mṅaḥ-ris. The Wazir marched off with a great army, fought against Mṅaḥ-ris-skor-gsum, and brought it under his sway. At Sgar (Garthog) he built a fort (*qila*). Si-pas, soldiers, and castlewards were stationed in Bu-raṅ, Ru-thog, and other places, and then he retired to Sgar, together with his army. Four days after the Wazir's return from Bu-raṅ, a Tibetan from Bu-raṅ, the chief of the archers, with 300 cavalry and 10,000 foot-soldiers, arrived there. Those fifty Si-pas who were stationed at Stag-la-mkhar (*Ca* MS. Dvag-la-mkhar) in Bu-raṅ were attacked and everyone of them killed. The Tibetan army remained [there]. Eight days later a minister, a *ru-dpon*, three responsible commanders, with 500 cavalry and 7,000 foot-soldiers, arriving from Bu-raṅ as reinforcements, are said to have been in Gro-śod. More [soldiers] were expected to arrive by and by. Meta Basti-Rām with 300 Si-pas was stationed at Do-yo. Basti-Rām uninterruptedly, by day and by night, sent reports to the Wazir. At that time two or three days had elapsed since the Wazir's arrival at Sgar. Then a letter with news arrived from Basti-Rām. It was conveyed by Ran-thag-(Raṅ-ḥthag)-Bkra-śis-don-grub, a Ladakhi, together with four men. On the following day the Wazir together with his army and the Ladakhi noblemen went back, not leaving a single soldier [at Sgar], and once more he arrived in Bu-raṅ. The queens (Zorawar's wives) were sent to La-dvags with No-no Don-ldan of Phyi-dbaṅ. A little below Do-yo he established a camp and remained. Then five or six great skirmishes took place. The Tibetan army, remaining inside the castle, did not incur much loss; but on the Wazir's part, being outside, many Si-pas were killed. Then snow fell, and the old men among the Wazir's Si-pas perished of cold. The stronger men [among the Dogras] and the Ladakhi noblemen, wearing their armour [fought ?] day and night without a break. (Text uncertain.) One day very early, at first dawn, the Tibetan army left the castle of Stag-la; 3,000 cavalry,

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about 5,000 infantry, a captain of the archers, a *ya-po* (hangman, executioner), two *ru-dpons*, and two captains. They surrounded the Wazir's camp. From early dawn till sunrise both sides were engaged in fighting, and the firing was without intermission. Those who died on both sides were equal. When the sun rose on the mountain peaks, the Tibetan officers, as many as there were, and 3,000 cavalry, came out [of the castle], and Mig-dmar-tshes, the steward, without looking back or hesitating, leaped into the [Dogra] entrenchments. They fought for one or two spaces of three hours. [Then] the Wazir uttered the following vow: "Either the Tibetans will take my head and neck, or I shall take it myself (commit suicide)!" Then, shouting Sri-Gu-lāb-Siṅ's name, [he said]: "The omens are not good!" The Wazir fought on horseback with a sword in his hand. After he had killed four or five Tibetans, the executioner, knowing that he was the Wazir, hurled his spears against him, regardless of his own life. Then, going in front [of the Wazir], he thrust his spear right through the Wazir's chest. The Wazir fell to the ground, not uttering a single sound; his sword escaped his hand. Once more the thought occurred to him to seize his sword; but he could not. The executioner, drawing out the spear, took his sword from the belt, and, cutting off [the Wazir's] head, carried it off. Then the Dogra soldiers lost their heads (thoughts). When the Tibetan infantry also pressed into the entrenchments, the [Dogra] officers as well as the Ladakhi noblemen became confused. He who could save [his life] fled; the remainder were killed. On that day, a little after noon, the battle came to an end. The Tibetans had gained a victory. On the following day the captain of the archers and the *ru-dpon*, and 300 cavalry, in pursuit of the fleeing Siṅ-pas, reached Sgar. But, as this took place in Byaṅ-thaṅ (a desert country), they could not capture a single Siṅ-pa. After they had finished examining [the desert], they remained at Sgar. At that time reinforcements from the Upper and Lower gold-mine [districts] reached the camp, 300 horsemen arriving all at the same time; and it was reported that 3,000 infantry would follow soon. Then Mgon-po, the steward, No-no-Bsod-nams, the minister of Ba-mgo, Go-lam-Khan, the minister of Sa-spo, several other noblemen, several officers of the Siṅ-pas, and all those Siṅ-pas who had been taken prisoners were despatched to Tibet.

NOTES

Local names:—Yar-khen is Yarkand (or Turkestan in general). Byaṅ-thaṅ is the districts north and east of Ru-thog. The Byaṅ-la [pass] is found on the road to the Paṅ-koṅ Lake, soon after Sak-ti. Sgar is the same as Garthog of the maps. Stag-la-mkhar (Dvag-la-mkhar) is stated to be situated in Bu-raṅ. It is found exactly south of the Manasarowar Lake. Gro-śod is a Tibetan province north of Bu-raṅ. Do-yo (Toyo) I cannot trace on a map. Sa-spo (Sa-spo-la) is a large village on the Indus, opposite A-lci, the seat of a minister.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THIS CAMPAIGN ACCORDING TO THE THREE AUTHORITIES

Cunningham's 'Other Information' (pp. 351 sqq.).	Tshe-brtan	*Rgyal-rabs.*
1. Zorawar threatens to invade Yarkand and Tibet.		1. Zorawar threatens to invade Yarkand and Tibet.
2. In May, 1841, he marches to Wam-le, Bkra-śis-sgaṅ, Ru-thog and Sgar.	2. Ru-thog is seized and plundered.	2. Ru-thog is conquered; a fort is built at Sgar.

Cunningham's 'Other Information'.	Tshe-brtan.	*Rgyal-rabs.*
3. He establishes his headquarters at Tīrthapur on the Sutlej.	3. The Dogras dam up the water of a river in Grog-po-rab-gsum and the Tibetans retire.	3. Zorawar goes to Bu-raṅ, and comes back to Sgar, where he establishes his headquarters.
4. Bastī-Rām is stationed at Stag-la-mkhar, on the Karnali river.		4. Bastī-Rām is stationed at Do-yo.
5. Rahīm-Khān and Ghulām-Khān of Chu-śod plunder Spi-ti.		
6. On the 7th November No-no-Bsod-nams' force is annihilated at Kar-dam. On the 19th November he and Ghulām-Khān are taken prisoners.		6. The garrison at Stag-la-mkhar is annihilated by the Tibetans.
7. Zorawar advances from Tīrthapur. On the 12th December he is beaten and killed.	7. The Dogras follow the Tibetans to Upper Grog-po-rab-sum; Zorawar is beaten and killed.	7. Zorawar is encamped at Do-yo. The Tibetans from Stag-la-mkhar beat and kill him.
8. Among the prisoners are Ahmad-Shāh of Baltistan, General Rai-siṅ, Ghulām-Khān, No-no-Bsod-nams, the minister of Bab-sgo.	8. Peace is concluded and an agreement written.	8. Among the prisoners are Mgon-po No-no-Bsod-nams, the ministers of Bab-sgo and Sa-spo, and Golām-Khān.

As certain place-names, in particular Do-yo and Grog-po-rab-gsum, have not yet been traced on any map, we do not yet know how far the agreement between the three accounts extends. A song on Zorawar's death is found in my *History of Western Tibet* (p. 169).

Between Mgon-po, the steward [of He-mi], and the Tibetans an agreement was made, and Mgon-po sent a secret letter to La-dvags: "The Wazir is dead, and the Tibetan army is reported in pursuit. Therefore, Upper and Lower [Ladakh], on all sides, should be made ready for war." The astrologer Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan was sent in advance [with this letter]. Mgon-po himself intended to watch events, saying, "The Tibetans will gather an army!"; and so he arrived later. Lha-bdag-Tshe-riṅ-stobs-rgyas, the Wazir's quartermaster, had to supply the garrison of the castle of La-dvags and the Si-pas with food, grass, and wood. When the Wazir was dead, and no grass or wood arrived from Upper and Lower Ladakh, he said to the Kumidan and Magna, the Thanadār: "I am not sure whether grass and wood will arrive! It looks like a rebellion. I do not know what will happen!" Then these two became reflective also. They sent a petition to the Ser-kar [Jammu], and asked for an army. In accordance with what had been said [before] Mgon-po, the steward, and the noblemen of Gśam (Lower Ladakh) held a consultation. During winter, they equipped an army; and in the spring they sent the hosts from Upper and Lower Ladakh, Sbal-ti, Kha-pul, and Ldum-ra [to Leh]. A Tibetan captain of the archers, 100 cavalry, and 500 infantry were posted at Lce-ḥbre. Then the Ladakhi army surrounded both the Ki-la and the Cha-ḥon, and threw up entrenchments. Then they fought for twelve days without intermission. (*Ca* MS.) In the Ki-la there were 50 Siṅ-pas under Magna, the Thanadār; in the Cha-ḥon there were 300 Pal-ṭan Si-pas under a Kumidan. (*Cc* MS.)

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On the following day [the Tibetans] surrounded the Cha-ḥon. The Kumidan was stationed at the Chag-rab (?) of the Cha-ḥon, and the Sbal-ti army was [encamped] round the gate of the same. Suddenly Miya-Ranu, together with 30 Si-pas sword in hand, issued from the Ki-la, careless of life and death. At first they surprised the Sbal-tis; and after they had killed several Sbal-tis the Sbal-tis fled. Then half the Pal-ṭans left the Cha-ḥon; but the combat came to a stop, and all the Ladakhi soldiers returned to their encampment. From that day for six days they fought night and day without intermission. At that time a letter arrived [at Leh with the news] that Dewan Hari-cand and Wazir Tunu had reached Kha-la-[r]tse with a great army (*Ca* MS.) and several guns. .(*Cc* MS.) At night all the [Tibetan] soldiers encamped around the Ki-la assembled in the castle. On the next morning the King's minister, the Tibetan Lhags-tshe-riṅ-stobs-rgyas, destroyed the bridge at Lig-tse and remained [there] for several days. The Dewan Sahib arrived at Slel (Leh) and pursued the fugitives. Within two days he annihilated every trace of the [Tibetan] entrenchments and started in pursuit. At first he fought against those 500 Tibetan soldiers who were stationed at the Lce-ḥbre monastery, and killed as many as possible. The remainder were seized and sent to Slel. Then the Dewan Sahib, the Wazir Sahib, and the soldiers marched across the Byaṅ-la [pass] to Ḫdor-khug. Also the Tibetan army, the king, and the ministers of La-dvags fled from Lig-tse and went to Kluṅ-gyog-ma. Together with them an auxiliary force, consisting of the minister Zur-khaṅ and Ra-ga-śa and 5,000, arrived at Kluṅ-gyog-ma. They established a camp, and remained there. Afterwards about 2,000 Tibetan soldiers were sent off to fight [the Dogras]. On the plain of Rdo-khug they fought against the Dewan's soldiers for one day; but, being no match for them, they retired to their encampment. On the following day the soldiers of the Wazir and Dewan Sahib marched to Kluṅ-gyog-ma. There were mountains close on both sides of the brook, and they established their camp on both banks. For ten or eleven days they fought together; but neither side gained a victory or was beaten. One day, when the Si-pas, breaking up their camp, engaged in skirmishes, the cold of the plain caused much harm to the Si-pas, and an officer, Kumidan Maca-Siṅ, died. The cook of the Żib-chod (commissioner) cast fire [into the Dogra camp], and caused a conflagration in their camp, which did much harm. So they went back to the camp. After that Thaṅ-pa Bsod-nams-ḥbyor-ldan advised [the Dogras] to flood the Tibetan camp with water. He spoke to the Wazir and the Dewan, and the brook was dammed up; the narrow place [between the hills] was closed, and the water forced upwards. After three nights and days had elapsed the Tibetan camp on the plain became flooded with water. Their equipment, the powder, etc., became wet. As no other course was left, the Tibetans bowed their heads. The Wazir and the Dewan carried the following off to Slel: Pi-śi-śa-kra, the captain of the archers, Ra-ga-śa, Zur-khaṅ, and together with them fifty officers and men. The bulk of the army was allowed to retire, and they returned [to Tibet]. When Ra-ga-śa arrived at the steep defile of Wam[-le], he swallowed the diamond of his golden finger-ring and died. p. 53. The captain of the archers and Zur-khaṅ were both escorted to Slel, and there peace

was concluded. The conquered La-dvags, according to the frontiers it had during the times of the [Ladakhi] kings, was annexed by the high government. On the Tibetan side of the frontier everything remained under Tibet. From Tibet the Tibetan government-merchants and from Ladakh the bi-annual merchants (*lo-phyag*) were to travel according to the former custom. The Ladakhi merchants were allowed to travel to Sgar, Ru-thog, and wherever they pleased; and the Tibetan merchants of Byaṅ [thaṅ] were allowed to travel to La-dvags. Everything was arranged exactly as it had been during the times of the former [Ladakhi] kings, and a contract was written. Then the captain of the archers was set free. Zur-khaṅ was taken to Jam-bu, where he was presented to Serkar Mahārāja Gu-lab-Siṅ. He was shown grace, and, having been presented with a brocade suit [*kinkhāb*], a golden ring, a girdle, and several other suits, he returned [to Tibet]. (*Ca* MS.) Ever since that time the Tibetans and Dogras have lived in peace (good order) without war; the bi-annual trade (*lo-phyag* and *gżuṅ-tshoṅ*) going on as before, according to the contract made. The Dewan Haricand promised to reinstal all the Tibetan ministers, and the Ladakhi king and queen with their whole court. From Gaṅs-ri in Tibet used to be sent via the king of La-dvags several men as servants, whom the king passed into the hands of the Dewan Haricand and the Wazir, and they then went to the castle of Slel. Henceforward in La-dvags not a single one of the old nobles retained the power which he had possessed during the old king's reign. However, the Dewan Haricand and the Wazir said, 'Only the minister Rig-ḫdzin, formerly a servant of the late Wazir Zorawar, who died in Pu-raṅ (Bu-raṅ), shall remain for ever, without change, a servant of the government!'; and so they committed to him the entire government of La-dvags and made him minister. Then the Dewan and the Wazir both took the Ladakhi noblemen, among them the Leh minister Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin, 'A-jo-Mgon-po, and Bslab-dag-tshe-riṅ-stobs-rgyas along with them, and returned to Ḫjammu. In La-dvags they left the minister Rig-ḫdzin, and Magna the Thanadar, together with the soldiers in the Ki-lā.

NOTES

The Dogras had two forts at Leh, the Ki-la and the Cha-ḫon. The Cha-ḫon forms part of the present town of Leh; the Ki-la is situated about a mile below the commissioner's compound in Dgar-ba. Lig-tse village is on the Indus, above Leh (Map: Likchey). Rdo-khug (Ḫdor-khug), village west of the Paṅ-koṅ lake, on the river of the same name (Map: Durgo). The river is a tributary of the Shayok. Kluṅ-gyog-ma, the valley of the same river. Ḫjam-mu (Jam-bu, Dzam-bu), the capital of the Dogra State. The Wāzīr's name seems to be Ratunu, not Tunu. Lhags-tshe-riṅ-stobs-rgyas, Lha-bdag-tshe-riṅ-stobs-rgyas, or Bslab-dag-tshe-riṅ-stobs-rgyas seem to be one and the same person.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THIS CAMPAIGN ACCORDING TO THE THREE AUTHORITIES

Cunningham's 'Other Information' (pp. 354–5).	Tshe-brtan.	*Rgyal-rabs.*
1. In spring 1842 the Chinese and Tibetans, numbering about 3,000, lay siege to the fort of Leh.		1. The Tibetans as well as the Ladakhis lay siege to the two forts of Leh.
2. The Baltis rise. They are soon reduced by Wāzīr Lakpat.		

Cunningham's "Other Information."	Tshe-brtan.	*Rgyal-rabs.*
3. Dēwān Haricand and Wāzīr Ratanu arrive with fresh troops.	3. Dēwān Haricand and Wāzīr-Ratun arrive at Leh with 8,000 soldiers.	3. Dēwān Haricand and Wāzīr-Tunu arrive at Leh with a great army.
	4. Lce-ḥbre is conquered by the Dogras.	4. Lce-ḥbre is conquered by the Dogras.
5. The Tibetans flee towards Ru-thog, and take up a strong position.	5. Battle of Chu-śul. The Tibetans are beaten.	5. The Tibetans receive reinforcements, numbering 5,000. Battle of Rdo-khug, the Tibetans are beaten.
6. The Lhasa commander is taken prisoner.	6. Ra-ga-śa, the Tibetan general, is seized and killed by the Dogras.	6. The Tibetan camp is flooded by the Dogras. Ra-ga-śa, Zur-khaṅ, and Pi-śi-Śakra are taken prisoners. Ra-ga-śa commits suicide.
7. Peace is concluded. The old boundary between Ladakh and Lhasa-Tibet is re-established.	7. Peace is concluded. Exchange of prisoners.	7. Peace is concluded. Trade-contract and old boundaries re-established.

General Notes.—An interesting song on the minister Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin in prison is among my collection of historical folklore. A Sanskrit inscription in the Cig-gtan monastery possibly refers to the Dogra war. It speaks of an army and the crossing of a river on inflated skins. Rayim-Khan of Cig-gtan, the hero of the 'Polo Song' (*Ladakhi Songs*, No. 3), is probably identical with Rayim-Khan of Cig-gtan, of whose tragic fate we hear in Tshe-brtan's account of the Dogra wars. The Rājā of Baltistan, Ahmad-Khān, who was taken to Lhasa as a prisoner, possibly returned to Kashmir State territory. His grave is shown in Kashtawar, as Dr. J. Hutchinson tells me. In Sherring's *Western Tibet* (p. 198) is reproduced a photograph called 'The tomb of Zorawar Singh', taken near Taklakar. As Dr. Longstaff points out, the ruin looks far too old to be Zorawar's grave. He connects the ruin with Haidar's Tibetan campaign in 1532 A.D. A 'Song of Zorawar's wife' is found translated in my *History of Western Tibet* (p. 169). A document relating to the peace-contract between Tibet and Jammu is found in S. Ch. Das' *Yig-bskur-rnam-bžag*, p. 52. This reproduction is so full of mistakes that it is practically unintelligible; but the names Zur-khaṅ and Lde-mkhan (Dēwān) Haridzan may nevertheless be deciphered.

X. (*C* MS.) The Later History of La-dvags, beginning with the Rule of Mahārādza Gulāb-Singh

During the lifetime of Sri Mahārādza Gulāb-Sing (*c.* 1842–57 A.D.), reigning over the capital; Jam-bu, Ka-śir, La-dvags, Sbal-ti-yul, Bu-rig, Zaṅs-dkar, Kastrawar, Bdur-ka, Dza-srod-dri, and Spyi-ti, in La-dvags the taxes of the great peasants amounted to 7 Rs.; of those who had only half [a portion of fields and houses], to 3 Rs. 8 As.; and of those who possessed only a quarter portion, to 1 R. 13 As. The nobility, the Prime Ministers, and the [other] ministers had to pay taxes in conformity with the monasteries; the taxes of the greater [noblemen] amounting to 70 Rs., of the ministers to 30 Rs.; while those of the smaller nobility were fixed at 19 Rs. All the monasteries were treated proportionately.

NOTES

Most of the place-names mentioned in the above account are well known. Only Bdur-ka and Dza-srod-dri are unknown to me. The spelling Ka-shir (Kashmir) is interesting, as pointing to the hypothetical Prākrit spelling Kaśvīra. It is strange to find Spi-ti mentioned among the possessions of Gulāb Singh. At present it certainly does not belong to Kashmir, but to British India.

From Cunningham's 'Other Information' (p. 355) we learn that 'in the autumn of 1846, during the rebellion of Shaikh Imām-ud Dīn in Kashmir, there was a slight disturbance in Zaṅs-dkar, which was promptly repressed by the Wāzīr Bastī-Rām, who is now "one of the confidential servants of Mahārāja Gulāb Singh". Since then the whole country has been quiet; and the passive Tibetans have yielded to a power which they find it unsafe to resist.'

When his son, Mahārādza Rāmbīr-Siṅ, reigned (c. 1857–83 A.D.), all the Ladakhi villages and peasants' [estates] which had suffered during the time of the former Dewans (during the Dogra war) were re-established. The village taxes were removed, and the custom-house fees of La-dvags were abolished. The register of peasants which had been previously drawn up by the Thanadār Magna and the Prime Minister Rig-ḥdzin and which had remained [in force] till Basti-Rām's time was abolished. In the Bi-kir-mi (Vikrama) year 1922 (1865 A.D.) Meta Maṅgal-Siṅ, the son of Meta Basti-Rām, drew up a new list of peasants. The taxes on a full [share of] fields and houses were fixed at 7 Rs. 11 As.; on half [a share] 3 Rs. 5 As. 3 Paisā; on a further half (half of half = one quarter) [share] 1 R. 15 As. 3 Paisā. A full share of victuals [to be paid as taxes] was fixed at one bushel and 20 *bre* of wheat; 5 *ser* of butter; 2 *sraṅ* of wood of roots, and 20 *ser* of wood of Tar. (As this is wood brought from [the village of] Tar in Gśam, having to be paid annually as a kind of tax, it was called Tar wood.) Things remained as stated above for twenty-one years, down to the Hindu Bi-kir-mi year 1941 (1884 A.D.). This king ruled in great happiness and power; his dominions spread and flourished; the harvests and the years were good; the water even became soft (or abundant ?); and not a hand's breadth of ground remained unploughed. He made a law-[book] called *Kanun*. All the soldiers were forbidden to take anything except their proper wages from anyone in the country, be he strong or weak! During the reign of this king the salt mine of La-dvags (*tshva-kha*), borax, soda, iron ore, and a gold mine were discovered. Water was led [in canals] to the [dry] plains; and Meta Maṅgal-Siṅ founded Rāmbīrpur (the town of Rāmbīr-Siṅ); Rāmpur (the town of Rām-Siṅ at Chu-śod); [the garden] Maṅgal-Bāg (the garden of Maṅgal-Siṅ near Caṅ-ga); and Partābpur (the town of Partāb-Siṅ in Ldum-ra). Great numbers of merchants came from all the frontiers, and cheats abounded; valuables arrived from the great cities, a vast store. People became clever and sharp; [they learnt] Persian and Drug-ra (Dogra, Sanskrit) grammar and arithmetic; they became haughty and bad in many respects. In Pal-dar a mine (treasure) of *iṇḍa-nila* (sapphire) was discovered. With regard thereto that [event] Bla-ma Bkra-śis-bstan-ḥphel of the Stag-sna monastery of La-dvags in the year 1938 (1881 A.D.), or in the ninth month of the Tibetan earth-snake year (1869 A.D. + 12 = 1881), made a petition. He was equal in character to the teachers of old. He wished to meet with the great Śri-Mahārādza and on the occasion of accompanying the high government (the Mahārāja) out of Kashmir, in 1938, when [leaving] Pāmpur of Kashmir, he told [the Mahārāja], without letting it become known to anyone of the nobility (?)—I myself (Munshi Tshe-riṅ-dpal-rgyas) was travelling from Pāmpur with the great lama. The lama was sent to Pal-dar, and by way of clever tricks and prayers to the Jewels (*dkon-mchog*,

p. 54.

i.e. the deity) on the part of the great lama he succeeded in examining [the mine] and carrying away from the mine along with him about 20 maunds of *nilim* (sapphire). At Jammu he presented them to the high Mahārādza, who was much delighted. The lama, whilst living at Jammu, received a monthly salary of 120 Rs., and was promised an annual donation of 60 Rs., if he should prefer to live at a different place. It was arranged that henceforth people should be prohibited from taking *nilim* (sapphire) from the mine. It is rumoured that for a long time the superintendents of the Lahul trade, beginning with Bsod-nams-dṅos-grub, had through obtaining sapphires lived in affluence and enjoyment like gods. (A few words uncertain.) The Mahārādza, having secured this mine [for himself], posted there an officer with 100 Si-pas as a guard; so the government became owner of the mine. The precious sapphires, being polished, were passed on at 200–500 Rs. a *tolā*. Thus this king was exalted beyond his great forefathers. In the Darbār of the great English queen he ranked before all the other minor kings of India. He had a throne, number 1, and a salam of 41 guns. He [also] received the title of "Great King". No other rādza was equal to Dewān Kirpa-Rām, Wazīr Punu, and the Dewān's son, 'A-nat-Rām, these three; they were of one mind and skilled in affairs. From the time of the acquisition of the sapphire mine in Pal-dar the Mahārādza's health became weak; he became unhappy, and the regularity in affairs suffered (was shaken). He introduced a *Koṅ-sol* (council or councillor) to do the government work. [All this happened] in accordance with a Tibetan prophecy, where it is said:—

> In the kingdom of Modu-Hor
> There appeared an incarnation of a Bodhisatva,
> And the law [of Buddha] as well as the government began to spread!

p. 55. This king reigned for about 28 years. The Kingdom of Pu-nac (Punch) was given to the king's brother, Rādzā Muti-Siṅ. He himself had three sons. When he was [still] in good health, the eldest son, Mahārādza Partāb-Siṅ, was made Lord of the kingdom; the second, Rām-Siṅ, became field-marshal; and the third (youngest), 'A-mar-Siṅ, became the head of the Darmarthas (Dharma-'āt-mas). Each of them received a jāgir, and all their wishes were fulfilled. During the reign of this king salaries were given, ranging from 2,000 Rs. in the case of the higher (nobility) to 8 Rs. in the case of officials and soldiers (*si-pa*). Everywhere the higher officials (nobility) were placed in higher positions than those held by their forefathers. Accordingly, they received their spheres of work in their home-lands (own lands); and could show kindness [to their people] as before. Their salaries were also raised. The wazirs (viz. the wazir of La-dvags, etc.) were given between 900 and 1,000 Rs. monthly. These were granted only when their services were approved. The king did not wish that taxes should be imposed in the kingdom of La-dvags according to the particular pleasure of the wazirs and other people, as had been the case formerly. In the year 1938 (A.D. 1881) Jonsen-Sahib became wazir of La-dvags, and he acted according to the Mahārādza's orders (viz. according to his orders that he should survey the ground). In his opinion the Ladakhis were honest men and free from deceit. On the other hand, the expenses

of the government were great. And, as he knew [beforehand] that later on a dispute would arise [on account of the raising of the taxes], he assembled the nobility of La-dvags and [other] people of high rank, the wardens of the He-mi and Lce-bde [monasteries], the Kardārs and others, and told them what was going to happen. The country people agreed together, and were ready to pay four annas in addition to each four or five rupees [of their taxes]. In addition to this they wrote a letter, and everything was in good order. In the year 1939 (1882 A.D.) several influential and several ordinary people held a council under Nand-Rām, the prime minister of Slel (Leh), and the prime minister of Ba-sgo. As they did not agree with the wazir (Jonsen), they went to Kha-chul (Kashmir) to put up a petition. The great protector of the earth said half in fun that they [should pay] two annas [only] in addition to each rupee. They saying, 'We shall not even accept that (turn to that)!', the government became angry, and the wazir himself even, Nayib Ḍeru-Mal, Munśi Don-chod, Biśin-Dās, and other munśis, numbering thirty [in all] were sent to survey the country. The ground was surveyed in such a manner as had never been seen before. At first turrets (seals) were erected along the frontier. Then square turrets [were erected] between the countries (provinces ?), and the various villages were divided by turrets [from one another]. Inside these the lands good and bad, according to the existing plans, the fertile valleys (water-valleys), the water canals, the willow groves, the lucerne fields, [in short] in those places of which plans, etc., existed from the times of the [Ladakhi kings], were marked off by little turrets of blue *pise* with flags of *al-wan* attached. The ground between the turrets was measured (divided); the names of the peasant, of the ground, and a number was written, and a ticket, to be produced on demand, was given. The peasant who held it was frightened on his [own] ground, and for the future a law was introduced for punishing wrongs. The taxes were fixed in accordance with the excellence of the harvest. In the year 1941 (1884 A.D.), by order of the Lord of La-dvags, the seven[fold] Mahārādza Rāmbīr-Siṅ. Dewan 'A-nat-Rām, whose paternal home was at 'Amritsar, a man well acquainted with Persian and English, was instructed to make a law-book like the *Kanun*. The taxes weighed heavily [on the country]; while formerly for sixty-one villages with the monasteries they were 26,942 Rs. 3 As. 2 Paisā, together with wheat 2,510 *maunds* 29 *ser* and 2 *pao*, butter 282 *maunds* 14 *ser* and 2 *pao*, 'wood of roots' 4,395 *rdo-sraṅ* and 25 *bati*; 'wood of Tar' 837 *rdo-saṅ* and 54 *ser*, at that time for those same sixty-one villages the taxes were fixed at 44,340 Rs. 5 As. 2 Paisā, barley to the value of 1,633 Rs. 1 A., 173 Rs. 1 A. as taxes on mills, 319 Rs. 5 As. 2 Paisā as taxes on food, and the equivalent of 312 Rs. 6 As. in provisions; total, 46,778 Rs. 3 As. [in cash], wheat 2,639 *maunds* 3 *ser* and 3 *pao*, butter 275 *maunds* 25 *ser*, 'wood of roots' 4,240 *sraṅ* 5 *bati*, 'wood of Tar' 985 *sraṅ* and 29 *batis*. In the year 1942 (1885 A.D.) the English reigned for a time (in between). As bad omens of the destruction of the flower of the life of the Sri-Mahārādza the fields in the whole country [suffered from] rust and cold winds; the sky and the earth became red. On the fourth day of the eighth month of the wood-hen year (1883), [or] on the 29th day of the month Bād-ruṅ of the year 1942 (1885 A.D.), p. 56.

the day when the flower of his life was destroyed, hail fell in La-dvags, and in several villages the harvest was not satisfactory. In the same year, in Pāmpūr of Kha-chul (Kashmir) [a child] of unusual shape, neither male nor female, was born. A great earthquake took place in the country, and the fort, the king's own castle, as well as the little palace (Gzim-chuṅ), etc., were destroyed. At Slel the bad news of the destruction of the flower of his life was heard on the 14th day of the eighth month. Then the nobility and the great man, the Wāzīr, the Hindus as well as the Tibetans, cut off their beards. It was forbidden to wear coloured clothes, and they lamented for several months. The shops of the bazar were closed for three weeks (?). After that cheerfulness was resumed.

NOTES

Place-names:—The village of Tar, which is famous for its wood, is situated on the left bank of the Indus, in a side valley opposite to Sñur-la. Of the three towns founded during the reign of Rambīr Singh, viz., Rambīrpur, Rāmpur, and Partābpur, I have seen only Rambīrpur. It is situated on the right bank of the Indus, a little above Khri-rtse. It is already evacuated and in ruins. In 1870 the Rev. Heyde found it well peopled, see *Missionsblatt der Brüdergemeinde*, 1871, p. 86. I do not believe that the other towns are in a better state. The garden, Maṅgal-Bāgh, is still existing. It is situated in the Indus valley, not far from He-mi. The sapphire mine is situated in Zaṅs-dkar, on the Pal-dar (Padar) frontier. The lama's action in betraying its existence to the Mahārāja was a kind of treason to his countrymen, who thereby lost a source of income. The lama was guided in his action by the wish to make the Kashmir king favourably inclined towards the monasteries. Pāmpur is a town on the Jhelum, twelve miles above Srinagar. Modu-Hor, the kingdom of the prophecy, is not known to me. The word 'Hor' would point to Mongols, Turkomans or Mughals. But I cannot see a connexion of this name with the Dogras.

The Ladakhis have not yet forgotten the Sanskrit school which was established at Leh during the first years of Dogra rule. The Tibetan pupils received Sanskrit names, which were kept up during their lifetime. Some of the Sanskrit MS. books of that time are still found in houses at Leh. In 1861 Heyde found forty pupils in the Sanskrit school. Of particular interest is the note that maps of the cultivated districts existed as early as the days of the Ladakhi kings. Such maps have not yet come to light. Mr. Johnson, wāzīr of Leh and first settlement officer of the country, must have been a remarkable man, in spite of a few faults. What I know of him was obtained from the Ladakhis, and for this reason I do not know whether it is authentic. He is reported to have been an ordinary English soldier, a corporal, who found favour in the eyes of the Mahārāja. He was made wāzīr of Ladakh, and in that position he gained the confidence of the Ladakhis to a remarkable degree. He actually took the trouble to study them. At the same time he was a great mountaineer, and ascended several of the high peaks around Leh. According to the opinion of the Ladakhis Johnson was poisoned or murdered by some other officials, who had become jealous on account of his high position in the Mahārāja's confidence. In 1875 a native of Ladakh made to the Rev. Heyde the following remark regarding Mr. Johnson:—'Johnson does not take care of the little stones which give stability to the wall' (*Missionsblatt*, 1876, p. 82). He meant that Johnson ought to have interested himself more in the state of the ordinary peasant, instead of making friends with the nobility. In 1877 Heyde found Johnson at Chu-Śod, where he built a fort (*ibid.*, 1878, p. 103). The inter-relations of the different lists of the taxes of Ladakh, as given at the end of the account, are not known to me.

As to the restoration of the villages which had suffered during the Dogra war, it was not so easily carried out. In the *Missionsblatt*, 1856, p. 49, we read that the Rev. A. W. Heyde, when he passed through Ladakh in 1885, found several villages of twenty to thirty houses absolutely empty. In 1865, when he visited Zaṅs-dkar, he was told that one-half of the inhabitants had left the country, being driven to despair by the Dogras. Lama Bkra-śis-bstan-ḥphel was apparently the lama who, as early as 1854, instructed the Moravian missionaries in Tibetan, and who read the *Rgyal-rabs* with Dr. Karl Marx. In the *Missionsblatt*, 1881, p. 49, Reb-slob in his account referring to 1880 gives an interesting characterization of Bkra-śis-bstan-ḥphel. According to Reb-slob this lama was very polite in the presence of the missionary and false behind his back.

On the 7th day of the fourth month of the fire-dog year (1886), [or] in the year 1943 (1886 A.D.), the high Sri-Mahārādza-Partāb-Siṅ-Bahādur was placed on the throne at Jammu. To be invested with the Ṭika (the coloured daub on the Hindu's forehead, see notes), he went to the old former Mandri (Mandar), and there a plate full of [various things], different musical instruments, a gun, jewels, gold, pearls, and diamonds, was twirled round his head and then thrown outside. Simultaneously there was a salām of forty-one guns; and then the representative of the great English queen, the 'secretary' who lives in India, having presented a garment [to the new ruler], read before the assembly: 'All the possessions (patrimony) of your father are your own dominion,' and so on. Then 101 guns and the lancers made a salām. The other great kings, etc., and the Rājā of Kaphurthala made their presentations, viz. horses, mules, jewels, crowns made of birds' tails, kinkhābs, and various things of which I do not know the specific names. The army was present at the meeting-place, and there were conjurers, Persian mimics, somersault-jumpers, and wrestlers. Fights of elephants, horses, buffaloes, rams, and cocks took place. At night there were lamps, and along the roads, wherever you went, on both sides, flag-ornamentations. I do not know what wonderful tricks were performed by the horses, elephants, and soldiers. For strength and dexterity the buffaloes were particularly remarkable. The somersault-jumpers performed three somersaults [at a time] in the air, and jumped through circles (?) formed by the outstretched arms of nine men. Poles were placed on men's heads, and [others] climbed up them. [There] was rope-walking and other wonderful feats. At the same time many vessels of fire (paper lanterns ?) were lit; and on occasion of a banquet in the theatre 3,550 sky-going fires (rockets) were sent off mingling with the stars. On the following day the high Mahārādza was invited to dine with Ram-Siṅ, the chief of the army. On the following day, when he went to dine and dance at Rājā 'A-mar-Siṅ, Rājā Muti-Siṅg, and other people's invitation, the King of La-dvags, Bsod-nams-rnam-rgyal, and Bkra-śis-lha-dbaṅ, the King of Maṅ-spro, were present in Kha-chul (Kashmir). At Jammu, Rata-Kriśna-Kol, the wāzīr of La-dvags; Ṅag-dbaṅ-chos-bzaṅ, the warden of He-mi; the great lama Bkra-śis-bstan-ḥphel; the prime minister Nand-Rām; the minister of Śel; the Ladakhi captain Sulacan; munśi Don-grub; munśi Dpal-rgyas, the Kardār of Chu-śod; Ḥbrog-mo, the chief of the [wood] gardens of La-dvags; the students of the monasteries, numbering forty persons; Bkra-śis, the chief of the petitioners (the speaker), and several people from various villages, all presented coronation offerings. On that occasion the students performed mask dances and Ladakhi games. Then they were made to perform also before the Rājā of Kapurthala, who gave them presents and clothes. The taxes weighed heavily on La-dvags, and the monks of the monastery and the warden of He-mi offered a petition. As it was known that the Ladakhis were not on good terms with their wāzīr (Rata-Krishna-Kol ?), they were sent to the Nawāb of Kha-chul (Kashmir), Sri-Dewān-Lekhman-Das, who was to listen to them. The Hakīm did not agree with the petition of the Ladakhis, which was as follows:—'If [the taxes of] the monasteries are not settled in the previous way, there can be no more large presents (?) of the monasteries [to the government], no

regular sacrifices, no sacrificial lamps, no annual support, no salaries of 12 Rs. for each monk annually, no food and drink for the water-carriers and goat-herds, and, moreover, no more tilling of the ground !' Such and other petitions were offered before the highest authority, [who replied], 'From the taxes of the country in general one or two annas in every rupee [may be] remitted; as regards the monasteries, one half of the new taxes [may be] remitted; the other half will be paid!' As they could not agree even on that, the great man became angry, and, using oaths, he said, 'I will not decide!' The government blamed its own servants, and the proverb of 'God and the hungry man' was being fulfilled. The wāzīr and the people of the country could not agree in their speech, and the old proverb

p. 57.

> When the falcon and the little bird wrestle,
> The ground becomes covered with feathers!

was being fulfilled. Whilst Lekhman-Dās, the Nawāb of Kha-chul, was investigating the case of the Ladakhi petitioners, who had come to Kha-chul from above (La-dvags), a letter was actually issued, and a Si-pa and an order were sent to the Ladakhi nobility, who were assembled at Jammu, commanding them to start at once [for Kha-chul]. They were not even allowed to wait for their house-mates; and the nobility, after they had spent two or three nights on the [open] ground, all huddled together, arrived in Kha-chul. There they met with the [ordinary] people of La-dvags. But at that time the relatives, near or distant, or people who lived in the same house, would not look at one another. The Dewān made a drawing and gave orders that any petitions were to be in writing, commanding the two Ladakhi kings, the warden of He-mi, and ten leaders (chiefs ?) to write a petition [of their own], and the ordinary people of the country to write separately. Thus the Ladakhis, being pressed on three sides, had no more consideration for near or far (neighbours or relations). They wrote that there were various estates in the country, that there were sites [which had been seized] by beating, bribing, or favouring a certain party; [and they wrote] many bad things about the wāzīr, which ought never to have been said. In his decision the Dewān [said], 'The Kings of Tog and Maṅ-spro both shall retain the jāgīrs given to them by the government. For it was right,' he said, 'that a king should have power to impose taxes.' But the 42 [Rs.] annually which they had taken in addition [to what was due to them] they were admonished to return to the people. To the descendants of Golām-Khān of Chu-śod, (viz.) Salām-Khatun and Golām was given a *jāgīr*, [which has remained in their hands] down to the present day. Through the intercession of Śer-Siṅ, who had formerly been in La-dvags as wāzīr, the Dewān said to the kings, the Kardārs, and the ordinary people, 'Tell me how much has been added to the taxes of the subjects in La-dvags in the former year 1941 (A.D. 1884) beyond what had been imposed by Meta-Maṅgal-Siṅ ? Besides, how much do you want me to deduct from the taxes imposed by wāzīr Rādhā-Kriśna ?' Thus he said. Then the nobility [of Ladakh] and the ordinary people with one accord [answered], 'Formerly Maṅgal-Siṅ fixed the taxes in proportion to the property [of the taxed]; but, since the survey was undertaken, through excessive partiality things have not gone straight. The rich people having paid bribes, some of their former

taxes have been remitted. The poor people have been falsely accused and beaten. Women without husbands have been compelled to marry, and those who refused have been sent to prison, and . . ." Thereupon the wāzīr and his retinue would not listen to the petitioners any longer. He rose and beat [the Ladakhis]. What had not been heard of since [the days of] Zorawar, viz. beating and main force (auction ?), were practised on the occasion of collecting the taxes. Not a jot of the new taxes were remitted. In addition to the old taxes imposed during the time from Meta Maṅgal to Wāzīr Jon-sen four annas had to be paid on each single rupee. Without having consulted with any of those [officials] who had at some former time lived in La-dvags the great Dewān on the 14th day of the fifth month of the Fire-Dog year (1886 A.D.) replied to the petition, "We have certainly listened to the petition of the people of the country, and the high and great Sri-Mahārāja Partāb-Siṅ loves his Ladakhi subjects and protects them with love; but in accordance with a council held with Dewān Lekhman-(Legman)-Dās, Meta Śer-Siṅ, Dewān Herānand, and Mīrzā 'Ag-bar Beg he has decided that they should be charged four annas in addition to each rupee of the old taxes." Down to the year 1942 (1885 A.D.) the taxes had been 32,887 Rs., 2 As., 1 Paisā. There being an increase of four annas (to each rupee), the increase was 8,221 Rs., 12 As., and the sum total for one year became 41,108 Rs., 14 As., 1 Paisā. Victuals, as butter, root-wood, wood from Tar, etc., were fixed at the rate of the old taxes. What had been taken in addition to these taxes was returned to all the kings and the nobility. Stamp duties, police [contributions], horse-taxes, sheep-taxes, mint-annas (they were formerly paid by the ordinary people, the nobility being exempted) were imposed on all, great and small. Then the people became as happy as before and full of cheer. They were ordered to return to La-dvags. In the year 1943 (1886 A.D.), on the fourth day of Har,[1] they all left Kha-chul. In their lot-casting at He-ḥbab (Hem-ḥbab ?) castle the lama Bkra-śis-bstan-ḥphel recognized the following:—It was found that the Lha (god) Lha-btsan-rdo-rje of the Mkhar-rdzoṅ-pass said the following:— p. 58.

At first the weight of the taxes is like a thumb;
In the end it is like a little finger!

So it was found: it was the Lha who discerned it. In the year 1941 (1884 A.D.) a rumour spread that the Mhādi of the Musulmans had arisen.

NOTES

Local names:—Kaphurthala (Kapurthala), a well-known native state in the Panjab. The Mkhar-rdzoṅ pass is found in the range between Ladakh and Nub-ra, north of Leh.

As regards the great quarrel about the taxes, it is of particular interest that the antagonism between the nobility and the peasants of Ladakh thereby became evident. It was probably of more ancient origin. In the prophecy at the end of the account I have taken the word *chuṅ-ma* as meaning "small". The proverb of "God and the hungry man" I do not know.

The first borrowed Urdū word in the *Rgyal-rabs* is found in the account of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal. But Urdū borrowings have been on the increase ever since. In the last chapters of the *Rgyal-rabs* even a few English words are found.

Borrowed Urdū (or Persian) words are the following (for reff. see Index):—'*ab-brag* (*abrā*), outer fold of

[1] [Perhaps this represents the Panjābī or Kāshmīrī *Hāṛ* or *Hāṛ* (Sanskrit *Āṣāḍha*), the name of a month covering halves of June and July.—F. W. T.]

'ar-zi (*'arẓī*), petition ; *'an-re-zi* (*angrezī*), English ; *'a-na* (*ānā*), anna ; garment ; *'al-wan* (*alwān*), flag, colours ; *ba-ra-sa-hib* (*baṛā ṣāḥib*), great person ; *bā-zār* *bab-ta* (*bāft*), cloth ; *ban-do-bast* (*bandobast*), arrangements ; *bhā-dur* (*bahādur*), brave ; *bāg* (*bāgh*), (*bāzār*), market ; *be-khyim* (*begam*), lady ; *bha-bha* (*bābā*), father ; unimportant personage ; *de-wan* garden ; *cha-hon* (*chhā'onī*), cantonment ; *choṭa-sa-hib* (*chhoṭā ṣāḥib*), *ja-gir* (*jāgīr*), rent-free land ; *ka-nun* (*dīwān*), minister ; *ha-kim* (*hākim*), chief ; *hu-kum* (*ḥukm*), command ; *kha-tun-ban* (*khātamband*), a kind (*qānūn*), law ; *kar-dar* (*kārdār*), magistrate ; *kha-tun* (*khātūn*), lady ; gold-embroidered silk cloth ; of house ; *kha-ya* (*khiyāl*), thought ; *rkyen-khab* and *kim-khab* (*kamkhvāb*), *man-dri* (*mandir*), temple ; *ma-he* (*mahisha*), buffalo ; *mal-mal* (*malmal*), muslin ; *ma-na* (*man*), maund ; *mir-za* (*mīrzā*), prince ; *ma-śu-ra* (*mashhūr*), famous ; *mas-jid* (*masjid*), mosque ; *me-ta* (*mihtar*), headman ; *na-yib* (*nā'ib*), deputy ; *mi-yā* (*miyāṇ*), master ; *mun-śi* (*munshī*), writer ; *nag-śa* (*naqsha*), picture ; *ni-lam* *na-nak-shahi-dṅul*, Nānak Shāh rupee ; *na-wab* (*nawwāb*), governor ; *na-zar* (*naẓar*), tribute, present ; *paho* (*pā'o*), (*nīlām*), auction ; *ni-lim* (*nīlam*), sapphire ; *no-kar* (*naukar*), servant ; *pal-kyi* (*pālkī*), palanquin ; *sa-lam* (*salām*), quarter ; *pe-ne* (*paṇa*), a coin ; *ra-sūm* (*rusūm*), customs ; *sag-lad* (*saqalāt*, etc.), scarlet cloth ; *ser*, salutation ; *sa-na* (*sanat*), year ; *sa-ra* (*sarā*), mansion, rest-house ; *sar-kar*, *ser-kār* (*sarkār*), government ; a measure ; *tha-li* (*thālī*), tin-plate ; *tha-na-dar* (*thānādār*), officer of police ; *ti-ka* (*ṭīkā*), tilak mark on forehead ; *wa-zir*, *wā-zīr* (*wazīr*), minister ; *za-min-dar* (*zamīndār*), landlord ; *zar-rab* (*ẓarrāb*), mint-master ; *zi-zi* (reduplication of *zī* on analogy of *jo-jo*), lady ; *zu-lum* (*ẓulm*), oppression, injustice.

English words are the following :—*ra-pad*, report ; *nam-bar*, number ; *thi-keṭ*, ticket ; *si-ke-ther*, secretary ; *kap-tan*, captain ; *ka-miś-nar*, commissioner ; *ba-ro-me-tar*, barometer ; *bi-gul*, bugle ; *koṅ-sol*, council ; *ku-mi-dan*, commandant ; *kam-rag*, cambric.

English names are :—*Jon-sen*, Johnson ; *Ma-ka-ra-phad*, Moorcroft ; *'I-lai*, Elias ; *Ke-li*, Cayley.

For page-references see the Index.

XI. Chronological and Taxation Tables

From the time when King Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal gave a site for the Kha-che-mas-jid [Kashmir mosque] to the present year, A.D. 1910, 316 years . . . A.D. 1594

From the time when the Gtsug-gtor willow (near the Chu-tha mill) was planted to this year, 316 years . . . . A.D. 1594

From the time when Ma-ka-ra-phad (Moorcroft)-Sā-hib arrived, during the reign of King Tshe-dpal-don-grub, 168 years . . . . . . A.D. 1742

From the birth of King Ḥjigs-med-kun-dgaḥ, in the time of Zorawar, to this year, 70 years . . . . A.D. 1840

From Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan's flight to Spyi-ti and death there to the present day, 70 years . . . . A.D. 1840

Since Bastī-Rām turned the king's best field (mother-field), which was called Yaṅ-ma or Te-tses-żiṅ, into a bazaar, to this year, 68 years . . . . . A.D. 1842

Since Ke-li (Cayley), the commissioner, lived at Leh (at first, during two years, Mun-śi Ka-rīm-Bakś was in the place of a commissioner) to this year, 46 years A.D. 1864

Since the meteorological station (barometer) was established and a house built for it at Leh, to this year, 31 years . . . . A.D. 1879

Since Bsod-nams-rnam-rgyal was born (formerly the [royal] salary was 312 Rs., 8 As. ; after that year it was 1,800 Rs.) to this year, 33 years . . . . A.D. 1877

Since the great Sara was built by 'I-lai, the commissioner (Elias), and Jon-sen (Johnson) to this day, 43 years . . . . A.D. 1867

Since Paṇḍit Rādhā-Kriśna made the polo ground at Leh to this year, 25 years . . . . A.D. 1885

NOTES

The above table is of the same type as that given by Csoma de Körös at the end of his Tibetan Grammar. Not all the dates are correct. With regard to the first date let me note that it does not refer to the erection of a mosque, but to the grant of a site for the same. As to the date of the erection of the Kashmir mosque at Leh, it is contained in an inscription above the door of the mosque. According thereto the erection took place in the year A.H. 1077 (1667 A.D.), probably during the reign of King Bde-legs-rnam-rgyal. But possibly the site for the building was granted seventy years earlier by Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal, whose mother was a Muhammadan lady. The willow called *Gtsug-gtor* is still in existence at Leh. A pen and ink drawing of this tree by Dr. K. Marx was published in *Periodical Accounts*, a Moravian Mission magazine (1890, p. 65). The date given for Moorcroft is certainly wrong. He visited Ladakh in 1820-2 A.D. King Ḫjigs-med-kun-dgaḥ, etc., was born in 1835, and according to the chronicles his father Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan died in the same year; but according to Cunningham he died in 1839 A.D. The bazaar laid out by Bastī-Rām is the present principal bazaar of Leh, 1,030 feet long and 170 feet broad. At first the buildings of the meteorological station were erected on a hill south-east of Leh. At present the meteorological tower is found in close vicinity to the Moravian Mission buildings. The missionaries act as superintendents of the station. They entered Ladakh in 1886 A.D. The great Sarai built by Mr. Elias is probably that which is found directly south of the government hospital. From the *Missionsblatt* (1870, p. 84) the following dates may be gathered: the Rev. A. W. Heyde met Dr. Cayley at Leh in 1869; in 1878 he found Mr. Elias, as Assistant Commissioner, and Mr. Johnson, as Wazīr, in Leh (*ibid.*, 1879, pp. 45–6). Thus Munshi Dpal-rgyas' date, 1867, for the erection of the Sarai is probably wrong.

The taxes imposed by Rājā Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin, for six years, amounted to 9,000 Rs. annually . . . . A.D. 1835–1841
Magnā, the Thānādār, was for six years wāzīr at Leh . . . A.D. 1841–1847
Bastī-Rām was wāzīr for fourteen years. During the time of these two the taxes amounted to 18,000 . . . . A.D. 1847–1861
Maṅgal-Siṅ remained for five years; the annual taxes rose to 24,000 Rs. A.D. 1861–1866
'A-li-'Ag-bar remained for four years . . . . A.D. 1866–1870
Gaṅgā-Siṅ remained for one year . . . . A.D. 1870–1871 p. 59.
Jon-sen remained for twelve years . . . . A.D. 1871–1883
Rādhā-Kriśna remained for three years . . . . . . A.D. 1883–1886
During the time of these four the annual taxes amounted to 32,887 Rs., 2½ As.
After Rādhā-Kriśna had surveyed the ground the additional taxes were 8,821 Rs., 14 As., or the sum total of the taxes was then fixed at 41,108 Rs., 14 As.

NOTES.

The Ladakhis are not very clever at arithmetic, as we see. In the above example, for instance, the sum total should, of course, be 41,109 Rs., ½ Ana. The numbers relating to the taxes, as given in the above table, are in close agreement with those given at the end of the account of Partāb-Siṅgh's reign. But the high numbers given at the end of the account of Ranbīr-Singh's reign cannot be traced elsewhere. Possibly those high numbers were obtained by adding the value of the taxes in provisions to the taxes in cash. According to the *Missionsblatt*, 1883, p. 58, Johnson left Leh in 1882; Rādhā-Kṛishṇa arrived there in October, 1882.

During the time of the [Ladakhi] kings the peasants had to pay as taxes 1 *jaḥu* (3¼ As.) each.
During the time of the kings each peasant had to give 1 *sraṅ* of straw.

As a special kind of forced labour, all the peasants had to bring from Phyi-gliṅ (Ci-liṅ) 800 *sraṅ* of wood, and from Tar of Naṅ-śiṅ (?), Sṅon-dar (Hundar) of Ldum-ra, two outlying places, as much wood as was needed. Beyond this no taxes or tribute were taken, it is said, from the zamīndārs.

During the six years of Rājā Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin the taxes were 9,000 Rs.

From Rājā Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin till Bastī-Rām, during twenty-six years (?), the annual taxes were 18,000 Rs.

After the new list of peasants was drawn up, the new taxes together with the *Spaṅ-bcag* [tax on meadows] were 24,000 Rs.

The taxes paid till Jon-sen['s wazirat] were 32,887 Rs., 2 As., 1 P.

The sum total was finally fixed at 41,108 Rs., 14 As., 1 P.

In the year 1957 (1900 A.D.) an arrangement [survey] was made: the taxes were fixed at . . . [Has not yet been ascertained; will be reported as soon as known.]

In the year 1966 (1909 A.D.) an arrangement [survey] was made: the taxes were fixed at . . . [Has not yet been ascertained; will be reported as soon as known.]

This register, [based] upon inquiries addressed to Mun-śi Dpal-rgyas, was written down by me, Yoseph Tshe-brtan.

(Later addition.) Table of taxes for Ladakh, from [the country] above Gyuṅ-druṅ (Lamayuru).

In the year 1966 (1909 A.D.) the taxes were fixed as follows :—

In cash annually	43,256 Rs., 12 As.
Wheat annually to the value of	2,977 Rs., 8 As.
Barley annually to the value of	7,022 Rs., 8 As.
Wood annually to the value of	3,000 Rs., 0 As.
Mill-tax annually amounting to	3,119 Rs., 12 As.
Tax on goats and sheep annually amounting to .	1,833 Rs., 0 As.
Sum total . . .	61,209 Rs., 8 As.

NOTES

With the above account of the state of taxation during the times of the Ladakhi kings Tshe-brtan's account, referring to King Tshe-dpal-rnam-rgyal's reign, should be compared. There can be no doubt that the Ladakhis had a better time under their own rulers. It is difficult to see how the twenty-six years between Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin and Bastī-Rām come in. From what is said under *Later Addition* it seems to follow that all the numbers given above refer only to a small part of the country, viz. Ladakh from Lamayuru to the Paṅ-koṅ lake.

MINOR CHRONICLES

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I. The Chronicles of Zaṅs-dkar

INTRODUCTION

In 1907, when stationed at Kyelang, Lahul, I made the acquaintance of a member of a family of chiefs of Ste-sta (Ti-sta) in Zaṅs-dkar, who passed through Lahul on his journey to India. As the chiefs of Ste-sta claim to belong to the family of the former kings (vassal-kings) of Zaṅs-dkar, I asked their representative to tell me if they were in possession of a chronicle. The kingdom of Zaṅs-dkar came to an ignominious end in the Dogra War, and at Dpaḫ-gtum, the capital, no ancient documents seem to have escaped the ravages of time. The chief of Ste-sta said that his family kept an old chronicle at Ste-sta, which, as he believed, was somewhat similar to the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*. The latter assertion does not hold true; but my informant had probably never taken the trouble to read the document.

When the Rev. G. Hettasch of Kyelang, in 1908, went on an itinerant tour to Zaṅs-dkar, I asked him to make inquiries about the chronicle at Ste-sta, and, if possible, to have it copied. Mr. Hettasch did according to my wish, and had the chronicle copied by my munshi, Bzod-pa Bde-chen of Kyelang. The accompanying text is based on Bzod-pa's copy, which consists of two folio sheets of Tibetan paper.

As a glance at the copy shows, the original at Ste-sta must be in a perilous condition. Whole passages are in quite the wrong place, and the orthography leaves very much to be desired. In many parts the writing is almost illegible, and Bzod-pa had to re-write many words and even sentences, which he had at first misunderstood. The text contains a great number of local names, which in many cases it would have been impossible for me to recognize as such, had not Bzod-pa thoughtfully marked a good number of them by adding the word *yul* ('land,' 'town') above or below them. In the same manner he also marked the clan names, by adding the word *rus* ('bone,' 'clan'), and some of the house-names, by adding the word *groṅ*.

As we learn from a note at the end of the MS., the Ste-sta chronicle is only an extract from a larger book, which once existed (or still exists ?) at Phug-thal. The book of Phug-thal is called *Bo-yig* (more correctly *Ḫbo-yig*), which means 'letter of measure.' It is apparently a book containing a list of the numbers of bushels which each peasant in the dependent villages had to send annually to the Phug-thal monastery. For this reason the historical portions of the book centre about Phug-thal. They tell the story of the various grants that were made at various times to that monastery.

As regards the history and archæology of Zaṅs-dkar very little has as yet been done. I may mention an article of my own entitled 'Kleine archäologische Erträge einer Missionsreise nach Zangskar in Westtibet' (*ZDMG.*, vol. lx, pp. 645–61, and vol. lxi, pp. 645–7). Then a note on some ancient sculptures at 'A-tiṅ in Zaṅs-dkar appeared in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1908, pp. 332–3; and, in addition, I am in possession

of a few hand-written notes by the Rev. G. Hettasch, which he made during an itinerant tour along the Dkar-rgyags brook. The brook is repeatedly mentioned in the chronicle. As Mr. Hettasch passed through a district which is of particular interest in connexion with the chronicle, I will briefly give his notes: 'Leaving the Lahul valley, and crossing the Shinggo (Siṅ-kun) pass, we first reached Kargyag (Dkar-rgyags). Here we noticed the foundations of an ancient castle. The walls are very well built. Then we went to Draṅ-rtse. This is the seat of a Ga-ga (nobleman). Above the present village is situated an ancient monastery, if not a whole town. Ste-sta, on the left bank of the stream, is the seat of a No-no (chief). Between Ste-sta and Bya (Bcaḥ-ba), the next stage, ancient rock carvings were noticed. Bya is situated on the right bank of the stream. Above Bya the ruins of an ancient monastery, and below Bya those of an ancient castle, could be seen. On the bank opposite Bya ancient rock-carvings and inscriptions were noticed. Copies were made of the latter. (These inscriptions remind us of those at 'A-lci, in Ladakh; they are written in an ancient type of *dbu-med*, and cannot be later than A.D. 1000.—F.) From here a road branches off to the Phug-thal monastery. At the celebration of the *Tshes-bcu* festival a dried human hand, which once was cut off a Mongol, is publicly exhibited at Phug-thal. Spaṅ, the next stage, is situated on a brook with a stone bridge. Above it may be seen the ruins of a castle and deserted fields. Opposite Spaṅ, on the other bank of the stream, rises the town of Ichar (Gyi-char). The town is still in its ancient position on the top of a steep rock. Above it we noticed a deserted monastery and a square tower. The well-known Mu-ne monastery is situated between Ibcha (Bib-cha ?) and Re-ru.'

Zaṅs-dkar has the honour of having housed Csoma de Körös at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The place where he is said to have lived is given in Duka's *Life of Csoma* as Yaṅ-lha. I have not yet been able, however, to trace a town of that name on any map of Zaṅs-dkar, nor does it occur in the chronicles. Possibly Yaṅ-lha is a clerical error for Bzaṅ-la, a well-known village of Zaṅs-dkar: see the next chapter.

As regards the many names of places contained in the chronicle, we may refer to the map, in which are entered all the names which it is possible to locate.

TEXT

ཟངས་དཀར་ཆགས་ཚུལ་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཟུར་ཙམ་ཞུགས་གཅིག། བདེ་ལེགས་ཡོན་ཏན་ཀུན་ཏུས། ཇོ་བཙུན་བླ་མ་དང་། ཡི་དམ་མཁའ་འགྲོ་ཆོས་སྐྱོང་བསྲུང་མ་ལ། འཛུ(འདོད་དགུ)་འཚོགས་མཐུན་དངོས་གྲུབ་རྩལ་ཏུ(སྩོལ་ཏུ)་གསོལ། དེ་ལ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་གཡང་ཆགས་ཟངས་དཀར་གནམ་ས་ཆོས་འབྱུང་འདིར། རང་གྲོག་གླིང་གི་སར་སེབས་ནས། ས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཞབས་ཀྱིས་བཅགས། ཕྱུ་རྒྱན་པ་དྨ་སེབས་ནས། མི་མ་ཡིན་རྣམས་དམ་ལ་བཏགས་སྟེ། ས་བཀྲ་ངན་པ་རྣམས་མནན་ནས། གྲིན་མོ(སྲིན་མོ)་གན་ཀྱལ་ཏུ་འགྱེལ་བ་ལྟ་བུ། ས་གཞི་མགོའི་ཁར་ས་ནི་ཀ་ནི་ཀ། སྙིང་ཁར་པི་པི་ཏིང་གི་གཉའ་དམ་གྱུ་རུ། རྐང་པའི་ཁར་ཐམས་གླིང་གི་གཉའ་ནམ་གྱུ་རུ་རྣམས་ཞེངས་ནས། རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ཏུར་ཁྲོད་བདེ་ལྡན་འདྲ་བར་ཤུང་བསྟན། དེའི་སྒོ་སྲུང་ཤར་ཏུ་ཙེ་རེ། ལྷོ་ན་དཔལ་ལྷ་མོ། ནུབ་ན་ཏུར་ལྷ་ཁྲུག་པ། བྱང་ན་ཡིད་བཞིན་གྱི་ནོར་བུ་ཡོད་དེ། དེའི་ཀོར(དཀོར)་བདག་ཏུ་ཇོ་མོ་སྒྲུབ་གཅིག་མ། ས་ནི་ཚོག་དང་བྱ་རྣམས་ཏུར་ཤིང་

དང་ དུར་ཁ་ཚ་ཤུང་བསྟན། མཁའ་འགྲོ་འདུ་བའི་གནས་སུ་ཤུང་བསྟན། ཡུལ་ཚགས་ཚུལ་ཟུང་ངོས་སུ་རད་ཐག་ཤ་དང་རི་ནས། ལྷོ་ངོས་སུ་ཞིབ་ཙ་དང་ཀུ་མི་ཚགས་པའི་ཕོག་མ་ཡིན། དེ་ནས་གནད་རྣམས་རིམ་པར་ཚགས།

ད་རྒྱས་སུ་སོང་བའི་སྐབས་སུ་ཁ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་གཡོག་ཟུམ། ཟང་རྩེའི་མཁར་ཁམ་པས་ཟིན(འཛིན)་པའི་དུས་སུ། ནར་ཚུད་དག་ཏྲ་ཤོད་མི་ཤོད་མང་དུ་བྱུང་བས། སྟོབ་ཏེ (?)། བར་ལ་གནོད་པ་སྣ་ཚོགས་བྱས་པས། ལན་དུ་བུ་གེའི་ཁྲིད་དམག་ཁྲིངས་ནས། ཟངས་དཀར་གྱི་ཡུལ་རྣམས་དང་། མཁར་ཐམས་ཅད་མེ་ཡིས་སྲེག། མི་མང་པོ་བསད། ལྷག་ལུས་ཁྲིད་ནས། ཡུལ་སྟོད་དུ་སོང་། དེའི་རྗེས་སུ་ཕྱོགས་ཕྱོགས་ནས་མི་མང་པོ་ཡོང་པ་ལ་ཉེན། ཡུལ་ཚགས་པས། དཔའ་གཏུམ་ཤང་ཟུང་གིས་བཟུང་། ཟུང་ངོ[ས]་རྒྱ་པས་བཟུང་། སྟོད་སྟེ་ལྷ་ས་དང་གུང་སློན་ཁྲི་ཤར་གསུམ་གྱིས་བཟིན།

དེའི་སྐབས་སུ་རྒྱུན་ཟག་ལ་སོགས་པ་བྱུང་བ་ལ་རྟེན། མཁས་དམན་ཆེན་པོ་བྱུང་བ་ལ་རྟེན་པ། སྐྱི་ཉིའི་བུ་གེའི་ཕྱོགས་ནས་སྒྲ་ཆེན་ཤཱ་ཀྱ་ཐུབ་པ་ཟེར་བ་ཞིག་གདན་ཞུས་ནས། ཟངས་དཀར་བ་ཀུན་གྱིས་རྒྱལ་པོར་ཁུར། དེ་ལ་རྒྱལ་མོ་འབྲུ་ཤལ་ནས་ཁྲིངས། ནང་པར་བག་ཚགས་ལ་ཕྱིན་པས་ལམ་དུ་ཡབ་སྒྲོད་པས་རྒྱལ་མོ་ཟློག་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཤག་ཐུབ་གྲོངས་སུ་བཞུགས། དེའི་རྗེས་སུ་རྒྱལ་མོ་སྦས་བུ་ཞིག་བསྐྲུམ་ནས། ཆུང་བའི་དུས་སུ་བསོས། ལོ་ཕྲ་བའི་དུས་སུ་ཡབ་གྲོ[ང]་པས། ངའི་བུ་མིན་ཟེར་ནས། བདག་མ་བྱས་པའི་རྐྱེན་གྱིས་ཁ་རྒྱལ་དུ་སོང་ནས། ག་རོག་ཀུན་གྱི་སེམ་ཏུ་བསྒྲད་པས། ཟད་གཟུག[ས]་ངན་པའི་སྐྱན་གྱིས་རིགས་བཟང་ངན་མ་ཤེས་ཏེ། གླང་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་ཟག་ཏུ་བཞུགས་པས། ཚུལ་པ་བསྟན་ནས། བུས་མོ་བརྩོག་སྟེ་དེ་ནས་ཤག་ཐུབ་ཀྱི་བུ་ལ་བུས་མོ་བརྩོགས་པས། དེ་ཀུན་གྱིས་རིགས་ཅན་ཡིན་པར་ཤེས་ནས། མིང་སེང་གེ་ལྡོང་བཏགས་ཏེ། ཁ་རྒྱལ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་བུ་མོ་བཏང་། ཀ་སྨྲ་བར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་སྒྲུབ་ནས་དེར་བཞུགས།

དེ་ལ་བུ་གསུམ་བྱུང་བ་ལ། ཆེ་བ་ལ་ཀ་སྨྲ་བར་བསྐྱར། ཁོང་དང་གཉིས་བུ་དང་བཅས་པ་ཕོན་པ། བློ་བཟང་ལྡེ་ལ་དཔོན་ཙོའི་ཆུའི་བཅད་ས་ཚུན་ཆོད་ལྷོ་ངོས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བསྐྱར།ཁྲི་ནས་ལྡེ་ལ་ཆུ་སྦྱོངས(ཟུང་ངོས)་དང་དེ་ཁ་ལ་ཚོ་ཟར་བཟང་ལ་མེ་ལྡེའི་ཕྱོག་པོ་མན་ཆད་བསྐྱར། བློ་བཟང་ལྡེའི་དུས་སུ་བུ་གེ་ནས་ཇོ་དཔལ་དར་ཟེར་བ་ཞིག་དེར་ཕྱིན་ཏེ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་གསེར་སྣ་དང་། གཡུའི་སྦལ་བུལ་ནས། ཞབ་ཙ་བཙལ་བ་ཕྲུན་གསུམ་གསོལ་བ་ཡིན། ཇོ་དཔལ་དར་ཡུལ་དེ་གསུམ་གྱི་མི་དང་སྟོན་སྟེ། ཡར་ཡུལ་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་ཚོང་པ་མི་བཅུ་བདུན་བསད་ནས། གད་གྲམ་དུ་སྲས་ནས། དཔད་ཤུས་ཁྲིད་ནས། དངོས་མི་དེའི[དགེའི ?]་རྗེས་སུ་ཅད་མཆོད (ཆད་པ་ཚོད) ་བྱུང་བས། སྤུན་དུ་ན་ཚགས་པར། མར་གཤུང་ལ་ནོས་པས།

དེའི་སྐབས་སུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་བློ་བཟང་ལྡེའི་སྲས་གསུམ་ཡོད་པས། ཆེ་བ་ཚང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་དཔོན་ཙེའི་ཆུ་བཀགས་ཚུད། དབྱི་ཁལ་མར་ཐིང་གི་ཅན་ལུན་འཕྲང་ཨག་ཙེའི་ཤུང་པ་མན་ཆད། བཅའ་བ་ཡང་དེའི་དུས་བསྟན། [བདེ་མཆོག་སྐྱབས་ཟེར་བ་ལ . . . | ཆེ་བ་ཚང་རྒྱལ་པོ། བར་པ་ར་དུག་རྒྱལ་པོ། ཆུང་བ་བདེ་མཆོག་སྐྱབ[ས]་པ་ཟེར་བ་ལ . . .] ། ཞིབ་ཙའི་ནང་སོ་དཔལ་དར་གྱི་བུ་ལ་བོད་པ་ཡིན། རྒྱལ་པོ་ར་དུག་ལ་མར་ཐང་གི་ཐུགས་སུ་ཤུང་པའི་མན་ཆད། ཚོ་ཟར་སེ་སྙེ་ཤུང་པ་ཡན་ཆད། ཐུག་ཐམ་གྱི་སྟོང་སྡེ་ཤང་ཡན། ཞ་ཐག་གི་ཟག་དག་ཚུན་ཆོད་ཡ་ནན་མཚོ། གད་ཤ་ཆུའི་ཕོ་མོ་ཆེ་མན་ཆད། སྟོང་སྡེའི་ས་ཁྲད་ཡིན། དེ་སྐབས་སུ་སྟོང་སྡེའི་ཞིང་དཔོན་བློ་གྲོས་དཔལ་སྐྱབ་ཡིན། བདེ་མཆོག་སྐྱབ[ས]་པ་ལ་སྐྲ་སྐྲུའི་ཨག་ཙེ་ཤུང་པ་མན་ཆད། གད་ཤ་ཆུ་ཚུན་ཆད། ཤིང་ཀུན་ལ་ཚུན་ཆད་བསྟན་པ་ཡིན།

ཁྲི་ནས་དཔལ་ལྡེའི་སྲས་རྒྱལ་བསམ་རིན་ཆེན་དཔལ་ལྡེ་དང་ཨ་མ་འཛོམ་པ་རྒྱལ་མོ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དུས་སུ། ཟང་སེམས་ཀྱི་སྲིད་བདག་མཛད་ནས། དགས་སྐང་ཀར་ལང་ཚོ་ཟར་གསུམ་ཆོས་བཞི་ལ་ཟུལ་བ་ལ་རྟེན་པ་ལ། ཚོ་ཟར་གྱི་དགོན་པོ་ཆེ་བདབ། དེའི་

རྫས་སུ་མཁའ་འགྲོའི་སྐུ་ལ་རྟེན་པ། བྱེ་བ་དཀར་མོ་ཞིག་གི[ས]་ལམ་སྣ་བྱས། ཕྱག་འཚལ་སྐྱང་དུ་བཞེངས་པ་དང་། བྱི་བ་གར་སོང་ཆ་མེད་དུ་སོང་། ཕྱག་ཐལ་ནས་བླ་རྡོ་བརྡུང་བྱུང་བ་དང་། ཡར་བཞེངས་ནས། སྣང་སྲིད་གསུམ་གྱིས་བསྟུ་བ་དང་བཅས། ཕྱག་ཐལ་དུ་བྱོན་ཞབས། སྣང་སྲིད་གསུམ་གྱིས་སྨིན་བཀྲུར་བྱས་ནས། རིགས་ཀྱི་བུ་ཚོད་ལེགས་སོ་བྱས་ནས། དགོན་པ་དང་གཡུ་མཁར་གྱི་ཞིང་ཁང་གཅིག་དང་བཅས་ཕུལ་ནས། དེ་གསུམ་གྱི་འདུལ་བྱ་རྫོགས་ནས། ཕྱི་འདུག་པའི། ཚོད་ཀྱིས་འདི་རྣམས་ལ་བསྟན་པ་དང་། སེམས་ཅན་ལ་བནད་པ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་མཛོད། ཅེས་གསུངས་ནས། སྣང་སྲིད་གསུམ་པོ་ཐུག་པ་གཉན་དུ་ཞེབས། དེའི་དུས་སུ་དཔལ་གཏུམ་ནས་ཚོང་རྒྱལ་པོས་མར་གླིང་ཕུལ། སྐྱེ་སྐྱིད་བདེ་མཆོག་སྐུབས་སྐྱིད་ཉི་སྒོ་བྲ་མ་ཅན་དང་ཡན་དང་། ཐང་སོ་མན་ཆད་ཕུལ།།

དེ་རྫས་སུ་བྱང་སེམས་དང་ཚོང་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉིས་བཀའ་གྲོས་མཛད་ནས། བདེ་མཆོག་སྐུབ[ས]་པ་ལ། ཁྱེད་ཀྱིས་དེར་གཉིས་ལ་དཀོར་དཔོན་བརྩོན་དགོས་པ་འདུག་པས། ས་གཞི་ཞིག་བྱིན་ཅེས་ཞུ་བ་མཛད་པའི། ཀོ་རང་ལ་ཞིང་དང་ལས་མི་ཁྲལ་པ་བཅས་སྟན་སྣ་བོར་ནས། དེ་ལྟག་ཐམས་ཅད་རྒྱལ་པོ་བླ་མ་གཉིས་ལ་ཕུལ་ནས། ཡུལ་དང་རི་ཚང་མ་ཕུལ། ཞིང་ས་གང་ཡིན་དེ་ཀོ་རང་ལ་བོར་བ་ཡིན།།

ཁྲལ་ཡན་སུ་ཚོང་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དུས་སུ་ཡར་ཁྱེན་ནས་མིག་ཟ་ཧྲད་དམག་གསུམ་སྟོང་ཁྲིད་དེ། འོངས་ནས། ཚོང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡུལ་མི་དང་བཅས་ལྷའི་ཕུང་པར་བྲོས་པས། རྫས་སུ་དཔལ་གཏུམ་གྱི་མཁར་ཁོས་ཟིན་པས (འཛིན་པས)། ཚོང་རྒྱལ་པོས་བཅའ་བ་མཁར་པའི་ཆོས་ཐུབ་དཔོན་པོ་འཛོམ་པའི་ཆུང་དུ་བཏང་བྱུང་བས། ང་ལ་གཏམ་སྐྱིད་ཕུ་རྒྱུས་ཡོད་བྱས་ནས། གསོད་དུ་བཙུག་པས། རྒྱལ་པོ་མཛོ་ཐུང་རྫོང་པོ་དང་འཁར་ཁ་ཞེབ་གཉིས་ང་ལ་སྐྱུལ། ཁྱེད་རང་ལ་གཡུ་མཁར་གྱི་གྲོང་གཉིས་རྣམས་ཕུལ་ཆ་འདུག་བྱས་པའི། མཛོ་ཐུང་རྫོང་དང་འཁར་ཁ་ཞེབ་ཕུལ་བའི་མཆོག། གཡུ་ཁར་པ་གྲོང་པ་གཉིས་ང་ལ་མི་དགོས། ང་སྐྱེ་སྐྱུ་པ་དང་ཡོན་མཆོད་ཡིན་པས་མི་དགོས་རྒྱ། མཛོ་དང་རྒྱལ་ཏོར་གཉན་ན་ཡང་གསལ (གསོལ ? སྐྱུལ ?)་ནས། རང་མིག་ཟ་ཧྲད་ཁྱོད་མི་སྐྱུང་པོ་ཞིག་མིན་ནམ། འདི་དུ་ན་བསྡད། ཁོག་ལ་སོང་། མོན་པ་དུ་སྒྲག་དང་དམག་མང་པོ་དེ་རིང་རང་ཁྱིམ་ཡོད་ཟེར་བས། མིག་ཟ་ཧྲད་ཉིན་མཚན་བཀོད་ནས། སུ་ཇུ་དཀར་ཅོ་ལ་བྱུང་སོང་བ་དང་། དེའི་རྗེས་སུ་ཇོན་པོ་ལ་ཨག་ཅོ་མན་ཆད། ཁ་ཅེ་ལྷབ་ཅོ་ཡན་ཆད། ཕྱག་ཐལ་པ་ལ་ཕུལ་བ་ཡིན།།

ཡང་ཚོང་རྒྱལ་པོ་དུས་སུ་ཕྱུ་པ་དག་གི་ཇོ་འཛམ་དབྱང་པ་དཀར་ཅོ་གྲོང་སོང་བའི། དེའི་རྗེས་ཏ་ཤི་ཇོས་དམག་བསྐྱལ་ནས། ཁྱོང་པའི་དུས་སུ། དཔལ་གཏུམ་ན་ཁ་བ་ཕྱུ་དེ་བྱུང་ཡོད་པའི། དེར་བསྒྲིབ་པ་དང་། དཔལ་གཏུམ་མཁར་ལ་རྫགས་ཡོད་པས། བྱད་མེད་བཞི་ཡིས་འཁལ་ར་རྟ་སྐྱོ་ཙ་ཟུན་ཇོ་བང་པའི། ཇོ་འཛམ་དབྱང་དེ་ཙེ་ཤི། མཁར་ཡུལ་མེད་པ་དམག་གིས་བཏང་། ཚོང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཕྱི་སོག་ཏུ་བཅིང་ནས། ཐར་སྤྲིའི་འགྲོག་མདའ་ལ་བཏགས་ཡོད་འདུག་པས། ཕྱག་ཐལ་ནས་ཐང་པ་རབ་བསྟན་མར་སྐྱོད་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་འགྲོག་མདའ་ནས་བཀྲོལ། ཕྱག་ཐལ་ན་འཚོགས་བཟང་གིས་མགོ་བྱས། ནོར་མང་པོ་ཁྲིད་ཀྱིས་ཀ་ལི་ཙོ་ལ་རྒྱ་བ་ཕུལ་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ཕྱུས་ནས། ཡུལ་མི་བཙལ་ཆེད་སྐྱོན། དེ་ལྟག་ཁྱེད་ཀྱེ། དཀར་ཅོད་བསྐྱོན་སོང་བ། འཚོག[ས]་བཟང . . . ཚོང(ཚད?)་བསྐྱོན (བསྐྱང?)་ནས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བྱས་པའི། འཚོག[ས]་བཟང་བར་འགྲོ་ཚུར་འགྲོ་བྱས་པའི། དེ་རྫས་སུ་ཡུལ་དེར་མི་མང་པོ་ཤི་བ་དང་། འཚོགས་བཟང་ཕྱག་ཐལ་དུ་སྐྱུལ་བ་ཁྱོད། དབྱེ (དབྱེད ?)་ཀ་དཔལ་གཏུམ་པ་གྲགས་པ་དཔལ་བཟང་སོ་ཉ་ལ་སོགས་ཏ་ཤི་ཇོ་ལ་ཕྱག་བྱས་པ་འདྲ་ཛོས་ཡོད། ས་ནས་ས་ལ་སྒྲད་པའི། ཡང་འདྲ་ཛོས་ཅེས་སྣ་ཉེ་སྒྲ་ཙ་ཅིག (བཏང་མིག་གསུངས་པ་དང་། དེ་ལྟར་སྒྲང་བས) སྐུ་མདུན་གྱིས་མི་ཐམས་ཅད་ཏབ་བྲོད་བྱས་ནས། ཐུགས་ཉེས་ནས། ས་དེ་པ་ཕྱུ་པ་རག་པི་པི་ཉིད་དཔལ་གཏུམ་གསུམ་གྱི་ཡུལ་གྱི་མི་ཚོང་མ་བྱེད་སོག་བཏང་ནས་ཁྱོང་འདུག།།

དེ་དུས་སུ་ཟུ་ནི་ལྷ་རྩེ་མ་གཏོགས། ཟུ་ནི་ཡུལ་པ་དང་ས་ཁྱད་ཐམས་ཅད་སྲུང་བ་ནས་ཞིང་ཞིང་ཁང་ཅིག་ལ་སོགས་ས་ཁྱད་རྣམས

བྱང་པ་རབ་བརྟན་ལ་ཕུལ་བ་ཡིན། ཉ་ཞི་ཛོ་དང་ཐོངས(ཐང་དོས)་རྒྱལ་པོ་དཔལ་གཏུམ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་གསུམ་བཟང་འགྲིག་པའི། ཟུ་རིག་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ཐང་དོས་(དཀར་ཤ་དགོན་པའི་འོག་ཚང་མ་ལ་ཡང་གནས་ཟར)་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་དཔལ་གཏུམ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ཆད་དོན་ཞུས་པར། ཁྲིད་ཀྱིས་བྱང་པ་རབ་བརྟན་ལ། དགོན་པ་འདེབས་པས་ས་ཁྲད་ཆོས་བཞི་དང་བཅས་པ་ཕུལ་ན། བཟང་འགྲིག་གསུ་བར་བརྟེན། ས་ཁྲད་ཕུལ་བ་ལ་དགོན་པ་བཏབ་པའི་ས་ལ་ནག་ཚངས་ཡན་ཆོད། ཆུ་སྡོན་གྱི་སྐྱང་མན་ཆད། ཆོས་བཞི་ལ་ལ་ཟླ་མ་ཁྲི་ཚུག་གི་ཆུ་བབ་ས། སྒོ་ཞོ་མན་ཐང་ཚུན། རྒྱ་ལམ་ཕྱིན་ཆོད་དཔལ་གཏུམ་གྱི་རན་ཐག་ཡན་ཆོད། ཕྱུ་པ་རག་དང་ཟམ་མཁར་གི་དབྱར་གནས་ལ་ཨམ་ཞེའི་ཚོགས་བཅས་ཕུལ་བ་ཡིན།

ཡང་ཚང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ཧོར་མི་རིགས་ལན་གཉིས་བྱུང་བས། ཐི་མ་ལ་ཧོར་མི་རིགས་འགྲོ་མ་ཉན་པར། བྱང་པ་རབ་བརྟན་གྱིས་ཆིབས་གསུམ་ཕུལ་བར་རྟེན་ཀོ་བར་སློག། དེའི་གཏང་རག་ལ་རྒྱ་གོང་འོག་གཉིས་[འ]ཚོག[ས]་དང་བཅས་ཕུལ་བ་ཡིན། སྟོང་སྡེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ར་རྡུག་ལ་བབ་སྒྲོའི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དམག་བྱུང་བས། དེ་དུས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ར་རྡུག་པས་མ་ཐུབ་པར། ཕུག་ཐལ་ནས་བླ་མ་སློབ་དཔོན་རྣམས་ཞིབས་ནས། ཧོར་མང་པོ་ཕུལ་ནས། བབ་སྒྲོའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ཞུ་བ་ཕུལ་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་ར་རྡུག་པ་དང་ཚང་ཚང་མ་ཆ་ཟར་སེལ་ཅོ་ཕུང་བ་ནས་སློག་ནས་ཁྲིངས། སྟོང་སྡེ་རྒྱལ་པོར་བཀལ་བས། དེ་བདག་རྐྱེན་ལ་སྟོང་སྡེ་ཕུར་བ་ཟག་ནག་ཡན་ཕུག་ཐལ་ལ་སྟོང་སྡེ་ཟང་ཡན་སྣེ་བ་ཅན་གྱིཿལ་ཚུན་ཆད། འོ་མ་ཕུང་གི་ལ་ཚུན་ཆད། ཉ་སྨུག་གི་སྟོང་སྡེ་ (?) ཟག་དག་ཟེར་བ་མན་ཆད། ཡ་ནམ་མཚོ་ཚུན་གར་ཞའི་ཆུའི་ཕྲ་མོ་ཆེ་མན་ཆད་ཕུལ་བ་ཡིན།

རྒྱལ་པོ་བློ་བཟང་དཔལ་ལྡེའི་དགོངས་རྫོགས་སུ་ཚེ་དབང་རྒྱལ་པོས་ཞ་གསེར་སོག་ལ་སྨོན་ལམ་གྱིས་ཆོས་བཞི་པི་པི་ཉིང་། ཕྱུབ་སྐྱི་སུ་རྩ་གསུམ་མདོ་དང་བཅས་ཕུལ། ཡང་ཚེ་དབང་རྒྱལ་པོས་བྱང་སེམས་ཆོས་བཞི་རྩ་ཕུལ་བ་ལ། དཔལ་གཏུམ་དུར་ཁ་གཅིག། ཤེ་ལྷ་དུར་ཁ་གཅིག། ཞིབ་ཅ་རྩ་དུར་ཁ་གསུམ། ཉེཿལ་རིང་གྲི་ཕུལ་ཕྱོངས་ཀྱི་ཟ(?)་ཕུ། ཐར་ལ་སྐྱིད་ར་རྩའི་མར་ཐང་བཅས་ཕུལ། ཡང་ཚང་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཡབ་ཀྱི་དགོངས་རྫོགས་ལ། བྱང་སེམས་དགོར་དུ་ཕུལ་བ་ལ། མཁར་སྣར་པ་དུར་ཁ་གཅིག། གཉེར་པ་ཉ་ར་ལ། མཛོད་པ་ཡ་མ་བྲག་པ་དང་གསུམ་ཕུལ་བ་ཡིན། ཤེ་ལྷ་ནས་མཁར་དང་ཚུན་པ་ཆེན་པོ་གཉིས་ཞེབ་ལེ་བཅས་ཕུལ་བ་ཡིན། སྟོ་སྟའི་ཛོ་མཁག་ལྡེའི་ཕུལ་བ་ལ། ཐེ་ཅོ་ནན་གར་ཞ་ཆུའི་ཚུན་ཕུལ་བ་ཡིན། ཛོ་ཁ་རིག་གི་ཕུལ་བ་ལ། ཞིང་ཁང་གསུམ་དང་། ས་དེ་དགོན་གཡོག་དང་བཅས་ཕུལ་བ་ཡིན། ཡང་བྱང་སེམས་ལ་མར་ཡུལ་སྟོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་མདའ་བདག་པས་ཕུལ་བ་ལ། ཙ་མོད་ནས་ཤུང་པ་མེས་ཙོང་། ར་བོ་མཆོད་རྟེན་གྱི་སྐྱིད་རྣམས་དང་། ནག་ཚུད་ཙ་ཁ་རྒྱང་ཆུའི་གྲོག་པོ་གསུམ། ཤེལ་མ་ཉི་ཅན་འགོ་ཡན་ཆད་ཕུལ་བ་ཡིན། ཞང་ཧྲི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཕུལ་བ་ལ། ཆོས་སྐུ་ཅོ་དགོན་པ་ཡན་ཆོད། ལམ་ཐང་ཧོ་གླིང་། ཕྱི་ཐར་འབྲི་གྲི་མོས། ཉི་བདེའི་ཤུང་པ་ཟུ་མདོ་དང་བཅས་ཕུལ།

བྱང་པ་སངས་རྒྱས་བློ་གྲོས་དཀར་ཁའི་དགོན་བདག་མཛད་ནས། དེ་རྩ་སྤྲུན་ཐོངས་པ་དང་། དཀར་ཁ་པས་བརྟེན་བཏང་། དེ་ནས་བྱང་ཡ(པ?)་ཚང་བརྟན་པ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚེ་རིང་དཔལ་ལྡེ། བློན་པོ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བདག་རྐྱེན་མཛད་ནས་པི་པི་ཉིང་དུ་ཁྲིངས། ལོ་བརྒྱ་གཅིག་བཞུགས་ནས། བྱང་པ་ཐོངས། ཕུར(བྱུར)་བྱང་པ་ཚང་བརྟན་པའི་སྐུམ་ན། ཉིང་ཚེ་ཚང་བདུན་བྱང་པ་ཚང་རབ་བརྟན་ལ་ཕྱོ་སྐལ་ལ་བཏངས། ཡང་གཡི་ཅར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་བཞི་ཧྲོའི་ཕུལ་བ་ལ། གཡི་ཅར་མཁར་སྣང་པ་བཅའ་བ་ནས་སྐྱོད་མའི་སམ་བློ་བཟང་ཚེ་རིང་གི་མལ་གསུམ་ཕུལ་བ་ཡིན།

ཅེས་ཕུག་ཐལ་གྱི་ལོ་ཡིག་སྒྲུས་པའི་ཐུགས་མཁེག་དེ་ལྟར་འདུག།

NOTE ON THE TEXT

Clerical errors have in most cases been corrected. In doubtful cases other possible readings are added in brackets. Passages which are evidently in the wrong place have also been put in brackets. In the case of local names I have had to make a selection among various spellings. The name of the Dkar-rgyags river is everywhere spelled Gar-ża.

TRANSLATION

[This is] an abridged mode of telling the tale of the origin of Zaṅs-dkar. Under the protection of the reverend lamas, who are an assemblage of well-being and complete excellence, and the tutelary deities, the fairies, and the protectors of religion, may we all find entire gratification of our nine desires! The high King Ge-sar of Gliṅ came to this blessed Zaṅs-dkar, where the religion of heaven and earth arose, and he broke the whole earth with his feet. 'U-rgyan-pa-dma came, and exorcized the demons; he kept down the bad Sa-bkra.[1] The female ogre was as if she had fallen on her back. The Sa-ni and Ka-ni-ka monasteries were erected on the head of the region, the Gña-nam-gu-ru monastery of Pi-pi-tiṅ on the heart, and the Gña-nam-gu-ru [monastery] of Byams-gliṅ on the feet. He uttered a prophecy similar to that of the Bde-ldan (Sukhāvatī) cemetery of India, [as follows]:—'The door-keeper in the east [of Zaṅs-dkar] will be Tse-re, in the south Dpal-lha-mo (Śrī-Devī), in the west Dur-lha-khrug-pa, in the north Yid-bżin-gyi-nor-bu (Cintāmaṇi). Its treasure-keeper will be Jo-mo-Spyan-gcig-ma!' There is also a prophecy [relating] to Sa-ni-tshog, Bya-rnams-dur-śiṅ, and Dur-bya. There is also a prophecy that it would be a place of assembly for the fairies. The origin of the country is [as follows]:—In the beginning Ran-thag-śa and Ri-nam arose in the north, Bib-ca and Ku-mi in the south. Then the others arose in their order.

At the time of the extension [of the settlements Zaṅs-dkar] was under Kashmir. When the castle of Draṅ-rtse was seized by the Kham-pas (Tibetans), a great flight of men and horses took place in all directions; and after that harm was done in various ways. In retaliation an army was led [by the Kashmiris ?] against the throne of Gu-ge, and then the country of Zaṅs-dkar and all its castles were burnt with fire. Many men were killed. The remainder were carried off, and the country became empty. As many men arrived here afterwards from all directions, the country rose again. Dpaḫ-gtum was taken by [the clan of] Żaṅ-ruṅ, Byaṅ-ṅos (the north) by [the clan of] Skya-pa, Stoṅ-sde by [the clans of] Lha-sa, Guṅ-blon, and Khyi-śaṅ.

At that time many thieves, robbers, and such folk appeared. But, as a great *mkhas-dman* (counsellor) arose also, he invited the great god (king) Śākya-thub-pa from Spyi-ti and Gu-ge. All the people of Zaṅs-dkar acknowledged him their king. A queen was brought for him from Ḫbru-śal (Gilgit). Next year, when he was on his nuptial tour, the king of Yab-sgod carried off the queen, and then king Śag-[kya]-thub-[pa] died.

[1] Or is it Sa-dgra, 'enemy of the earth'?—F. W. T.

Later on a son was born to the queen. She nursed him while he was a babe. When he was five years old Yab-sgod-pa (or the king of Yab-sgod) said, 'He is not my son!' refused to own him, and [the boy] went to Kashmir. As he lived among the Ga-rogs (poor people ?) and exhibited a poor appearance, nobody knew whether he was of good or bad family. But, when he mounted grandly on an elephant and taught it manners and made it bow its knees [before him] and it bowed its knees before Śag-thub's son, they knew that he was of noble extraction. He was given the name Seṅ-ge-ldor, and he received a daughter of the King of Kashmir [as his wife]. They gave him the kingdom of Ka-skra-bar (Kashtawar), where he dwelt.

Three sons were born to him, the eldest of whom received Ka-skra-bar. The two (others) went away with their children. Blo-bzaṅ-lde received the southern part of the kingdom [of Zaṅs-dkar], including the region within the Dpon-tse brook. Khri-nam-[dpal]-lde received the region to the north of the water, and in addition to it Tsha-zar, Bzaṅ-la, and the region down to the brook of Me-ltse. During the time of Blo-bzaṅ-lde a chief called Dpaḫ-dar went there from Gu-ge and presented to the king a golden saddle and a turquoise bridle, and begged the three villages of Bib-ca, Bcaḫ-ba, and Śun. The chief Dpaḫ-dar conspired with the men of those three villages, killed seventeen merchants of Yar-yul (Yar-luṅ ?), and hid [their corpses] in the bank [of the river]. But the high water of the summer carried off [the corpses], and punishment pursued the originators [of the crime]. As they could not thrive at Śun, they fled to the middle of Mar (Ladakh ?).

At that time Blo-bzaṅ-lde had three sons. Tshaṅ-rgyal-po, the eldest, received the region within the dividing waters of the Dpon-tse, Dbyi-khal, the Tsan-ldan road of Mar-gliṅ as far down as the valley of 'Ag-tse; Bcaḫ-ba also was made over during that time. [To the one called Bde-mchog-skyabs . . . (Text out of order) . . . to Tshaṅ-rgyal-po, the eldest, Ra-dug-rgyal-po, the middle one, and the youngest, called Bde-mchog-skyabs. . . .] Naṅ-so of Bib-ca was kept for Dpaḫ-dar's son. King Ra-dug received the country down to the valley in the innermost corner of Mar-thaṅ; upwards to the Tsha-zar-Me-ltse valley; the upper road of Stoṅ-sde of Phug-thal; [the region] within the 'black rock' of Ża-phyag; the Ya-nam lake; the region down to Tho-mo-che on the Gar-ża brook. This is the territory of Stoṅ-sde. At that time Blo-gros-dpal-grub was governor (or chief of the hunters ?) of Stoṅ-sde. Bde-mchog-skyab[s]-pa received part of Ste-sta, as far down as the 'Ag-tse valley; [the region] within the Gar-ża brook; and [the region] within the Śiṅ-kun pass.

During the reign of Khri-nam-dpal-lde's son Rgyal-bsam-rin-chen-dpal-lde and the queen mother Ḫdzom-pa, being patrons of [the lama] Byaṅ-sems, Dags-rkaṅ, Kar-laṅ, Tsha-zar, these three [villages] were ceded as a religious foundation, and the great monastery of Tsha-zar was erected. After that, led by a white female mouse taking the form of a fairy, he (the king ?) arrived on the Phyag-ḫtshal ridge, and there the mouse disappeared. The sound of a bell was heard from Phug-thal, and, when he went up there, he met with three anchorites, and arrived at Phug-thal. The three anchorites saluted him and said:—'Oh, well done, son of

noble birth! By your giving a monastery together with a house and field at Gyu-mkhar, the austerities of us three are completed. We have been mice. You must give the teaching to these [people] and work for the great advantage of all beings!' Thus they said, and the three anchorites went to some other place (Thug-pa ?). At that time Tshaṅ-rgyal-po of Dpaḫ-gtum gave Mar-gliṅ, and Bde-mchog-skyabs gave Skyid-ñi of Ste-sta up to Gro-gra-ma-can and down to Thaṅ-so.

After that [the lama] Byaṅ-sems and Tshaṅ-rgyal-po both held a council, and said to Bde-mchog-skyab[s]-pa :—' As you have to provide a treasurer for both of us, give [us] a piece of land!' As they asked him thus, he kept for himself only a few fields, labourers, and tax-payers, and gave all that remained to the king and the lama. He presented the whole [cultivated] land and the mountains, and for himself he kept only what there was of hunting ground.

During the reign of Tshaṅ-rgyal-po Mig-za-dhar arrived at Khul-yan from Yar-kyen (Yarkand), leading 3,000 soldiers, and Tshaṅ-rgyal-po, together with his subjects, fled into the Lhaḫi-luṅ-pa [valley]. Later on he (Mig-za-dhar) seized the castle of Dpaḫ-gtum. Tshaṅ-rgyal-po sent Chos-grub of the Bcaḫ-ba castle before the assembled lords. He said, 'I have something nice to tell you!' He was urged to speak. 'Oh, King, give me both Mdzo-khyuṅ-rog-po (or a herd of black *mdzos* ?—F. W. T.) and Ḫgar-khra-leb! I will give you two peasants [estates] of Gyu-mkhar!' Thus he said. 'In exchange for Mdzo-khyuṅ-rog (a herd of black *mdzos* ?) and Ḫgar-khra-leb (the smith Khra-leb ?) I do not want two peasants of Gyu-mkhar. I am a fellow-citizen of the people of Ste-sta and a benefactor. I do not want them!' Then [Chos-grub], offering more *mdzos* and royal treasures, said, 'Are you not wise, Mig-za-dhar? Then do not remain here! Go back! Even to-day many Indians, armed with rifles, will arrive here!' Thereupon Mig-za-dhar fled night and day, and came out of [the defile] at Dkar-tse of Su-ru. (Text very uncertain.) After that the region from 'Ag-tse in 'On-po up to Lhab-tse in Kha-ce (Kashmir) was given to Phug-thal.

During the reign of Tshaṅ-rgyal-po the chief of 'U-pa-rag, Ḫjam-dbyaṅ-pa, fled to Dkar-tse. After that the chief Ha-żi issued a call to arms, and, when he arrived there with his army, a cubit of snow had fallen at Dpaḫ-gtum. They went there, and, when they were climbing up to the castle of Dpaḫ-gtum, four women threw a heavy (?) stone from the smith's gate, and the chief Ḫjam-dbyaṅ died there. [Therefore] castle and country were ruined and filled with soldiers. Tshaṅ-rgyal-po was fettered outside [the town] and tied to the flagstaff of a corner-tower. Therefore Druṅ-pa-Rab-bstan came down from Phug-thal and delivered the king from the flagstaff. Ḫtshogs-bzaṅ was the head of the Phug-thal [monastery]. Carrying great treasures, he petitioned the chief Ha-żi. Upon this petition the king sent back the greater part of the country people. Taking with him the remainder, he arrived at Dkar-tse. Ḫtshog[s]-bzaṅ . . . (unintelligible) . . . Ḫtshog[s]-bzaṅ marched to and fro. After that many people died in that country, and Ḫtshog[s]-bzaṅ was escorted and brought to Phug-thal. In spring (?) the messenger Grags-pa-dpal-bzaṅ of Dpaḫ-gtum and others bowed before the chief Ha-żi and said :—' A worm-pest has come; they sit all over the ground; send away

the worms on the 21st' . . . (text out of order) . . . thus it appeared (?): all his attendants laughed. He was pleased, and all the men from Sa-ni, 'U-pa-rag, Pi-pi-tiṅ, and Dpaḥ-gtum were sent back.

At that time, except the house Lha-rtse of Mu-ne, the people of Mu-ne and all the territory from Sur-le, houses and fields, etc., the whole district, were given to Druṅ-pa-Rab-bstan. The chief Ha-ži, the northern king, and the king of Dpaḥ-gtum, these three, made an agreement. The king of Pu-rig and the king of the north (who occupied all the country below the Dkar-śa monastery) both made this proposal to the king of Dpaḥ-gtum:—'If you will erect a monastery for Druṅ-pa-Rab-bstan, and present it to him, together with land and a religious endowment, our alliance will make progress. As regards the land to be offered:—as land of the monastery built, as far up as Nag-tshaṅs, as far down as the ridge near the "blue water" (*chu-sṅon*). As to that for the religious endowment: Lama Khyi-rug's place where the water comes down, the district within the maṇi wall (*man-thaṅ*) of Gro-žo, the district above the highway, as far up as the mill [district] of Dpaḥ-gtum, and the forest (?) of 'Am-be, which is situated near the summer-house of the peasant Raṅ-zam-śiṅ of 'U-pa-rag.'

Tshaṅ-rgyal-po was twice surprised by the people of Hor (Turkestan or Mongolia): the last time the people of Hor would not go away; but, when Druṅ-pa-Rab-bstan offered them three horses, they turned back. In acknowledgment of [this service] both the upper and lower Rgya, together with the forest, were presented to him. King Ra-dug of Stoṅ-sde was attacked by the army of the king of Bab-sgo (Ladakh ?). At that time king Ra-dug-pa could not resist; and therefore the priests and teachers came from Phug-thal, offering great treasures, and entreated the king of Bab-sgo [to go back]. Then they brought back king Ra-dug-pa and all his family from the Tsha-zar and Me-ltse valley [where they had fled], and made him again king of Stoṅ-sde. In recognition of this service [the following places] were given [to the Phug-thal monastery]:—the region Stoṅ-sde up to the watercourse and the black rock; in Phug-thal the upper Stoṅ-sde road within the pass of Sre-ba-can, within the 'milk valley' (ḥo-ma-luṅ); of Ža-sbug (?) as far down as what is called Brag-nag (black rock) at Stoṅ-sde; the region within the Ya-nam lake down to Tho-mo-che on the Gar-žaḥi-chu.

In fulfilling a wish of king Blo-bzaṅ-dpal-lde (or, at the funeral of Blo-bzaṅ-dpal-lde, his father) Tshe-dbaṅ-rgyal-po presented to Ža-gser-bog (the yellow-cap monastery ?) with a prayer [the following places] as a religious endowment:—Pi-pi-tiṅ, 'Ub-sti and Su-ru together with the valley. And, as a religious endowment to Byaṅ-sems, Tshe-dbaṅ-rgyal-po presented one family of Dpaḥ-gtum; one family of Śi-lha; three families of Bib-ca; the inner valley of Te-la-riṅ-gri-gul; and also Mar-thaṅ of Thar-la-skor-ra-ru. And, in fulfilment of a wish of his father (or, at the funeral of his father), he offered to the treasury of Byaṅ-sems one family of the lower castle, and, for the sustenance of the steward, [the families] Mdzod-pa, Ya-ma, and Drag-pa, the three. From Śi-lha were given the castle and two great [peasants' estates], together with [the house] Žeb-le. As an offering of the chief Śag-lde of Ste-sta [was given] Phi-tse-phan within the

Gar-ża brook. As an offering of the chief Khra-rig [were given] three houses with fields, together with the lower monastery of Sa-ni. And as an offering of the powerful king of 'Upper Mar-yul' (Ladakh) were given to Byaṅ-sems the Śes-roṅ valley of Ru-śod (Rubshu); the region around the Ra-bo *mchod-rten*; Nag-tshur, Tshva-ka, the gorge of the Rkyaṅ-chu brook, these three; and the region up to Śel-ma-ni-can-ḥgo. As an offering of the king of Ñuṅ-ti (Kulū) were given the region up to the Chos-sku-tse monastery; Żo-gliṅ on the narrow road; Gye-mur; Ḫgre-gri-mos (?); and the upper and lower part of the Żi-bde valley.

When Druṅ-pa-Saṅs-rgyas-blo-gros was in charge of the Dkar-śa monasteries, he committed some fault and was turned out by the people of Dkar-śa. Then Druṅ-ya(pa ?)-Tshaṅ-stan-pa, king Tshe-riṅ-dpal-lde, and the minister Rgyal-mtshan showed some kindness to him and brought him to Pi-pi-tiṅ. After he had remained [there] for eleven years, the Druṅ-pa died. Then, according to the late Druṅ-pa-Tshaṅ-bstan-pa's desire, seven fields, large and small, were given to Druṅ-pa-Tshaṅ-rab-bstan for his sustenance. And, as an offering of king Be-to of Gyi-char, [the following estates] were given:—of Gyi-char Mkhar-snaṅ-pa, of Bcaḫ-ba the estate of Srod-ma and the estate of Blo-bzaṅ-tshe-riṅ, these three.

This is a compilation (or extract) from the *Bo-yig* of Phug-thal.

NOTES

The chronicle was probably compiled a short time before the old line of vassal kings of Zaṅs-dkar came to an end. In c. 1620–40 A.D. a younger brother of the king of Leh, Bde-mchog-rnam-rgyal, was made vassal king of Zaṅs-dkar. As, however, the use of rifles is mentioned during the reign of king Tshaṅ-rgyal-po, who is the most prominent figure of the chronicle, this king cannot have lived many years before 1600 A.D.

The pedigree which can be constructed on the basis of the chronicle consists of four generations only. The first king is purely legendary. Two more royal names which occur at the end, viz. Tshe-riṅ-dpal-lde and Śag-lde, cannot be located with certainty, as the degree of relationship to the other members of the pedigree is not stated. But Tshaṅ-rgyal-pa, as a contemporary of Mīrzā Haidar, must have lived c. 1532 A.D.

The first part of the chronicle is of great interest, as it contains the popular traditions of the Zaṅs-dkar people with regard to the origin and early times of their country and nation, as they were current in c. 1550 A.D. Ge-sar (or Ke-sar) is the supposed creator of Zaṅs-dkar. The brief notes of the chronicle with regard to that event remind us of the story of the creation of the world, as we find it in the Kesar-saga (see my publication 'A Lower Ladakhi Version of the Kesar Saga', *Bibliotheca Indica*, No. 1134, pp. 17, 18). In the Kesar-saga we read that Doṅ-gsum-mi-la-sñon-mo, Kesar's prototype, killed an ogre and formed the land of Gliṅ (the earth) out of its various parts; the castle of Gliṅ out of its head, the Gro-ma plain out of its stomach, the rock Rgyab-rten out of its kidneys, etc. In a similar way here Ge-sar breaks the earth to pieces, and the female ogre, the personification of the earth, falls on her back. Then he erects the most ancient monasteries of the country on the head, the stomach, and the feet of the ogre.

It is very interesting that the Ka-ni-ka and Sa-ni monasteries are mentioned first of all, as the oldest monasteries of Zaṅs-dkar. Kanika is the Tibetan form of the name Kanishka, the great Kushaṇa king of Kashmir and Northern India. This monastery was possibly erected during the reign of that king. This supposition is strengthened by another note in the chronicle, where it is stated that Zaṅs-dkar was under Kashmir before it was seized by the Kham-pas (Tibetans).

In the following paragraph we hear of the conquest of Zaṅs-dkar by a tribe of Kham-pas. The word Kham-pa originally stands for 'inhabitants of Khams', an eastern province of Tibet. But in Ladakh it is used for any Tibetan who comes from a district east of the Manasarowar lake. I believe, therefore, that the conquest of

Zaṅs-dkar by a tribe of Kham-pas, as told in the chronicle, is identical with the conquest of that country by king Ñi-ma-mgon of the Lhasa dynasty, which took place in the tenth century. As the chronicle tells us, the country lost its original (Dard and Kashmiri) population, and was again peopled by Tibetans, some of whose clan names are given.

Then the origin of the vassal kings of Zaṅs-dkar is told. It had not yet been forgotten that they were a branch of the royal dynasty of Gu-ge (Lde dynasty); but the chronicler mixed up with this tradition the story of the first king of Tibet, Gña-khri-btsan-po. Gña-khri-btsan-po was believed to be of Buddha's family, if not a direct descendant of Buddha himself. He was supposed to have been expelled from his native country, and to have come to Tibet from India. Therefore we find here in the Zaṅs-dkar chronicle that the father of Seṅ-ge-ldor is called Śākya-thub-pa (Buddha), that Seṅ-ge-ldor is expelled from Yab-sgo-pa's country, and that he enters Zaṅs-dkar from Kashmir and Kashṭawār. As regards king Yab-sgo-pa or Yab-sgod-pa, his name is also found in an ancient Balti song. He was probably one of the early Buddhist kings of Baltistan, or Baltistan and Gilgit combined (compare my article, 'Ten Ancient Historical Songs from Western Tibet,' Song No. iv, *Ind. Ant.*, 1909, 57 sqq.).

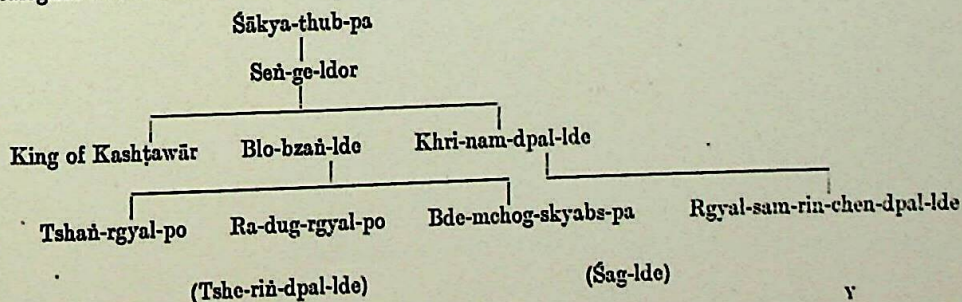
Episodes like that of the chief of Dpaḥ-dar, the highwayman from Gu-ge, cannot yet be connected with other contemporaneous histories, as it has not yet been possible to ascribe even a rough date to any of the names contained in the Zaṅs-dkar chronicle. Only one of its names has as yet been discovered in an inscription. It is the name Tshe-riṅ-dpal-lde, which occurs towards the end of the chronicle and also in inscription No. 49. But it is impossible to assign a date to it. It is, however, probable that the mention of the Hor invader Mig-za-dhar and the chief Ha-źi really refer to Mīrzā Haidar, the author of the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*, and the chief Hājī whose invasions of Tibet (1532–3 A.D.) are mentioned in that work (trans., pp. 403 sqq., 417 sqq., 454 sqq., esp. p. 460, the Hājī).

It is interesting that in the list of august donors to the Phug-thal monastery the kings of Ladakh and Kuḷū (Ñuṅ-ti) are mentioned. I feel inclined to place the note referring to them earlier than the conquest of Lahul by Kuḷū (c. 1650 A.D.). For after the conquest had taken place the kings of Kuḷū could hardly have allowed the taxes of certain villages to go to a foreign country. Two of the five places presented to Phug-thal by the king of Kuḷū are known to me, viz. Gye-mur and Żo-gliṅ. Both villages are situated in the Bhāgā valley. But, as the chronicles tell us, Phug-thal did not enjoy their possession for a long time; for the people of Dkar-śa soon turned the Phug-thal lama out. The Ya-nam (Yunam) lake is on the Baralatsa pass and the Dkar-śa monastery west of Stoṅ-sde and Ri-nam.

I am not quite sure if I have understood correctly the legend of the mice-lamas. But it looks as if it should be understood as follows:—Through some unknown curse three lamas were changed into mice. The spell could only be broken by the erection of a monastery. When the king had decided to erect one, a fairy in the shape of a mouse led him to Phug-thal. Then the fairy-mouse went to tell the lama-mice, who, having taken human shape, appeared before the king. The Phyag-htshal ridge is the place whence the monastery first comes into view.

As regards grants of villages or peasant-estates to monasteries, such a grant means that the taxes of those villages and estates, instead of being sent to the royal treasury, had to be sent to those monasteries.

In the MS. the name of the country is invariably spelt Bzaṅ-dkar, 'good white,' which is not in agreement with the Ladakhi spelling of the same name, viz. Zaṅs-dkar, 'white copper.' The latter spelling is probably more correct. The full name of Tshaṅ-rgyal-po is Tshe-dbaṅ-rgyal-po, as we find it spelled twice. He may be identical with one or other of the kings noted below (from inscriptions) whose names include the words *Tshe-dbaṅ*.

The genealogical tree of the Zaṅs-dkar kings according to the chronicle is as follows:—

From inscriptions we learn the following names of Zaṅs-dkar kings not mentioned in the Chronicle:— Ṅa(Mṅaḥ ? Ṅag ?)-dbaṅ-dpal-lde (Inscr. No. 46); Ka-ru-tog with his brothers Rin-chen, Nor-bu-dpal-lde, and Tshe-dbaṅ-dpal-lde and Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal (No. 47); Rnam-rgyal and Tshe-dbaṅ-dpal-ḥbar with his sons Tshe-dbaṅ-dpal-lde and Tshe-rin-dpal-lde (No. 49). They all reigned at the castle of Brgya-byin-pho-lad at Dpaḥ-gtum. From a dedication sheet in a copy of the *Bskal-pa-bzaṅ-po* in the Berlin Museum of Ethnography we learn that a queen Bstan-ḥdzin-dbaṅ-mo was at a certain period reigning ('her helmet being high') at Dpaḥ-gtum. From paper documents we elicit further the names of (1) Ḫbrug-bstan-ḥdzin, mentioned in the grant of land to Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje, and possibly identical with the so-named chief of Spyi-ti, step-brother of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal; (2) Dbaṅ-phyug-rnam-rgyal, who married the daughter of the General Śākya-rgya-mtsho. The last king of Dpaḥ-gtum, a descendant of Bde-mchog-rnam-rgyal (see above, Rin-chen-don-grub-rnam-rgyal), died during the Dogra wars.

It is interesting that the pronoun *ṅed* is used here invariably to denote two or more persons who consider themselves superior to another (in this case the addressed) person. As I stated already in Z.D.M.G., vol. lxi, p. 950, *ṅed* may be called a half-respectful form. It is used if at least one of the persons included in the 'we' is to be honoured.

My thanks are due to Dr. F. W. Thomas for his translation of several difficult passages.

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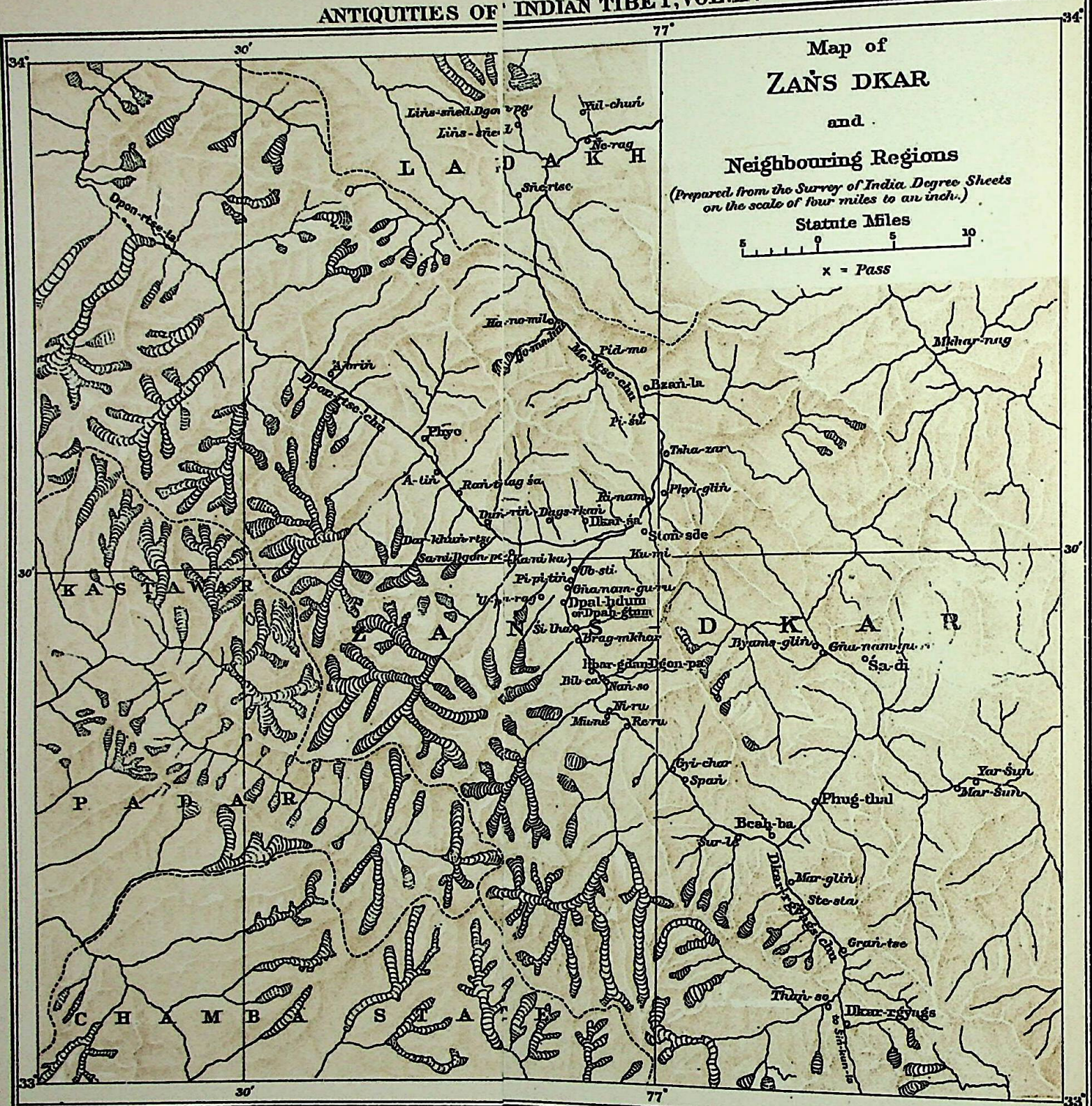
II. Register of the vassal-kings of Bzaṅ-la in Zaṅs-dkar

INTRODUCTION

In September, 1914, I paid a short visit to the Dpe-thub monastery, five miles to the south of Leh, with a view to examining its antiquities. Here I made the acquaintance of its chief lama, Sku-gżog Bakula, who is supposed to be the spiritual descendant of Vakula of old, one of the famous sixteen sthaviras. In the course of our conversation it was pointed out that according to the flesh Bakula was descended from a line of vassal-kings who used to reside at Bzaṅ-la, in Zaṅs-dkar, as well as at He-na-sku, in Pu-rig. Their kingdom probably stretched from one place to the other. I asked at once whether Bakula was in possession of a pedigree proving such an assertion, to which he replied in the affirmative. Unfortunately Bakula could not find the required document at once, and I had to leave Ladakh without having taken possession of it. Early in 1915, however, it was found, and an exact copy, prepared by Joseph Tshe-brtan of Leh, was sent to my address through the agency of Sir John Marshall.

Together with the Tibetan version I also received an Urdū version of the same text. This Urdū version had been prepared for and submitted to the Kashmiri Wazīr of Ladakh, when the latter made inquiries into the personalities of certain holders of *jāgīrs* some time ago. The Urdū version proved to be of importance in one particular, when a name of a king was forgotten in Joseph's Tibetan copy. I restored this name from the Urdū version and inserted it in its proper place in the Tibetan version. It is put in brackets.

As regards Joseph Tshe-brtan's Tibetan copy, it is furnished with a few additions of an explanatory character by Joseph. In the following text they are inserted in brackets.

TEXT

|| ཟངས་དཀར་བཟང་ལའི་རྒྱལ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་དཀར་ཆགས་ནི་འདི་ལྟར་རོ ||

སྤུན་མཆེད་ཆེ་བ་དཔལ་མགོན་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་མཛད། ཆུང་བ་བདེ་གཙུག་མགོན་ཟངས་དཀར་པ་དམ[དཔལ་ལྡུམ་]་རྒྱལ་པོ་མཛད། དེའི་སྲས་སེང་གེ་ལྡེ། དེའི་སྲས་འཇོམ་གྲགས་ལྡེ་དང་། ཆུང་བ་མདྣ་ལ་ལྡེ། འཇོམ་གྲགས་ལྡེ་དཔལ་ལྡུམ་མཁར་ན་བཞུགས། སྤུན་མཆེད་མདྣ་ལ་ལྡེས་བཟང་ལ་ལ་བདག་བརྒྱབས་པའི་གདུང་རབས་འདི་བཞིན་ནོ། མདྣ་ལ་ལྡེའི་སྲས་རིན་ཆེན་དཔལ་ལྡེ། [དེའི་སྲས་དགེ་འདུན་དཔལ་ལྡེ།།] དེའི་སྲས་བསོད་ནམས་དཔལ་ལྡེ། དེའི་སྲས་བཀྲིས[བཀྲ་ཤིས]་དཔལ་ལྡེ། དེའི་སྲས་མགོན་དཔལ་ལྡེ་དང་། ཆུང་བ་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་[བླ་མའི་གོ་སའི་མིང་ངོ་]བརྩོན་འགྲུས་རྒྱལ་མཚན། ཆེ་བའི་སྲས་གཉིས་ལས་ཆུང་བ་ཆུང་པ་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་བརྩོན་འགྲུས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དཀར་ཞ་དགོན་པར་བླ་མ་བྱས། ཆེ་བ་མགོན་དཔལ་ལྡེས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་མཛད་ནས་དེ་ལ་སྲས་གཉིས། ནམ་མཁའ་དཔལ་ལྡེ་དང་བླ་མ་མཛད་པའི་ཆུང་པ་བྱུག་པ་བློ་བཟང་རྒྱལ་མཚན། ཆེ་བའི་སྲས་གཉིས་ཁྲི་དཔལ་ལྡེ་དང་ཚེ་དབང་དཔལ་ལྡེ། ཆེ་བའི་སྲས་ཚེ་དབང་རབ་བརྟན་དཔལ་ལྡེ། ཆུང་བ་ཞབས་དྲུང་བློ་བཟང་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་བླ་མ་མཛད། ཆེ་བའི་སྲས་ཡེ་ཤེས་དཔལ་ལྡེ། .དེ་ལ་སྲས་བསོད་ནམས་དཔལ་ལྡེ་དང་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལྡེ། ཆེ་བའི་སྲས་ཡེ་ཤེས་མཐའ་ཡས་བླ་མ་བྱས། བར་པ་ཡེ་ཤེས་དོན་ཡོད་དཔལ་ལྡེ། ཐ་ཆུང་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཕུན་ཚོགས་དཔལ་ལྡེའི་སྲས་མོ་ཟླ་མཛེས་དབང་མོ།

NOTES

The genealogical tree of the Bzaṅ-la kings, which was drawn up according to the above account, contains two generations whose dates may be approximately fixed. The first generation is that of Dpal-mgon and Bde-gtsug-mgon, the sons of the famous Ladakhi king, Ñi-ma-mgon. They lived in the tenth century. The other generation is that of Ye-śes-don-yod-dpal-lde and Ye-śes-phun-tshogs-dpal-lde, who are said to have died two years after the conquest of Zaṅs-dkar by the Dogra general Zorawar. Their death may have taken place in 1843 A.D. The above pedigree contains only fourteen generations between these two fixed points. This is not sufficient to cover a period of about nine centuries. Going by the example of the genealogical rolls of the chiefs of Cig-tan and those of Sod, I presume that in the present case also we may agree that the predigee is coherent between the second member and the last, and that a good number of missing links have to be silently added between the first and second member. Or, in other words, the chiefs of Bzaṅ-la started a genealogical roll of their own, when they began their career as separate chiefs of Zaṅs-dkar. As, however, they had not forgotten that they as well as the principal line of Zaṅs-dkar chiefs, viz. the chiefs of Dpaḥ-gtum, were descended from Ñi-ma-mgon's famous son, Lde-gtsug-mgon, they put the name of the latter prince at the head of the line. To furnish the Bzaṅ-la genealogy with approximate dates we have to assign about thirty years to each generation and work upwards, beginning with the year 1800 A.D., the approximate year of the birth of Ye-śes-don-yod-dpal-lde and his brother. Then king Seṅ-ge-lde would have the years 1440–70 A.D. as the approximate time of his reign. It was he who divided the kingdom of Zaṅs-dkar between his two sons, and thus created the Bzaṅ-la principality. This principality may have been of very small size during its first years; but in later times it included He-na-sku, as asserted by Bakula, and we may be not far wrong if we suppose that several other intervening villages, for instance, Kanji, may have formed part of the principality.

Of some interest are also the titles of the royal lamas, viz. Druṅ-pa-rgyal-tshab, Druṅ-pa-phug-pa, and Żabs-druṅ. Although the word Żabs-druṅ is generally translated by 'secretary', we know that Żabs-druṅ-rin-po-che, 'the precious secretary,' is the title of the spiritual ruler of Bhutan. And it is not impossible that a reincarnation of the spiritual ruler of Bhutan was once discovered in the royal family of Bzaṅ-la; for there were relations of a religious, as well as political, character between Ladakh and Bhutan, as we know from the Ladakhi chronicles. *Druṅ-pa* is generally translated by 'servant'. Here it is a title of a lama, similar to *Żabs-druṅ*; *rgyal-tshab* is something like 'vice-gerent'; and *phug-pa* means 'cave-dweller'. The Dkar-śa (probably = Dkar-rgya) monastery is one of the principal Dge-lug-pa monasteries of Zaṅs-dkar.

As regards the title *Sku-gżog*, 'incarnation,' the spelling is not quite certain. S. Ch. Das gives *sku-śogs*. It is used as the title of the incarnation of the principal lama of a monastery, who is supposed to have descended in Khubilganic manner from the founder, or from a still more ancient personage. As has already been pointed out, Bakula derives his descent from the *sthavira* Vakula, who lived almost 2,000 years ago. The Ri-rdzoṅ monastery (Dge-lug-pa) is situated in a side valley between Sa-spo-la and Sñuṅ-la.

The short note regarding the assistance lent to Zorawar, the Dogra general, by two of the Bzaṅ-la kings was probably added to the pedigree with the view to impressing the Kashmir government. The petitioners may have hoped to be treated more favourably by that government, if they proved their descent from a helper of the conqueror. That they actually assisted the Dogras may have been due to a hostility which probably existed between the Dpal-ldum and Bzaṅ-la kings of Zaṅs-dkar.

As is shown by Joseph Tshe-brtan in his last note, the dynasty of Bzaṅ-la boasts of the dynastical name Lde. This name it shares with the other Zaṅs-dkar dynasty, and with the Gu-ge dynasty. All these lines of kings are descended from Bde-gtsug-mgon. In this name the spelling of the first syllable is given as here *Bde*, whereas in other documents we find the spelling *Lde*. This is another argument in favour of my view that *Lde* is only a dialectical form of the word *Bde*, 'blessing, happiness.'

As the above pedigree shows, the male line of the Bzaṅ-la vassal-kings came to an end in 1843 A.D. At present we find only descendants in the female line.

As we learn from the Ladakhi chronicles, some of the Ladakhi queens came from Bzaṅ-la.

Inscriptions referring to the Bzaṅ-la kings have not yet been discovered. Bakula is mentioned in an inscription at Dpe-thub, and the name Tshul-khrims-ñi-ma is found on one of the walls of the cave temples of Sa-spo-la. But here the inscription may refer to a more ancient personage of the same name.

III. The Kings of Gu-ge

According to the Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ (p. 152)

It is not very probable that the original MS. of the chronicles of the Gu-ge kings is still in existence. When the vassal kingdom of Gu-ge was separated from the West Tibetan empire and annexed by Lhasa (*c.* 1650 A.D.), the Lhasa government apparently did its best to eradicate in the new province every reminiscence of the glory of the former Gu-ge kings. Fortunately, a brief account of these important kings is still found in Tibetan historical works. The part played by the early Gu-ge kings in the re-establishment of Buddhism in Tibet, after Glaṅ-dar-ma's persecution, was of too great importance to be passed over in silence; and for this reason no history of Lamaism was considered complete without an account of the Gu-ge kings. The first to publish a genealogical tree of them, from the Tibetan, was Schlagintweit in his *Könige von Tibet.* He gives their names under Nos. 46–54 and 99–113 of his genealogical table I. He was, however, not quite certain of the connexion between these two groups of names. He gives, in addition, the Mongolian forms of the names of all those kings, from which circumstance we learn that this genealogy had already found its way into the historical literature of the Mongols. The Mongol names, as they occur in Schlagintweit's tables, completely agree with those of the *Bodhimör*. But in Ssanang-Ssetsen's *History of the Mongols* somewhat different Mongol names are used for the same kings. I. J. Schmidt, in his translation of Ssanang-Ssetsen, was, in fact, the first to tell us something of the Gu-ge kings. But I imagine that only very few persons were able to recognize this line of kings in their Mongolian dress. In his notes Schmidt gives a translation of the corresponding chapters of the *Bodhimör*. One line of the *Bodhimör* account is of particular interest. We read in Ssanang-Ssetsen, notes from the *Bodhimör*, p. 369, as follows :—' The above genealogy of chiefs is only a short extract. He who wants to read the fuller history of these kings, their doings, and institutions, may look them up in the various chronicles of their reigns.' This note proves that a number of more detailed chronicles must at one time have existed in Gu-ge. Besides the short chronicle given below, which is here for the first time translated into English, the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, pp. 185–6, as well as other Tibetan and Mongolian works, contains detailed accounts of Atīśa's mission to Tibet during the reigns of Ye-śes-ḥod and Byaṅ-chub-ḥod of Gu-ge. As translations of these chapters occur not only in Schmidt's Ssanang-Ssetsen (pp. 425 sqq.), but also in S. Ch. Das' *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow* (1893, pp. 50 sqq.), it will suffice now to refer to those publications. The Tibetan text of the

Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ was published by S. Ch. Das, Rai Bahadur, in 1908 (Calcutta, Presidency Jail Press), together with a brief index. An English translation has not yet appeared.

TEXT (p. 152)

འོད་སྲུངས་ཀྱི་སྲས་དཔལ་འཁོར་བཙན་ནི་འབངས་ཀྱིས་བསྒྲོང་སྟེ། དབུས་གཙང་མཐིལ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཤོར། དེའི་ཆེན་མའི་སྲས་སྐྱིད་ལྡེ་ཉི་མ་མགོན་དང་། ཆུང་མའི་སྲས་ཁྲི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྩེགས་དཔལ་གཉིས་ཡོད་པའི། དང་པོ་མངའ་རིས་སྤུ་ཧྲངས་སུ་བྱོན་ཞིང་། གཉིས་པ་གཙང་སྟོད་དུ་བཞུགས། ཉི་མ་མགོན་ལ་སྲས་སྟོད་ཀྱི་མགོན་གསུམ་ལས་ཆེ་བ་དཔལ་ལྡེ་རིག་པ་མགོན་གྱིས་མང་ཡུལ་དང་། འབྲིང་པོ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྡེ་མགོན་གྱིས་སྤུ་ཧྲངས་དང་། ཆུང་བ་ལྡེ་བཙུན་མགོན་གྱིས་ཞང་ཞུང་སྟེ་གུ་གེའི་མངའ་འོག་གསུམ་བཟུང་ཞིང་། ཕྱི་མ་དེ་ལ་སྲས་གཉིས་ཏེ། འཁོར་རེ་དང་སྲོང་ངེའོ།།

འཁོར་རེ་ལ་སྲས་ནཱ་ག་རཱ་ཛཿ། དེ་བ་རཱ་ཛཿ། གཞུང་སྟེ་གསུམ་གྱིས་ཕྱིས་སུ་རྟེན་ལས་རབ་བྱུང་གི་རྟགས་བླང་བའི། ཡབ་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཡེ་ཤེས་འོད་ཟེར་མོད་ཀྱང་། ལོ་ཆེན་དང་མཁན་སློབ་གཅིག་པ་ནི་མཆན་གྱིས་ཤེས་སླ་ལ། དེས་གཙུང་སྟོང་དེ་ལ་སྲིད་གཏད་ཚེ། སྐྱོད་འདུལ་བ་རང་ཞིང་། སྨྲྀ་ཏི་སོགས་ཀྱང་དེ་དུས་བྱོན། སྟོང་དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ལྡེའི་དུས་སུ། སུ་བྷུ་ཏི་ཤྲཱི་ཤཱན་ཏི་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ཏེ། ཤེར་ཕྱོགས་བསྒྱུར་ཞིང་། ལོ་ཆེན་གྱི་སློབ་མ་དག་གིས་ཀྱང་མང་པོ་བསྒྱུར། དེ་ལ་སྲས་གསུམ་ལས་འོད་ལྡེ་སྲིད་བཟུང་ནས། གཙུང་བྱང་ཆུབ་འོད་དང་ཞི་བ་འོད་གཉིས་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་ཞིང་། ཛོ་བོ་ཨ་ཏི་ཤ་སྤྱན་དྲངས། འོད་ལྡེའི་སྲས་རྩེ་ལྡེ་དུས་ཞི་བ་བཟང་པོ་བོད་དུ་བྱོན་ཞིང་། དབུས་གཙང་ཁམས་ཀྱི་མཁས་པ་འདུས་པའི། མངའ་རིས་ཆོས་འཁོར་ཆེན་པོ་བྱུང་། དེའི་སྲས་འབར་ལྡེ། དེ་ནས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྡེ། བྷ་ལྡེ། ནཱ་ག་དེ་བ། བཙན་ཕྱུག་ལྡེ་ཡ་ཚོར་བྱོན། དེའི་སྲས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྡེ། དེ་ནས་རྣམ་པར་གྲགས་བཙན་ལྡེ། གྲགས་པ་ལྡེས་གསེར་ཐོ་བདུན་བཅུ་ལས་འཛམ་དབྱངས་དང་། ཉེར་བཞི་ལས་མཆོད་རྟེན་དང་། དངུལ་དཀར་ཞོ་བརྒྱ་ལས་བདེ་མཆོག་དང་། སྟོང་བཅུ་གཉིས་ལས་ཐམས་སྐུ་བཞེངས། དེའི་སྲས་ཨ་ནོ་ལྡེས་རྡོ་རྗེ་གདན་ལ་སྤྱན་ཚ་ངན་མེད་ཀྱིས་ཐུབ་པའི་གྲོང་ཁྱེར་ཞེ་བཞི་དེ་དུས་སོག་པོ་ལ་ཡོད་པ་ཉོས་ནས། དེའི་སྲས་ཀྱིས་རེར་མཆོད་བརྒྱུད་བཙུག། དེའི་སྲས་འཛིན་དར་རྒྱལ་དང་ཨན་ན་རྒྱལ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཕྱི་མས་གསེར་གྱི་བཀའ་འགྱུར་བཞེངས། དེའི་སྲས་རེ་ཙ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་མི་སྡེ་མང་པོ་བླང་བ་དང་། དངུལ་གྱི་སྐུ་ཐུབ་མཆེད་བརྒྱུད་བཞེངས་ཤིང་། འཇུལ་སྣང་གི་གསེར་ཏོག་ཕུབ། དེའི་སྲས་སང་གྷ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་སྲ་འཛིན་རང་རྒྱལ། དེའི་སྲས་ཨ་འཛིད་རྒྱལ་ཕྲ་ར་ས་སྐྱོར་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་ཡང་། སླར་རྒྱལ་པོ་བྱས་པའི་སྲ་ཀ་ལན་རྒྱལ། (ཉལ?)། དེའི་སྲ་པར་ཏབ་རྒྱལ་ནས་ཡ་ཚེའི་རྒྱལ་བརྒྱུད་ཆད་དོ། ཞ(སྤུ)་ཧྲངས་ནས་བསོད་ནམས་ལྡེ་ཡ་ཚོར་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ནས། སྲིད་བཟུང་བ་ལ་ཟ་ཀ་རྒྱལ་དུ་གྲགས་སོ།།

དེའི་སྲས་ཟ་ཉི་རྒྱ[ལ]་དང་བློན་དཔལ་ལྡན་གྲགས་པ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ལྷ་སའི་བཅུ་གཅིག་ཞལ་གྱི་སྙིང་གི་རྒྱ་ཐེབས་བཟུང་།།

TRANSLATION

Dpal-ḫkhor-btsan, the son of Ḫod-sruṅs, was murdered by his subjects, and the kingdom of Middle Dbus-gtsaṅ was lost. The son of his chief queen was Skyed (Skyid)-lde-ñi-ma-mgon, and the son of the lesser queen was Khri-bkra-śis-rtsegs-dpal. The former of the two went to Mṅaḫ-ris and Spu-raṅs; the other remained at Gtsad-stoṅ. The eldest of Ñi-ma-mgon's three high sons was Dpal-lde-rig-pa-mgon. He received Maṅ-yul; the second (middle one), Bkra-śis-lde-mgon, received Spu-raṅs; and the youngest, Lde-btsun-mgon, received Žaṅ-žuṅ and the three provinces of Gu-ge. The latter had two sons, viz. Ḫkhor-re and Sroṅ-ṅe.

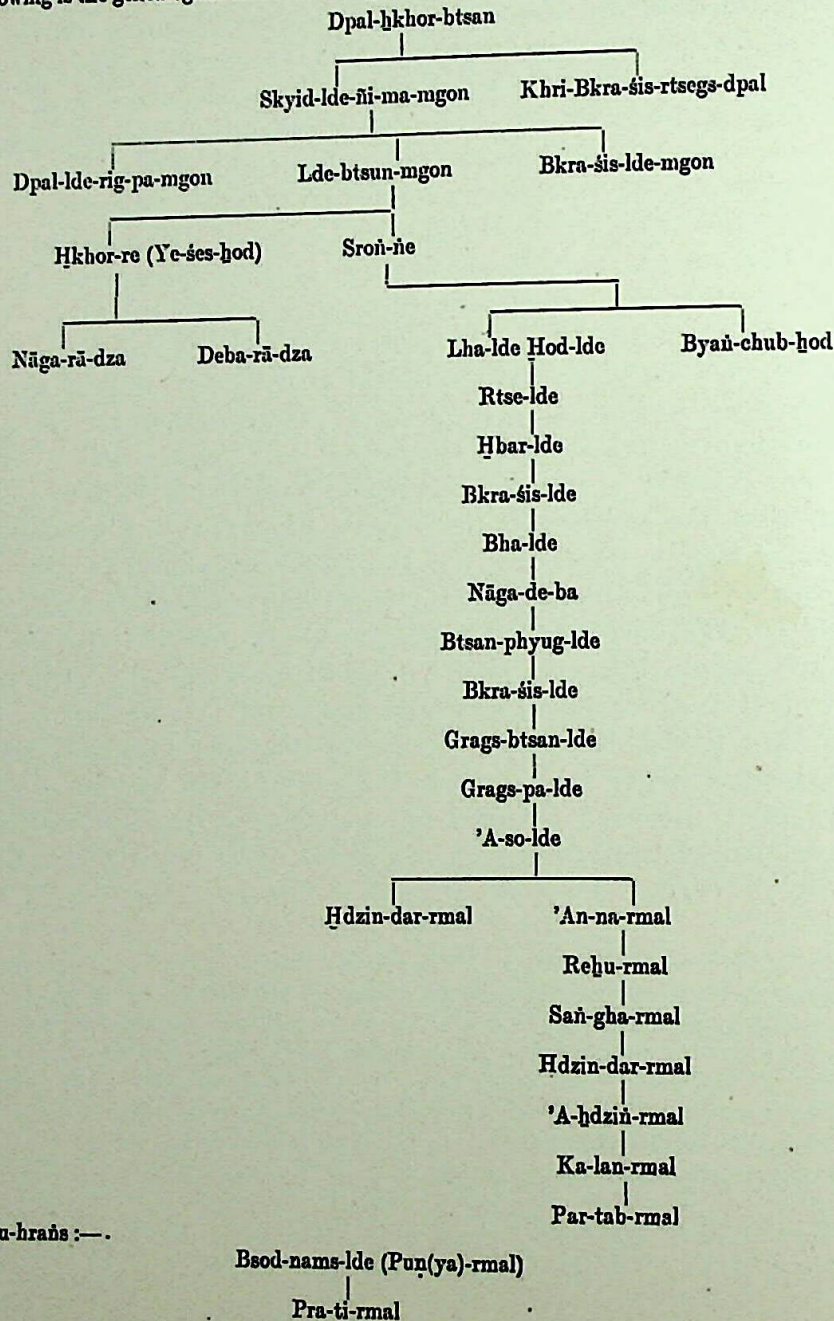
Ḫkhor-re had [two] sons, viz. Nāga-rā-dza and Deba-rā-dza. Later on the three together (i.e. the father with his two sons) took the sign of monkhood. Although the [religious] name of the father was Ye-śes-ḫod, he became better (easier) known by the names Lo-chen (Paṇḍit) and Mkhan-slob-gcig-pa ('only Guru'). When he had entrusted the government to his younger brother Sroṅ-ṅe, the hymns and *Vinaya* being widely known, the *Smṛitis* (*śāstras*) came at that time. During the reign of Sroṅ-ṅe's son, Lha-lde, Subhuti-Śri-śanti (Subhūti-śrī-śānti) was invited [to Tibet] (from Kashmir). He translated the *Śer-phyogs*, and Lo-chen's disciples translated many [other books]. He had three sons. Of these Ḫod-lde reigned, whilst Byaṅ-chub-ḫod and Żi-ba-ḫod, the younger ones, became monks, and invited Lord Atiśa [to Tibet]. During the reign of Ḫod-lde's son, Rtse-lde, Żi-ba-bzaṅ-po (Śāntibhadra) arrived in Tibet; and, when the wise men of Dbus-Gtsaṅ and Khams had assembled, the great religious council (*chos-ḫkhor-chen-po*) of Mṅaḫ-ris took place. His son was Ḫbar-lde, then Bkra-śis-lde, Bha-lde, Nāga-de-ba; Btsan-phyug-lde went to Ya-tshe. His son was Bkra-śis-lde. Then, in order, Grags-btsan-lde, Grags-pa-lde. He erected [an image of] Ḫjam-dbyaṅs (Mañjughosha) of 70 *bre* (a weight) of gold, a *stūpa* of 24 *bre* [of gold], an [image of] Bde-mchog (Śambara) of 500 [Rupees] of white silver, and [an image] of Byams-pa (Maitreya) of 12,000 [rupees]. His son, 'A-so-lde, bought those 44 towns which had at an earlier time been offered to Rdo-rje-gdan (Vajrāsana) by Mya-ṅan-med (Aśoka). At that time they belonged to the Sog-pos (Mongols), and he established a religious brotherhood, which was sustained by their taxes. His sons were Ḫdzin-dar-rmal and 'An-na-rmal; of these two the latter had the *Bkaḫ-ḫgyur* copied in gold. His son Reḫu-rmal conquered many Indian nations; he erected [images of] the eight Sman-bla in silver, and provided golden roofs for the Ḫphrul-snaṅ temple. His son was Saṅgha-rmal; and his son Ḫdzin-dar-rmal. Ḫdzin-dar-rmal's son, 'A-ḫdziṅ-rmal, first became a monk at Sa-skya; [then] he became king again. His son was Ka-lan-rmal. With his son, Par-tab-rmal, the family of the Ya-tshe kings came to an end. Bsod-nams-lde of [S]pu-raṅs was invited to Ya-tshe, and, when he began to reign, he took the name Puṇ[ya]-rmal. His son Pra-ti-rmal and the minister Dpal-ldan-grags-pa began the Chinese roof (golden roof ?) over the Bcu-gcig-żal (Avalokita temple) at Lha-sa.

NOTES

According to the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* (*supra*, p. 48) the original kingdom of the Gu-ge kings was not Gu-ge, but Zaṅs-dkar and Spyi-ti. Gu-ge was given to Bkra-śis-mgon, not to Lde-gtsug (btsun ?)-mgon, when King Ñi-ma-mgon divided his kingdom among his three sons. As, however, Bkra-śis-mgon died without issue (as far as we know), his kingdom was apparently seized by Lde-gtsug-mgon's descendants. This account of the *Rgyal-rabs* is not in agreement with the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (p. 152), as the above translation shows us. But I am of opinion that in all matters concerning the Western parts of Tibet the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* ought to be given the preference. The most famous among the early lama kings of Gu-ge who resided at Mtho-ldiṅ are Ye-śes-ḫod and Byaṅ-chub-ḫod. It was my good fortune to discover inscriptions by these two royal lamas on my expedition in 1909. They were found at Poo, in Kunawar, and at Tabo, in Spyi-ti. These inscriptions prove that the ancient Gu-ge kingdom included at least parts of Kunawar and Spyi-ti. It is of special interest that Atīśa's Tibetan name, Phul-byuṅ, occurs in the Tabo inscription. With regard to chronology, the following dates may be deduced from the

Reḥu-mig, translated by S. Ch. Das, C.I.E. Rai Bahadur, JASB., 1889, p. 41, and Csoma de Körös' *Baiḍūrya-dkar-po* (appendix to his Grammar, p. 184) :—

Atīśa was born in the year	980 A.D.
Atīśa arrived in Mṅaḥ-ris (Gu-ge) in	1038 A.D.
Atīśa visited Great Tibet (Lhasa) in	1041 A.D.
Atīśa died in	1053 A.D.
The great religious council of Mṅaḥ-ris under King Rtse-lde took place in . .	1075 A.D.

The following is the genealogical tree of the Gu-ge and Ya-tshe kings, based on the above account :—

From Pu-hraṅs :—.

Bsod-nams-lde (Puṇ(ya)-rmal)

Pra-ti-rmal

This genealogical tree differs from that of the *Bodhimör* (compare Schlagintweit's tables) in the following points:—(1) Bha-lde and Nāgadeba are, according to the *Bodhimör*, one and the same person. (2) The *Bodhimör* inserts a king, A-rog-lde, between Grags-pa-lde and 'A-so (A-sog)-lde. (3) According to the *Bodhimör*, Saṅ-gha-rmal and Ḥdzin-dar-rmal are brothers. (4) Pra-ti-rmal is called in the *Bodhimör* Prite-rmal. Several other names are also slightly different. Let me add that the Indian name of Gu-ge is Goggadeśa (Jonarāja's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, v. 1106); for Gogga, or Gugga, see Cunningham in JASB., xiv, p. 80; xvii, p. 159.

Of King Btsan-phyug-lde it is stated that he went to Ya-tshe, a place which I have not yet succeeded in tracing on any map. This statement may mean either a change of capital or a jump to a minor branch of the line. Btsan-phyug-lde was possibly a younger brother of a king and received the town of Ya-tshe as his portion, whilst the principal line continued to reign at Mtho-ldiṅ. Thus we learn from the above account that another line of kings of the Lde dynasty (probably also the descendants of some younger brother of a Gu-ge king) reigned in Pu-hraṅs. As the kings of Ya-tshe made valuable offerings to the Buddhist cause, they may have been in great favour with the lamas and their chroniclers. Therefore their pedigree was preserved, whilst that of the kings of the principal line was allowed to drop into oblivion. As the names of the later Ya-tshe kings would suggest, the dynasty became more and more Hinduized. As the syllable *rmal* frequently occurs in the names of the kings of Ya-tshe, we may call this dynasty the Rmal dynasty. The word *rmal* probably corresponds to the Indian *malla*. Malla dynasties are known to have existed in Nepal and neighbouring countries from early times. Their fame may have induced the Ya-tshe kings to adopt their name.

When the line of the Ya-tshe kings came to an end, a prince of Pu-hraṅs was invited to become king of Ya-tshe, and he also received a Hindu name.

As we know from d'Andrada's account (*L'India Orientale . . . descritta da Michelangelo Lualdi Romano*, Rome, 1653, pp. 361–6), a king [of Gu-ge ?] reigned at Tsa-pa-raṅ in 1624 A.D. His name was possibly Khri-Bkra-śis-grags-pa-lde, as suggested by the Tabo inscription. This name is a combination of the names of two early Ya-tshe kings, and thus speaks in favour of a close family connexion between the Ya-tshe and Tsa-pa-raṅ dynasties.

My thanks are due to Dr. F. W. Thomas for his translation of several difficult passages.

IV. The Chronicles of Cig-tan

When I travelled in the territory of the old principality of Cig-tan in Ladakh, in 1906, I was told that the present ex-chief of Cig-tan was in possession of a chronicle. The ex-chief, who then resided at Dkar-dkyil, asserted, however, that the original copy of the chronicle had disappeared. As, nevertheless, his father had compelled him in former years to learn the chronicle by heart, he was ready to dictate it to my munshi, Ye-śes-rig-ḥdzin of Kha-la-rtse. The latter wrote down the tale afresh, and from his copy the following text is taken.

The principality is situated on a small tributary of the Indus, which falls into this river opposite to the village of Mdaḥ. The valley stretches from south to north, and in its best days the principality may have extended over about 50 kilometres in the valley.

In the Chronicles of Ladakh the principality is mentioned for the first time under Ḫjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal in the sixteenth century. There the name of the country is given as Pu-rig (Bu-rig). At that time the chief of Pu-rig (Cig-tan) had embraced Muhammadanism, and he was involved in a war between the Ladakhis and Baltis. In the seventeenth century the principality was again involved in a war between the Ladakhis under Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal and the Khri-Sultan of Dkar-rtse. Since then it is not again mentioned in the Ladakhi Chronicles.

TEXT

ཅིག་དན་གྱི་ཇོ་རབས་ནི །

དང་པོ། དར་གོའི་མཁར་དང་། ཀུག་ཤོའི་མཁར། ཅིག་དན་གྱི་མཁར་བཙོ་མཁན་གྱི་མེས་པོ། ཇོ་ལྷུང་མཁན་མ་ཡིག་ཟེར་མཁན་དེ་བྲུ་ཤར་གྱི་ཡིད་ནས་ཡོང་སྟེ། དར་གོའི་མདུན་ལ་བསྡེབ་སོང་། དེར་བསྡེབ་སྟེ། སྐྱར་གའི་བེར་ཀ་ཞིག་འཁྱེར་ཏེ་ཡོད་ཚུག། དེ་རྩ་ས་ཁྲད་བདེ་མོ་དང་། ཆུ་ཡོད་ཅེས་ཤེས་ཏེ། དེ་བེར་ཀ་སྐམ་པོ་བཙུག་སྟེ། སྔོན་ལམ་ཞིག་བཏབས།

ང་མི་ཚང་མའི་ཁ་དཔོན་པོ་ཞིག་ལྡན་ན།

འདི་ས་ཁྲད་ལ་ཡུལ་ཞིག་འཚུགས་ན།

འདི་བེར་ཀ་ཚུགས་ཤིག།

ཟེར་ཏེ། བཙུག་སྟེ་ན། གཉིད་ཅིག་ལོགས། གཉིད་ཚད་དེ་བལྟས་པ། བེར་ཀ་སྐམ་པོ་ལ་ཁོལ་སྐྱེ་སྐྱེ་ཡོད་ཚུག། དེ་ནས་ཁོས་ཡུལ་བཙོས།།

དེའི་དུས་ལ་བྲུ་ཤར་གྱི་ཡིད་ནས་ཏི་སུག་དང་གང་ག་སུག་ཟེར་མཁན་གྱི་ལྷ་མོ་གཉིས་བསྡེབ། དེ་ལྷ་མོ་གཉིས་ཀ་དེར་བསྡེབ་པ། དར་གོའི་ལྷ་མོས་རྒྱའི་བར་ཀ་ནས་དར་གྱི་རས་རྒྱའི་ཁ་བཏེང་སྟེ། ཡོས་ཏེ། དར་གོ་ལ་ཁྲིད་ས། དར་གོ་ལ་བསྡེབ་སྟེ་ན། ལྷུང་མཁན་མ་ཡིག་གིས་མཁར་ཞིག་བཙོ་སྟེ། ལྷ་མོ་ཏི་སུག་དང་གང་ག་སུག་གཉིས་ཀ་དེའི་མཁར་ནང་དུ་བོར་ཏེ། ལྷུང་མཁན་མ་ཡིག་ཀུག་ཤོ་

ཟེར་སའི་ས་ཁྲད་ལ་བསླེབ་པོ། དེར་ཡང་ཆུ་དང་ས་ཁྲད་བདེ་མོ་མཐོང་སྟེ། སྟག་པའི་ཟེར་ཀ་སྐམ་པོ་ཞིག་བཙུག་སྟེ། ཡང་སྨོན་ལམ་ཞིག་བཏབས།

འདི་ས་ཁྲད་ལ་ཡུལ་ཞིག་འཚུགས་ན།
ང་རང་མི་ཚང་མའི་དཔོན་པོ་ཞིག་ལ་འགྱུར་ན།
སྟག་པ་འདི་ལ་ཁོལ་སྐྱེས་ཤིག།

ཟེར་ཏེ། གཉིད་ཅིག་ལོགས་པ། གཉིད་ཚད་དེ་བལྟས་པ། སྟག་པའི་ཟེར་ཀ་ལ་ཁོལ་བཏང་སྟེ་ཡོད་ཚུག། དེ་ནས་ཡང་ཁོ་རེར་འདུག་སྟེ། ཡུལ་འཚུགས་བཅུགས། དེར་མཁར་གསུམ་བཙོས། མཁར་གཅིག་གི་མིང་ལ་གླ་གླ་མཁར། ཡང་གཅིག་གི་མིང་ལ་ བ་ གློ་མཁར། ཡང་གཅིག་གི་མིང་ལ་གློ་མཁར་བཙོས། དེར་ཟན་མི་ཟེལ་ཏེ། ལོ་མང་པོ་འདུགས།།

ཞག་ཅིག་ལ་ཅིག་ཏན་གྱི་ས་ཁྲད་ལ་བསླེབ་སྟེ་བལྟས་པ། དེའི་ས་ཁྲད་ ཚང་མ་བདེ་མོ་མཐོང་། མཁར་བཙོ་ཅེས་ཀྱི་གནས་ཡང་བདེ་མོ་མཐོང་སྟེ། དར་གོ་དང་ཀུག་ཤོ་ནས་མི་ཁྲིད་སྟེ། ཅེར་མཁར་རྩིག་ཅེས་ལ། ཚོད་བད་ལ་ཤིང་མཁན་ཅན་འདམ་པ་བ་ བུ་གཉིས་ཡོད་པའི། ཁོང་གཉིས་ཀ་ལ་བོས་མཁན་བཏང་སྟེ། ཁྲིད་ནས། ཅིག་ཏན་མཁར་བཙིགས། མཁར་ཀྱི་མིང་ལ་རྫོ་ཟེ་མཁར་བཏགས། དེ་ནས་རིམ་བཞིན་དེར་ཡུལ་ཚུགས།།

ཨ་ཕོ་ཛེ་ལྷུང་མཁན་མ་ཡིག་མཁར་ནང་དུ་འདུག་སྟེ། ཡུལ་ཚང་ཀ་ལ་རྒྱུ་ ཀུན་ བཏང་གིན་ ཞིག་ འདུགས་པ། སྲས་ཚེ་རིང་མ་ཡིག་སྐྱེས། ཚེ་རིང་མ་ཡིག་ལ་ཨ་འདམ་མ་ཡིག་སྐྱེས། ཨ་འདམ་མ་ཡིག་ལ་ཨམ་ཟེད་སྐྱེས། ཨམ་ཟེད་ལ་ཨམ་རྡོར་སྐྱེས། ཨམ་རྡོར་ལ་ཨ་ཟིད་ཐམ་སྐྱེས། ཨ་ཟིད་ཐམ་ལ་ཨ་ཡི་བག་མོ་སྐྱེས། ཨ་ཡི་བག་མོ་ལ་ཨ་ཏ་དམ་སྐྱེས། ཨ་ ཏ་ དམ་ལ་ཨ་དམ་མ་ཡིག་སྐྱེས། ཨ་དམ་མ་ཡིག་ལ་ཨ་དམ་མཁན་སྐྱེས། ཁོའི་དུས་ནས་བར་ལ་བླ་སྤྱལ་སན་གྱི་ཆོས་ལ་བརྟེན་བཅུགས། དེ་ནས་ཨ་དམ་མཁན་ལ་རྡོར་ཛེ་མཁན་སྐྱེས། རྡོར་ཛེ་མཁན་ལ་ཏ་ཟིབ་མཁན་སྐྱེས། ཏ་ཟིབ་མཁན་ལ་ཏ་དི་ཟ་ མཁན་ སྐྱེས། ཏ་ དི་ཟ་མཁན་ལ་མ་ཡི་ཡ་མཁན་སྐྱེས། མ་ཡི་ཡ་མཁན་ལ་ ཧྲུ་སེན་མཁན་སྐྱེས། ཧྲུ་སེན་མཁན་ལ་ག་བཟང་བར་སྐྱེས།།

TRANSLATION

Originally the forefather called Lord Ltsaṅ-mkhan-Malig, who is the constructor of the castles of Dar-go, Kug-śo, and Cig-tan, came from Bru-śad in Gyi-lid, and arrived before Dar-go. When he arrived there, he was carrying a stick of walnut [wood in his hand]. As he perceived that there was a beautiful site and water, he planted the dry stick, and prayed :—

> If I should become a lord over all men,
> And if in this place a town should be founded,
> May this stick begin to grow !

Thus saying, he planted the tree and went to sleep. When he awoke and looked about, he saw buds growing out of the dry stick. Then he built a town.

At that time two fairies (goddesses) called Ti-sug and Gaṅ-ga-sug arrived [there] from Bru-śad in Gyi-lid. When these two fairies arrived there, the fairy of Dar-go spread out on the water from the other side of the stream a silk blanket, invited them, and brought them to Dar-go. When they arrived at Dar-go, Ltsaṅ-mkhan-Malig built [another] castle, and placed both fairies, Ti-sug and Gaṅ-ga-sug, inside this castle.

Then Ltsaṅ-mkhan-Malig arrived at a place called Kug-śo. As he perceived that there also was water and a beautiful site, he planted a dry stick of birch, and prayed:—

If a town should come into existence in this place,
And if I should become a lord over all men,
May buds grow out of this birch [stick].

Thus saying he went to sleep. When he awoke and looked about, there were buds growing out of the birch [stick]. He then remained there also and founded a town. There he built three castles. One of them he called Kra-kra castle, another one Kro-kro castle, and the third Pa-kro castle. There his subjects increased, and he remained there for many years.

One day he arrived at the site of Cig-tan, and, looking about, perceived that the whole place was beautiful. As he also perceived that it was a beautiful site to build a castle, he brought men from Dar-go and Kug-śo. At Chor-bad were two carpenters called Tsan-ḥdas-pa, father and son. He sent to call them, and brought them [there] to build the castle. [Thus] he built the castle of Cig-tan and called it Ro-zi-mkhar. Then, in course of time, a town came there into existence.

Whilst the forefather, Lord Ltsaṅ-mkhan-Malig, resided at the castle, and governed the whole country, a son, Tshe-riṅ-Malig, was born to him. To Tshe-riṅ-Malig 'A-ḥdam-Malig was born; to 'A-ḥdam-Malig 'Am-zed was born; to 'Am-zed 'Am-rod was born; to 'Am-rod 'A-zid-tham was born; to 'A-zid-tham 'A-li-bag-śo was born; to 'A-li-bag-śo 'A-ha-dam was born; to 'A-ha-dam 'A-dam-Malig was born; to 'A-dam-Malig 'A-dam-mkhan was born; from his time [they] were made to adhere to Muhammadanism. Then to 'A-dam-mkhan Hor-jo-mkhan was born; to Hor-jo-mkhan Ha-bib-mkhan was born; to Ha-bib-mkhan Ha-ni-pha-mkhan was born; to Ha-ni-pha-mkhan Ma-li-ya-mkhan was born; to Ma-li-ya-mkhan Hu-sen-mkhan was born; to Hu-sen-mkhan Ga-bzaṅ-phar was born.

NOTES

The Cig-tan chronicle reminds us for two reasons of the Balti chronicles. In the first place, like the Balti chronicles, it ignores the early Lamaist members among its chiefs, and in the second place it speaks of a faqīr as the original ancestor of its line of chiefs.

If the chronicles were the only documents referring to the principality that had survived the ravages of time, we should be led to the conclusion that the family of chieftains was Muhammadan from the time of its emigration from Gilgit down to the present time. Fortunately, an inscription by several Lamaist chiefs of Cig-tan has been preserved in the ruined monastery. It records the renovation of this convent and gives Ltsaṅ-mkhan-bkra-śis as the name of the principal chief of those times. *Ltsaṅ-mkhan* means 'beggar' or 'faqīr', and the name Ltsaṅ-mkhan may have been used as a dynastic name among this line of chiefs.

Thus the chronicles fall into two unequal parts. The first part contains the legends of the origin of the race of chiefs and the principal towns, and the second part the names of the Muhammadan chiefs of Cig-tan, beginning with Tshe-riṅ-Malig, who embraced Islam in the sixteenth century. The first ancestor's name was probably originally only Ltsaṅ-mkhan. When the present chronicle was compiled, the word Malig was added to this name simply to give it a somewhat Muhammadan sound.

As regards the legend of the dry stick which begins to bud in answer to a prayer, it is told also at Chod, in Lahul.[1] The ancestor is stated to have emigrated from Bru-śad in Gyi-lid. Gyi-lid is the ordinary Tibetan

[1] Compare my collection, *Die historischen und mythologischen Erinnerungen der Lahouler*, tale No. 12.

name of Gilgit; Bru-śad evidently stands for Bru-śal, a town in the close vicinity of Gilgit, if it is not part of Gilgit proper. The legend is thus of some interest, as pointing to the probable Dard origin of the dynasty.

Let me add that Cig-tan as a local name is also found in the close vicinity of Leh. As the Rev. F. Peter of Leh informs me, part of the village of Chu-śod on the Indus is called Cig-tan, and there also is found a line of chiefs who call themselves after this place. I believe that the chiefs of Chu-śod Cig-tan are related to the line of Bu-rig Cig-tan. Probably several members of the Bu-rig line who could not be trusted politically were transported in former times to Central Ladakh. They became the ancestors of the line of Chu-śod Cig-tan chiefs. The following names of Chu-śod Cig-tan chiefs have been culled from documents, mostly of the times of the last independent kings of Ladakh:—Jo 'A-dam-mkhan, Jo Ma-ma (= Mahmūd)-mkhan, Jo Si-lim-mkhan, Jo Ka-rim-mkhan, Jo 'A-bhi-ḥdin (='Ābidīn).

According to the chronicles the Ro-zi castle of Cig-tan was first erected by Ltsaṅ-mkhan-Malig, the forefather of the dynasty. This is quite possible; but the present beautiful building is hardly more than four hundred years old. With regard to this building the tale of the two Balti artists, father and son, is also told. And their portraits are still among the wood carvings of the inner court of the castle.

As regards the list of names of the Muhammadan chiefs of Cig-tan, it extends over about three and a half centuries, from 1550 A.D. to 1900 A.D. Allowing twenty-five years for each reign, the chiefs may be furnished with approximate dates, as follows:—

Tshe-riṅ-Malig	1550–1575
'A-ḥdam-Malig	1575–1600
'Am-zed	1600–1625
'Am-rod	1625–1650
'A-zid-tham	1650–1675
'A-li-bag-śo	1675–1700
'A-ḥa-dam	1700–1725
'A-dam-Malig	1725–1750
'A-dam-mkhan	1750–1775
Hor-jo-mkhan	1775–1800
Ha-bib-mkhan	1800–1825
Ha-ni-pha-mkhan	1825–1850
Ma-li-ya-mkhan	1850–1875
Hu-sen-mkhan	1875–1900
Ga-bzaṅ-phar	after 1900 the present ex-chief.

The occurrence of the Dard word *tham*, king, among these names is of some interest, as again pointing to the Dard origin of the dynasty (see Cunningham, *Ladāk*, p. 33). The word *mkhan*, which is found in several names, is, of course, the Tibetan rendering of the Mughal title Khān (*Ḳhākān*). The note on 'A-ḥdam-mkhan is to be understood as meaning that under him the spread of Islam among the subjects was taken up with greater energy. It had been introduced about two centuries before. It is remarkable that Ra-him-mkhan of Cig-tan, who was executed by Zorawar, is not mentioned in the above list (see Tshe-brtan's *Account of the Dogra Wars*, infra). An inscription referring to A-ḥdam-Malig, who reigned c. 1575–1660 A.D., was found in Cig-tan. It is No. 194 of my collection recording a remission of taxes during his reign; several of the persons whom it mentions have names which are half-Muhammadan, half-Buddhist. Inscription No. 195, which seems to belong to the same times, gives no names. No inscription mentions any of the other chiefs.

As we learn from Dr. K. Marx' account of a journey to Cig-tan, the village of Kug-śo is still in possession of a beautiful grove of old birch-trees, the only birch-trees in Ladakh. Dr. Marx was also the first European to describe the ancient Buddhist temple in the now Muhammadan town of Cig-tan. (See his article 'Eine ärztliche Missionsreise im Jahre 1890', *Eben-Ezer*, Leipzig, 1897, p. 62.)

V. The Genealogy of the Chiefs of Sod

The following genealogy was obtained from Sher-'Alī-Khān, the present ex-chief of Sod, who has a house at Sod (Yul-ba-ltag), as well as at Bilargo. On a visit to Dkar-dkyil, in 1914, I was told that the chief was just then at Bilargo. Therefore I dispatched Phun-tshogs, my munshi, to visit him in that place, and to see if he were in possession of a genealogy of his family. Sher-'Alī-Khān actually produced a document written in Urdū, containing the pedigree of his family. With regard thereto the chief said that the oldest MS. of it had been destroyed in previous wars; but that the family had taken care to restore the pedigree from memory, as best they could, soon after its loss.

Phun-tshogs copied the one-sheet Urdū manuscript in Tibetan characters, and added to it a few notes in Tibetan, which the chieftain was good enough to dictate to him. The additional notes are put in brackets.

The principality was very small. It comprised only the valley of a tributary of the Wakka river, coming down from the Hamoting-pass and falling into the Wakka river between Pas-kyum and Dkar-dkyil.

The village of Yul-ba-ltag may be traced on the survey map, on which it is spelt Yuhbatak. A little to the north-east of this place on the map there occurs the word Piu (*spe-hu*, *spi-hu*, 'tower'). This may mark the site of one of the ancient castles.

TIBETAN TEXT

སོད་མཁར་གྱི་ཇོ་རབས་ནི །

བློན་ཆེ་ཁ་ཁ་ཁྭན ། དེའི་རྗེད་ནས་ཟ་གྱིར་མར(མད ?)་ཇོ ། དེའི་དུས་ལ་ལྷུན་ལ་ནས་བྱིད་ཡལ་ཆུ་ཚུག་བའི་དབང་ཡོད་ཡིན ། དེའི་རྗེད་ན་རྒྱལ་མ་ཞིག་ཇོ ། དེའི་རྗེད་ན་ནམ་ཟྭད་ཇོ་ཟེར་མཁན་གྱི་ཇོ་ཡོད་ཡིན ། དེའི་རྗེད་ན་ཧོར་ཇོ་ཁྭན ། དེའི་རྗེད་ན་ལྦོ་རོ་ཇོ ། དེའི་རྗེད་ན་ཆོ་རིང་མ་ཞིག་ཇོ ། དེའི་རྗེད་ལ་སུལ་ཏན་མ་ཞིག་ཇོ ། དེའི་རྗེད་ལ་མཧ་མད་སུལ་ཏན་ཁྭན ། དེའི་རྗེད་ལ་མིག་ཟ་སུལ་ཏན་ཁྭན ། ཨ་དམ་མ་ཞིག་ཁྭན ། མ་ཞིག་སུལ་ཏན ། དེའི་རྗེད་ན་མག་རམ་ཞེག ། ཛན་གྱིར་ཞེག ། དེའི་རྗེད་ན་ཡ་ཡ་ཁྭན ། ས་ལམ་ཁྭན ། མཧ་དི་ཁྭན ། ཨག་བར་ཨ་ལི་ཁྭན ། ཤེར་ཨ་ལི་ཁྭན ༎

[འདི་ཇོ་ཚད་མའི་བརྒྱུད་ནི་གྱིལ་གྱིད་ཀྱི་ཇོ་ནས་འོངས་ཏེ ། དེའི་མིང་ནི་བློན་ཆེ་ཁ་ཁ་ཁྭན ། ཡང་ཇོ་འདི་ལ་མཁར་གསུམ་ཡོད་ཡིན ། པ་སར་མཁར་གྱི་ཡུལ་གྱི་མིང་ལ་ཡུལ་བ་ལྟག ། དེ་ལ་ཡང་མཁའ་འཇོར་ཀྱི་མཁར་ཟེར་འདུག ། སོད་མཁར་དང་གསུམ་ཡོད ༎

སོག་པོའི་དམག་བསྒྲེབ་ནས ། མཧ་མད་སུལ་ཏན་ཁྭན་རྒྱལ་སོང་ ། ཡང་ཅིག་ཏན་དང་ ། པ་སྐྱུམ་གྱི་ཇོ་གཉིས་ཀྱང་སུལ་ཏན་ཁྭན་གྱི་ནང་ནས་ཤིང་ ། ཞི་སུལ་ཏན་ཁྭན་གྱི་སྲིང་མོ་ཞིག་མཧ་དི་ཁྭན་ལ་ནག་མ་ལ་འོངས་ནས ། ཡ་ཡ་ཁྭན་སྐྱེས ༎

ས་ལམ་ཁྭན་ཇོའི་དུས་ལ་སིང་པའི་དམག་འོངས་ནས ། སོད་ཀྱི་མཁར་པ་སར་ཟེར་མཁན་བཤིགས་ནས ། ས་ལམ་ཁྭན་ལྕགས་བཅུག་སྟེ ། ཁ་ཆུལ་ལ་སོང་ནས་སྒྲོངས ། ས་ལམ་ཁྭན་སྒྲོངས་ནས ། ཁོང་གི་སྲ་བུ་མཧ་དི་ཁྭན་ཟེར་མཁན་ལ་ཡབ་ཀྱི་གཡོག་ཟུན་ལ་ཚམ་ཡོད་མཁན་གྱི་ཀར་དར་བཏངས་མིང་ ། བབ་ཀྱང་མེད་ཡིན ། དེ་ནས་བན་ད་བསྐྱ་གྱི་དུས་ལ་བབ་ཀྱིར་མོ་༡༢༠་སོག་གོ ༎]

TRANSLATION

The Genealogy of the Chiefs of Sod Castle

The great minister Khra-khra-Khān. After him [came] the chief Za-gyir-mad (maṅ ?). In his time his power reached from Wan-la to the Gyiṅ-yal (Gyid-yal ?) River. After him [came] the chief Rgyal-Malig. After him there lived a chief called Chief Nam-rud. After him [came] Hor-jo-Khān. After him [came] the Chief Ldo-ro. After him [came] the Chief Tshe-riṅ-Malig. After him [came] the Chief Sul-tan-Malig. After him [came] Mah-mad-Sul-tan-Khān. After him [came] Mig-za-Sul-tan-Khān. [Then] 'A-dam-Malig-Khān. [Then] Malig-Sul-tan. After him [came] Mag-ram-beg. [Then] Jan-gyir-beg. After him [came] Ya-ya-Khān. [Then] Sa-lam-Khān. [Then] Mah-di-Khān. [Then] 'Ag-bar-'A-li-Khān. [Then] Ser-'A-li-Khān.

[The line of all these chiefs is descended from a Gyil-gyid chief whose name was Great Minister Khra-khra-Khān. This chief was in possession of three castles. The name of the village belonging to Pa-sar castle is Yul-ba-ltag. It is also called castle of Mkhaḥ-ḥdror ('fairy-castle'). Together with Sod castle there are three [castles].

When the army of the Mongolians arrived, Mah-mad-Sul-tan-Khān gained a victory over them. The chieftains of Cig-tan, as well as those of Pa-skyum, are also descended from the family of Sul-tan-Khān. A sister of Khri-Sul-tan-Khān became Mah-di-Khān's wife, and [a son called] Ya-ya-Khān was born.

In the days of the Chief Sa-lam-Khān an army of the Siṅ-pa (Dogras) arrived here, and Pa-sar, the castle of Sod, was destroyed. Sa-lam-Khān was fettered with iron chains; he went to Kashmir, and died there. After Sa-lam-Khān had died, his son, called Mah-di-Khān, was made Kar-dar over all that had been under his father. He was tax-free. But at the time of the Bandabast he was taxed at 130 rupees.]

NOTES

The genealogy of the Sod chiefs should be compared with that of the Cig-tan chiefs, to which it forms a valuable addition. The last ancestor of both lines of chiefs is Tshe-riṅ-Malig, or No. 7 in descent in the above line of chieftains and No. 2 in the Cig-tan line. As pointed out by me in my notes on the chronicles of Cig-tan, we are obliged to insert a number of centuries between Btsaṅ-mkhan-(or Faqīr)-Malig, the first member of the Cig-tan pedigree, and Tshe-riṅ-Malig, the second member of the same. The value of the Sod pedigree rests in the fact that it gives the names of five hitherto unknown members of the common ancestry of both houses, who have to be placed between Btsaṅ-mkhan-Malig and Tshe-riṅ-Malig. These are the names from Za-gyir-mad to Ldo-ro. Khra-khra-Khāṇ, who is found at the head of the Sod genealogy, is evidently identical with Btsaṅ-mkhan-Malig of Cig-tan; this seems to be proved by the evidence. For according to the Cig-tan chronicle Kra-kra was the name of one of the castles erected by Btsaṅ-mkhan-Malig, and, as lord of this castle, he might well have accepted the name of Khra-khra-Khān. That this line of chieftains actually came from Gilgit is also attested by the Cig-tan chronicles. The common origin of the Cig-tan and Sod families is further attested by a little note found in the above text, viz. that the Pa-sar castle is also called Mkhaḥ-ḥdror (= Mkḥah-ḥgro, 'fairy') castle. This name reminds us of the tale of Btsaṅ-mkhan-Malig's reception by fairies, when he arrived in the Cig-tan district (see the Cig-tan chronicle).

With regard to the Gyiṅ-yal (Gyid-yal ?) River, I am told that the Gilgit River is meant. This particular passage of the above text means that the kingdom of these ancient Dard chiefs once extended from Wan-la, near Kha-la-rtse, to the districts close to Gilgit. It would thus have comprised Baltistan, Pu-rig, and Lower Ladakh, or the old duchies of the Khri-Sultāns of Dkar-rtse, the Pu-rig Sultāns, and the various Balti duchies. I can well imagine that this assertion is true; for in three of the old genealogies of these chieftains, in those of Skar-rdo,

Cig-tan, and Śim-śa-mkhar-bu, I have come upon traces of a tale of their common Faqīr origin. Besides, the Wan-la inscription of the Bcu-gcig-žal temple shows us plainly that the old Dard kingdom may well have extended up to Wan-la. But already in very early times—say before 1000 A.D.—this kingdom must have split up into various little independent states.

The statement that Khra-khra-Khān was in possession of three castles is followed by the names of two castles only, viz. Pa-sar and Sod, both situated at Yul-ba-ltag, near Dkar-dkyil. Possibly the Kra-kra castle has to be added.

The statement that not only the chiefs of Cig-tan, but also those of Pas-kyum, were related to the Sod chiefs, is in agreement with local popular tradition. Besides, the following fact speaks in favour of it. When the line of Pas-kyum chiefs became extinct, their property at Pas-kyum was seized by the family of Cig-tan chiefs, in particular by Ga-bzaṅ-phar of Cig-tan. At present the Pas-kyum estate is in possession of Ga-bzaṅ-phar's son, Muhibb-'Alī-Khān, who is married to Shahar-Begam, daughter of Rehan-'Alī-Khān of Hunza. Ga-bzaṅ-phar's younger brother, Jaffar-Khān, still resides at Cig-tan. In the above text the family name of the Cig-tan-Sod chiefs is given as Sul-tan-Khān; according to the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* it is Pu-rig-Sul-tan.

A *Kārdār* is a kind of district magistrate who has to collect the taxes. *Bandobast* (or *bandobast-ṣāḥib*) is a title given by the natives to the officer who undertook the first great settlement survey of the country.

VI. The Genealogy of the Sra-sra-mun Chiefs of Śim-śa-mkhar-bu Castle, according to the Tale of Ṣah-bān of Ki-no

The following account of Sim-śa-mkhar-bu and surrounding districts was dictated to Phun-tshogs, my munshi, by a certain Śah-bān, of Dras, when I was on my tour through Pu-rig in 1914. Śah-bān claims to be a descendant of the old line of Dard chiefs who once resided at the castle of Sim-śa-mkhar-bu. He is now an old man, and claims to be 98 years of age. When he began to tell his tale, there were several other Dards present in the bungalow. But, when Śah-bān had finished the recital of his pedigree, I noticed that all these Dards smiled and suddenly left the room. Next morning I met two of them and asked what was the reason for that extraordinary behaviour, whereupon they replied that they had felt disgusted with the old man's lies. Then they told me that Śah-bān had represented himself in his pedigree as a direct descendant of Sra-sra-mun in the male line, whereas he was only a descendant from him in the female line. They then gave me some additional information about Si-lim's daughter, Rāj-Si-kim, and her marriage to Śah-bān's father, Sa-lam. This additional note is marked by brackets in the Tibetan text. They also added that the proper name of the Balti king who once ruled over the district was Sher-'Alī-Khān. This addition was also put in brackets.

As regards the size of the little principality, it may have comprised the valley of the Dras River, above its confluence with the Shingo-Shigar River, including in its best days the Dras Valley. The language of the whole district is Dard.

TIBETAN TEXT

ཤིམ་ཤ་མཁར་བུའི་སྲ་སྲ་སྨུན་གྱི་ཇོ་རབས་ནི་

ཀི་ནོ་པ་ཤཧ་བཱན་གྱི་བཤད་པ་བཞིན་ཏུ།

མཁར་བུའི་ཇོ་སྲ་སྲ་སྨུན་ཟེར་མཁན་ནི་རྒྱུན་ཟེ་ན་གར་ནས་འོངས། དེའི་ཧྲིད་ན་ཤེར་ཨ་ལི། ཤེར་ཨ་ལི་ལ་ཏ་ཡོངས། དེའི་ཧྲིད་ན་སི་ལིམ། དེའི་ཧྲིད་ན་ས་ཀྲིར། ས་ཀྲིར་ནས་བོ་རྗེངས་སྐྱེས། དེའི་ཧྲིད་ནས་སི་ལིམ། དེའི་ཧྲིད་ནས་[རབས་བཅད་དེ། བུ་མོ་རཱ་ཛ་སི་ཀིམ་ཟེར་མཁན་ཞིག་ཡུས།]

དེ་ནས་ཨ་པོ་ཧུ་སེན་གྱི་བུ་ས་ལམ་ནི་[རཱ་ཛ་སི་ཀིམ་གྱི་མག་པ་ལ་སོང།] ས་ལམ་ནས་ཤཧ་བཱན། དེ་ནས་ཨབ་ཏུལ་ལྷ། དེ་ནས་གོ་ལམ།།

ཡང་འགོ་མ་ལ་རྒྱ་ནག་གི་རྒྱལ་པོས་ཁ་རྩལ་གྱི་ཤ་ཀར་ཚོག་པ་དབང་བཙོས། དེ་རྩ་རྒྱ་ནག་པས་བབ་གྱི་ཕྱིར་ལོ་དེ་ལ་བུ་མོ་བདུན་ཟེ་ཁྱེར་ཏེ། ལོ་གཅིག་ལ་སྐྱིད་ཡང་ན་རྩ་སྤྲུལ་སྡན་གྱི་ལྷ་མ་ཞིག་གི་བུ་མོའི་རིས་ལ་བསྒོ་ནས། བུ་མོ་དེ་བའི་རྒྱང་ཏུ་སོང་ནས།

མང་ཚམ་ཏུས། དེ་ནས་བ་ཡིས་ཟུ་མོ་ལ་འདྲིས། ཁྲོད་ཅི་ལ་ཏུ་ཅུག། ཟེར་བ་མང་། ཟུ་མོས། ང་རྒྱ་ནག་ཁམས་བབ་ཀྱི་ཕྱིད་འཆིད་ཅེས་ལ་ཏུ་ཅུག་ཟེར་ས། དེ་ནས་བ་ཡིས་ཆོས་ཀྱི་དབང་གི་ཁ་ནས་རྒྱ་ནག་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཟན་ཟ་བའི་དུས་ཀྱི་ཁར་བསྐྱོབ་བཅུག་སྟེ། ཁོས་མོ་མི་འཆིད་ཅེས་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ་བྲིས་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་རང་གི་ཡུལ་ལ་ལོག །།

རྒྱ་ནག་གི་དུས་ལ་ཁ་ཆུལ་གྱི་བོ་དྲོ་མས་ཛིད་བཙུགས་སོ། དེ་ནས་དམག་ནང་ནས་ཙག་ཟེར་མཁན་ཞིག་འོངས། དེའི་རྗེད་ནས་ཏའི་ཧུར་ཟེར་མཁན་ཞིག་འོངས་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་བཙོས། དེའི་རྗེད་ནས་ཡང་ཁྱུད་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཁྲི་སུལ་ཏན་ཟེར་མཁན་ཞིག་འོངས། ཡང་སྐར་རྡོ་བ་[ཨ་ལི་ཤེར་ཁན་]བྲག་དམག་དཔོན་ཟེར་མཁན་ཞིག་འོངས་ནས། གོ་ཤེན་ཟེར་མཁན་གྱི་མཁར་ཞིག་བཙུགས། དེའི་རྗེད་ནས་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་སར་ལྷ་ཆེན་འོངས་ནས་ཏེ། མཁར་དཔོན་སྟན་ཏེ་རབ་རྒྱས་ཟེར་མཁན་གྱིས་ལྷ་མོ་ཅན་མཁར་བཙུགས། དེའི་རྗེད་ནས་པ་སྐྱམ་མ་ཤེ་ཀླ་ཐིལ་ཏེ་ཟེར་མཁན་པོ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་སྐུ་ནག་ལ་ཁྲིདས། དེའི་དུས་ལ་པ་སྐྱུན་པས་རྒྱལ་མོ་མཁར་དང་ཟུ་ཙ་མཁར་གཉིས་བཙུགས། པ་སྐྱུན་པས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་དྭགས་པ་ལ་ཐབ་ཁྲིད་རད་པིན་པ། པ་སྐྱུན་ཛོའི་མིང་ལ་ར་ཡིམ་ཁན་ཟེར་ས། རྗེས་བབས་ལ་ལ་དྭགས་འོག་དབང་མཐུང་མཁན་པོ་ལ་ཛོ་ཐལ་ཟེར་ས །།

ཤིམ་ཤ་མཁར་བུའི་མཁར་སིང་དམག་གི་དུས་ལ་སིང་པས་བཤིག་གོ །།

TRANSLATION

THE GENEALOGY OF THE SRA-SRA-MUN CHIEFS OF SIM-ŚA-MKHAR-BU CASTLE, ACCORDING TO THE TALE OF SAH-BĀN OF KI-NO

The chief of Mkhar-bu called Sra-sra-mun came from Hunze-Nagar. After him [came] Ser-'A-li. On Ser-'A-li [followed] Ta-yiṅs. After him [came] Si-lim. After him [came] Pha-kyir (Faqīr). After Pha-kyir, Bo-triṅs was born. After him [came] Si-lim. After him [the line came to an end, and a daughter only, called Rāj-Si-kim, remained].

Then Sa-lam, the son of the forefather Hu-sen, [became Rāj-Si-kim's consort]. After Sa-lam [followed] Sah-bān, then 'Ab-dul-lā, then Go-lam.

In the beginning the King of China ruled as far as the town of Kha-cul (Kashmir). Instead of taxes the Chinese used to carry off seven girls every year. In one year it was the turn of a Pīr or Mu-sul-mān priest's daughter [to go to China]. This girl went before her father and cried bitterly. Therefore the father asked her why she cried so much; and the girl said 'I cry because the Chinese will carry me off for taxes'. Then the father (through the powers of religion) caused the Chinese king to arrive [in Kashmir] at the time of dinner. [There] he wrote a letter to the effect that the girl was not to be carried off, and the king returned to his own country.

In the time of the Chinese the Bo-dro-masjid of Kha-cul was erected. Then, through a war, [a king] called Tsag arose. Then another one, called Taḫi-mur, followed. After him a king rose again out of our own midst, called Khri-Sul-tan. Then the duke of the Skar-rdo-rock called ['A-li-Ser-Khān] arrived, and built a castle called Go-śen. After him came the king of La-dvags, called Sar-lha-chen, and by [his] strong castle-

ward, called Rab-rgyas, the Lha-mo-can castle was erected. After that a lady of Pa-skyum, called Bil-ti, was married to the king [of La-dvags]. At that time the Pa-skyum [chief] erected the two castles of Rgyal-mo-mkhar and Byu-ru-mkhar. The [chief of] Pa-skyum used to pay taxes to the great Ladakhi king. The chief of Pa-skyum was called Ra-yim-Khān. The [official] who ruled over Hem-babs (Dras) under [the king of] La-dvags, was called Jo-mal.

The castle of Śim-śa-mkhar-bu was destroyed by the Siṅ-pa in the Siṅ-pa (Dogra) war.

NOTES

The first part of the text contains a short genealogy of the old Dard chiefs of Śim-śa-mkhar-bu. It is short, because the names of so many members have been forgotten; and I believe that several of its members are now in the wrong place. Still, with regard to a district where every other kind of information fails, it is of some value, as containing the names of at least some of its ancient chiefs. It contains all that Śah-bān could remember of his mother's tales. As regards the name of the first ancestor, the first syllable contains the title *sra*, this being the Dard word for Tibetan *jo*, 'chief,' 'prince.' The following two syllables, viz. *sra*, *mun*, are no longer understood; but I believe that they once more contain the title of *sra*, followed by the word *mun*[*i*], Buddhist monk. It is not impossible that here, as well as in Baltistan and in Cig-tan, a 'religious beggar' was placed at the head of the line. This idea of a mendicant ancestor is once more expressed by the occurrence of the word *Pha-kyir* (Faqīr) among the following members of the pedigree.

The second part of the tale contains a half-legendary account of the abolition of the custom of sending girls to China instead of taxes. There may be some historical foundation in this story; for it is well known that girls from Kashmir, and probably also from Dardistan, were much in demand for Oriental harems in former days. That Kashmir was actually under China in Tang times has been fully proved by Sir A. Stein in his *Ancient Khotan* (i, p. 13). But, instead of a Muhammadan priest, the original form of the tale may have meant a Buddhist or Hindu priest. With regard to the assertion that the Bo-dro-masjid (Tibetan mosque) was erected in those early Chinese days, I have come to the following conclusion:—There are several Bo-dro-masjids in Srinagar, and one of them is evidently the Jama' masjid. Referring to these, Pandit Anant Kaul says in his *Jammu and Kashmir State*, on p. 57, 'The site of the mosque is considered sacred by the Buddhists also, and even now men from Ladakh visit the Jama masjid and call it by its old name, Tsitsung Tsublak Kang.' Tsublak Kang is evidently intended for Tsug-lag-khaṅ, the ordinary Tibetan word for old Buddhist temples. The word Tsitsung is unintelligible to me. Anant Kaul further says, 'The Jama masjid was built originally by Sikander in 1404 with the materials of a large stone temple constructed by King Tārāpīḍa (693–7 A.D.).... There are remains of several stone temples round this mosque, whose builders are not known.' This note, evidently based on Sir Aurel Stein's researches in Kashmir, plainly states that the origin of the stone temple, which forms the groundwork of the famous mosque, actually goes back to the times of the Chinese Tang dynasty. Tārāpīḍa's temple, or at least some of the surrounding stone temples, may have been Buddhist, not Hindu, originally. Hence the veneration paid to the mosque by Tibetan Buddhists.

The third part of the above account contains a succession of dynasties or empires which ruled over the Pu-rig district, according to the tales received by Śah-bān from his mother. The times of Chinese rule were followed by those of a certain Tsag, it is said. It is possible that the word *Tsag* is identical with the word *Chak*, the name of a dynasty of Kashmir kings who ruled in the second half of the sixteenth century. In that case the name would appear to be in the wrong place in the above account: it would have to be placed at least after Tīmūr. The occurrence of the name Taḫi-mur (= Tīmūr) in this connexion is of particular interest. The above account is, so far, the only West Tibetan document that makes mention of one of Chingis Khān's successors as overlord over the country. But we know for certain, from Central Tibetan accounts, that Kublai Khān ruled over Ladakh, and that he even carried out a census of that country (see S. Ch. Das, *JASB*. 1904, Extra Number, p. 99). In 1399 A.D. Tīmūr passed through Jammu on his way to Samarkand. From Jammu he went on a short expedition through the mountains of Kashmir. The Khri-Sultāns are the famous chiefs of Dkar-rtse in the

Suru valley. Their power certainly extended up to the Zoji-la. Sher-'Alī-Khān of Baltistan is the famous Balti king who in about 1550–80 A.D. united all Baltistan and successfully overran Ladakh. The old Balti castle of Go-śen has disappeared. Below its site we now find the village of Go-śen (map: Goshun), less than a mile north-west of Dras. The old Ladakhi castle of Lha-mo-can has also disappeared; but a village of that name is found a little more than a mile south-east of Dras (map: Lamachun). The name given here as that of the Ladakhi king is only a title. It means 'Great Divinity (*mahādeva*) of the East'. *Lha-chen* (great divinity, *mahādeva*) was the dynastic name of the first West Tibetan dynasty; but it was also much used by the second dynasty. From the Ladakhi chronicles it becomes evident that the Ladakhi kings repeatedly entered into matrimonial relations with the chiefs of Pas-kyum, but the name Bil-ti cannot be found there. The two castles built by the Pas-kyum chiefs are no longer in existence. They were erected on two rocks facing one another on opposite banks of the Dras river, about one mile east of Dras. As regards the family of Ladakhi officials called *Jo-mal* (vice-chiefs), their descendants are still found in the Dras valley. According to Moorcroft (ii, p. 42), half of the taxes of the Dras district had, in 1820, to be sent to Kashmir. Extensive ruins of the old castle of Mkhar-bu may still be inspected on the top of a rock above the trade road, say half a mile below the bungalow of Mkhar-bu.

VII. Ahmad-Shāh's Chronicles of Baltistan

According to G. T. Vigne

G. T. Vigne visited Baltistan in 1835 A.D., at a time when this state was still practically independent. He gained the confidence of the Dmag-dpon (duke or chief) of the state, and received much valuable information from him. People told him that the chief was in possession of a rare book or MS. (possibly the chronicles). He could, however, not get hold of it, although he repeatedly asked Ahmad-Shāh to let him see it. Ahmad-Shāh assured him that he had always understood that it was destroyed in the great fire during the time of chief Zufur-Khan. Then Vigne says (ii, p. 253): 'He one day produced a book, which he had bought of a travelling pedler, and asked me what it was. It was a testament, highly ornamented with paintings, and the text was, I have no doubt, Armenian, though I do not understand anything of the language.' It must have been the pictures which induced Vigne to believe that the book was a testament. But this short passage suffices to show that in 1835 the chronicles of Baltistan were probably no longer existent at Skar-rdo. The greater is the value of Ahmad-Shāh's account of Balti history, as communicated to Vigne. Ahmad-Shāh may have had to learn the chronicles by heart, just as was the case in the Cig-tan family (see the Chronicles of Cig-tan). In spite of this loss it is very probable that certain historical books are still existent in Baltistan. Not only may several old books have been preserved in the castles of minor chiefs, but also the lost chronicles of Skar-rdo may have been re-written at a more recent time. As I am told, the Baltis make use of a particular kind of script, which runs from right to left. As Professors A. Fischer and Hultzsch tell me, it is not based on any form of Arabic character, but rather resembles the Indian form of script. I have, with difficulty, obtained a short specimen of this script. It is found in vol. iii of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, p. 33. But no traveller has as yet succeeded in purchasing an original volume of Balti literature.

It may be questioned whether the Balti chronicles have a right to range among the chronicles of vassal chiefs of the kings of Leh. To this let me reply that the history of Baltistan was for many years bound up with West Tibetan history. During the times of the Great Tibetan empire (before Glaṅ-dar-ma) Baltistan appears to have formed part of it. The foundation of the great monastery of Skar-chuṅ-rdo-dbyiṅ (probably Skar-rdo) is stated to have taken place in the Rgya district, Rgya then being the capital of Ladakh (*c.* 804 A.D.). The greatest Buddhist priest of Baltistan, Sbal-te-dgra-bcom, who erected the famous Skyor-luṅ monastery[1] in the vicinity of Skar-rdo and Si-dkar (Ba-sho valley) in A.D. 1168, was a regular member of the Lamaist church. It was the introduction of Muhammadanism in particular which alienated the Baltis from their Ladakhi neighbours. But even then the history of both nations remained inter-

[1] Another monastery of the same name seems to exist in Central Tibet.

woven. Now it is the Ladakhis who reign for a time in Baltistan; then, again, the Baltis overrun Ladakh. For this reason we shall do well to collect what remains of Balti chronicles.

ENGLISH TEXT

(Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak* . . . , London, 1842, vol. ii, pp. 251 ff.)

At one period, as they now relate, the royal race was nearly extinct, the last Gylfo (Rgyal-po) having left an only daughter, whose hand was sought in marriage by twelve vuzirs, or great men of the country; and ere a choice was made, a Fakir, holding a rod of gold in one hand and a purse containing the same metal in the other, was observed sitting on a large stone in the village of Shikari (Si-dkar). He was always to be found there, and appeared to have made it at once his resting-place and his home; and he soon acquired a reputation for extraordinary sanctity,—and the more so, as no one could tell whence he came. The young Begum was given to him by the consent of all parties, and to this union the Rajahs not only of Iskardo (Skar-rdo), but of Katakchund (Mkhar-maṅ; Khartaksho of the maps), Parkuta, Tolti, Rondu (Roṅ-mdo), and Astor, trace the origin of their families. To this day, when the heir apparent arrives at years of discretion, he is seated on the same stone, which is called the Burdo-Nest (Bu-rdo = 'son-stone'?), . . . in great state, amidst the shouts of the assembled multitude. The reigning Gylfo (Rgyal-po) first makes him salaam, and afterwards the inhabitants of Shikari (Si-dkar) present their homage. Then the principal commanders of the army, of which there are more than one hundred, come forward with their congratulations and their presents. Then follows the game of the Chaughán (polo) . . . , shooting at a mark with matchlocks or arrows, at full gallop, and the musicians and dancing girls display their attractions to the surrounding crowd, and the young Gylfo (Rgyal-po) proceeds thence to the Harem, where he receives the compliments of his lady relatives.

But the more authentic knowledge of their history, as detailed to me by Ahmed Shah, commences with Ali Shér Khan, who built the great stone aqueduct by which water is brought across the valley from the Satpur stream, and by which, also, a quantity of useful soil that would otherwise be washed away is banked up and preserved. He built also the fort on the rock, and raised an elevated platform, planted with chunars (Platanas), close under the Killah (*Qilạ*), and containing the tombs of the Gylfos (Rgyal-pos). When he and his son, and successor, Ahmed Khan, were dead, Abdul and Adam Khan, his other sons, quarrelled, and Abdul Khan, who built some of the Durwasus (*Darwāza*) or gates, already noticed, so oppressed the neighbouring Rajahs, that they sought assistance from the Mogul Emperor of Delhi, Aurangzyb, who sent an army from Kashmir. Upon which, Abdul Khan made his submission, and the brothers then went in person before the Mogul, who told them to divide the succession; but they died on their return in Kashmir.

Shamrad or Shah Murad, son of Ahmed Khan, was presented with a jaghir (*jāgīr*, 'rent-free land') in Kashmir, by the Mogul, and Ahmed Shah used to complain to me that he did not now (1835) enjoy the revenue of it. He also told me that the Killah (*Qilạ*) was in vain besieged by the troops of Aurangzyb; that they brought elephants with them (which I can scarcely believe to have been the fact), and that he had now in the castle some old guns, drums, armour, etc., and implements of war, which they had left behind them, and which, by some mistake, I neglected to see.

Shamrad or Shah Murad Khan was succeeded by Rafir-Khan, who was followed by Sultan Murad, who re-took Ladak (it having been previously taken by Ali Sher Khan, and lost by his son), and made himself master of Gilghit, Nagyr, Hunzeh (Hunza), and Chitrál. He is said to have built the bridge near the Killah (*Qilạ*) of Chitrál. The name of the first Ali Sher Khan, or Shah Murad, is still to be seen upon a mosque at Ladak.

In the time of Zufur Khan, the castle of Iskardo (Skar-rdo) was destroyed by fire, and much that was valuable was burnt with it. . . . Zufur Khan took the castle of Iskardo (Skar-rdo) from the Keluncheh (probably *Bkah-blon-che*, 'great minister'), a sect or family who came from Purik. He was young when the Keluncheh usurped the throne of Iskardo, and afterwards, by turning them out, acquired the name of Ghazi.

The Keluncheh were not Shiahs, as are the Little Tibetians, but were heretics from either the Suni, or the Shiah persuasion—following the doctrines of a Syud who came from Kashmir in the time of Rafir Khan, and wrote a book containing his own idea of the faith. In common with the Shiahs he does not respect the three first Caliphs, but venerates the memory of Ayesha, the daughter of Abubekr; and Hafza, daughter of Osman, who were both wives of the prophet, who, as such, he affirms, are worthy of honour also. In these, and some other respects, he differs from the Shiahs, but the Rajah and inhabitants of Khopalu (Kha-pu-lu), Shighur (Śi-dkar), and Purik adopt his doctrines.

Ali Sher Khan . . . father of Ahmed Shah, the present Gylfo (Rgyal-po), signalized himself by taking the castle of Shighur (Śi-dkar), and making prisoners of an invading army from Ladak.

He left two sons, Ahmed Shah of Iskardo (Skar-rdo) and Gholám-Shah, the Rajah of Parkuta on the Indus: who both reigned at the last-mentioned places, in consequence of the will of their father. . . . The territories of Ahmed Shah are extended from Chorbut (Chos-ḥbad) to Husára (Astor) inclusive. Chitral, the country of Shah Kator, has long been independent of Little Tibet (Baltistan), and the rajahs of Gilghit, Nagyr, and Hunzeh (Hunza) by no means owned him as their superior. But besides those already mentioned, Ahmed Shah was monarch of Khopalu (Kha-pu-lu), Shighur (Śi-dkar), Keris (Kye-ris), Katakchund (Mkhar-maṅ), Tolti, Parkuta, and Royal or Rondu (Roṅ-mdo). On his seal, as that of a Shiah prince, are inscribed the following words:—

Ali sher an dawur-dadgur Kez-o-yaft
Ahmed Shah bur adâ zufur.

Translation:—

Ali, the lion of that just God, through whom
Ahmed Shah obtained victory over his enemies.

B b

He had five or six sons; the eldest, whose name was, I think, Shah Murad, died just before I visited Iskardo (Skar-rdo) for the first time. He was a young man of great promise, and universally regretted. He died, it appeared, of fever, and amongst other remedies employed to cure him, I remember that one was having no furniture in his room but what was of a blue or green colour. . . . His own brother, Mohamed Shah, was by no means his equal in abilities, and having been intrusted with the government of Husára (Astor), by way of trial, abused his authority in such a manner, and showed himself so incompetent as a ruler, that his father determined to disinherit him, in favour of Mohamed Ali Khan, a son by another wife, daughter of the Shighur (Si-dkar) Rajah, whereas the mother of the deceased prince and Mohamed Shah was a daughter of the Rajah of Katakchund (Mkhar-maṅ), from which family it was usual for the Gylfos (Rgyal-pos) of Iskardo (Skar-rdo) to select a wife, as the mother of the heir-apparent. In consequence of this determination Mahomed Shah quarrelled with his father, and ran off, accompanied by two or three adherents, and put himself under the protection of Gulab Singh's Sikh lieutenant, at the castle in Purik (Bu-rig), near the frontier.

This happened after my first visit to Iskardo (Skar-rdo), in 1835, and from that time he became a puppet in the hands of Gulab Singh (of Jammu), who amused him, and worried Ahmed Shah, by promising to make him governor of Iskardo (Skar-rdo), if ever he took the country. Young Mohamed Ali Khan had been placed on the inauguration stone, and received the homage of his future subjects. He was about thirteen years of age, short, and very stout, with a mild and intelligent expression of countenance, and very fond of field sports. . . . Mirza Hyder is a little boy, a younger brother of Mohamed Ali Khan. Achmet Ali Khan is a natural son of Ahmed Shah, by a woman of lower extraction; he has by far the finest features, and most intellectual head, of any of the family, was the best shot, the best rider, and the best swordsman.

NOTES

The story of the Faqīr ancestor of the Balti chiefs reminds us of the Chronicles of Cig-tan (see the latter).

Regarding the great stone aqueduct of Sadpur (the barrage), which was stated to be the work of 'Alī-Sher-Khān, let me mention that it was visited by Miss Duncan in 1904. Miss Duncan's book, *A Summer Ride through Western Tibet*, contains several interesting photographs of these grand works (see pp. 304, 306), and a full description of the ruins. Miss Duncan was told by the natives that the barrage had been built by the last Buddhist Rāja of Baltistan. This is not impossible, considering the fact that Buddhist images have been preserved on the barrage until quite recently, as was ascertained by Miss Duncan. The following are a few notes from Miss Duncan's description (pp. 304–6):—' The barrage crosses the river just where it leaves the lake, is about 14 feet high and 6 feet thick, and has two tiers of doors, six in each tier, each door 5 feet by 2 ft. 9 in., with deep, smoothly cut, semicircular grooves to receive the rounded edges of the dressed granite slabs, now lying in the water below, which were used to close them . . . High up on the buttress wall there is an oblong slab of slate-coloured stone, the middle part sunk, leaving a sharply cut, raised edge, which looks as if it had been a memorial tablet, but there is no trace of lettering on it.' Thus, unfortunately, the history of the origin of the barrage will probably remain obscure for ever, and we shall not be able to decide whether it is the work of 'Alī-Sher-Khān or of some earlier king. About 4½ miles from the barrage are found the ancient Buddhist sculptures and inscriptions which were noticed by Vigne (see vol. i, p. 365). Vigne calls the rock ' the Buddhu stone ', and speaks of a regular translation of the inscription in *J.A.S.B.*, which, however, I have not yet been able to trace. A translation of my own, based on Miss Duncan's and my munshi Bzod-pa-phun-tshogs' copies, has appeared in Miss Duncan's *Summer*

Ride (pp. 300–2). As regards 'Alī-Sher-Khān's conquest of Ladakh, it is attested by the Ladakhi chronicles, where the full history of the war is given (see under Ḫjam-dbyańs-rnam-rgyal). The mosque inscription at Leh is said to contain the name of Aurangzīb. This is very probable, for the mosque was built at Aurangzīb's special request.

As regards the quarrel for the succession under 'Alī-Sher-Khān's sons, it is apparently referred to by Bernier (1663), when he says (Ouldinburgh, 1671–2, iv, pp. 122–3):—'I may further add that some years since, there being a dissension risen between the family of the king of the Little Tibet, . . . one of the pretenders to the crown did secretly call for the assistance of the governor of Kachemire, who by order of Chah-Jehan gave him powerful succours and put to death or flight all the other pretenders, and left this man in possession of the country, on condition of an annual tribute to be paid in crystal, musc, and wool. This petty king could not forbear coming to see Aurang-Zebe, bringing with him a present of those things I just now named.' Thus, instead of Aurangzīb, Shāh-Jahān should have been mentioned in the chronicle in connexion with the quarrel.

As regards the conquest of Ladakh under Sultān-Murād, it is not mentioned in the Ladakhi chronicles. I conjecture that the word 'conquest' does not quite suit the case. It was probably only a more or less successful plundering expedition, similar to that of the Ladakhis mentioned under the second 'Alī-Sher-Khān.

The chief Ahmad-Shāh is described by Vigne as a man of great personal strength. He says (ii, p. 231):—'Ahmed Shah, though not standing more than 5 ft. 11 in., was one of the tallest men in the country. His personal strength is said to have been very great, and many of his feats are recorded; one, I remember, was that he had broken a gun-barrel in half with his hands. He must now be a man between 65 and 70 years of age.' Of his personal appearance and character, he says (ii, pp. 236–7):—'The Gylfo's (Rgyal-po's) eyes were not large, but dark and penetrating, his eyebrows large and black, his nose and mouth well formed, his beard a little silvered, and his expression highly indicative of shrewdness and intelligence . . . I never detected him in a falsehood, and from the first day of my arrival, until that of my departure, his behaviour was always kind and respectful.'

Ahmad-Shāh's quarrel with his son Muhammad-Shāh is also mentioned by Cunningham, who says that it led to the conquest of Baltistan by Zorawar-Singh in 1841 A.D. The *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* (*supra*, p. 131) says that the Dogra army was led through the gorges of Baltistan by the chief of Mkhar-mań. This was a chief of the family of Muhammad-Shāh's mother. He probably took the side of Muhammad-Shāh because his family had been offended by Muhammad-Shāh's deposition.

Vigne's book contains (ii, p. 221) interesting portraits of Ahmad-Shāh of Baltistan in 1835 and of his son, Ahmad-'Alī-Khān.

The following is an attempt of my own to furnish the Balti chiefs with approximate dates:—

'Alī-Sher-Khān . . .	1570–1600 A.D.	Contemporary of Ḫjam-dbyańs-rnam-rgyal of Ladakh.
Ahmad-Khān, and his brothers, Abdul and Adam-Khān . .	c. 1600–1630 A.D.	Contemporaries of Shāh-Jahān 1628–1658 A.D.
Shāh-Murād . . .	c. 1630–1670 A.D.	Contemporary of Aurangzīb 1658–1707 A.D.
Rafir-Khān . . .	c. 1670–1700 A.D.	
Sultān-Murād . .	c. 1700–1730 A.D.	
Zufur-Khān . . .	c. 1730–1760 A.D.	Mentioned in the 'Grant of land to Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje'.
'Alī-Sher-Khān . .	c. 1760–1790 A.D.	„ „ 'Grant of land to Bsod-nams-bstan-ḫdzin'.
Ahmad-Khān . .	c. 1790–1841 A.D.	Contemporary of Vigne, Zorawar, etc., 1835 A.D., born c. 1770 A.D.
Muhammad-Shāh . .	c. 1841–1860 (?) A.D.	Born in c. 1820 A.D.

It is interesting that Muhammad-'Alī-Khān was placed on the inauguration stone when he was 13 years of age. Many Tibetan kings have begun to reign at 13 years of age.

VIII. The Genealogies of the Balti Chiefs

Cunningham visited Ladakh and the neighbouring countries in 1846 and 1847, a short time after Ladakh and Baltistan had lost their independence. On his journey he collected the various pedigrees of the dethroned Balti chiefs. He does not tell us from what source they were drawn, but it is very probable that these lists of names were read to him from the historical books of the Baltis, which are written in the native alphabet of Baltistan. Possibly the historical books did not contain anything but lists of names. In my article 'Ten ancient historical songs from Western Tibet' (*Ind. Ant.*, 1909, pp. 57 sqq.), I remarked that all the lines of Balti chiefs were in all probability descended from one common ancestor. I stated that the present pedigrees of the Balti chiefs all date from Muhammadan times, and contain only partly reliable matter. With a view to a trustworthy point of chronology a note in the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* may prove useful. It is there stated that 'Alī-Mīr-Sher-Khān, who was apparently master of all Baltistan, invaded Ladakh. This 'Alī-Mīr-Sher-Khān is generally called only by one or two of his names, and can be traced in all the Balti pedigrees, which were collected by Cunningham. On p. 30, where the dukes (*dmag-dpon*) of Kha-pu-lu are given, we find as No. 58 a Sultan-Mir-Khan. On p. 31, among the dukes of Kye-ris, as No. 3, there occurs a Raja Ali-Mir-Sher. On p. 32, among the dukes of Parkuda, we find an Ali-Sher-Khan as No. 4. On p. 33, among the dukes of Shigar (Śi-dkar), as No. 15, an Ali-Mir is found. On p. 35, among the dukes of Sbal-ti-Skar-rdo, as No. 1, the name Ali-Sher may be read. On p. 37, among the dukes of Roṅ-mdo, the name Ali-Sher occurs as No. 1. Thus we see that the same duke is found in the genealogies eight, nine, or ten generations before the year 1830 A.D. Only in the case of Shigar (Śi-dkar) are there thirteen names before 1830. Here a younger brother may have occasionally followed an elder brother. My belief is that all the present lines of Balti chiefs are descended from 'Alī-Mīr-Sher-Khān, who was master of the country from *c.* 1570–1600 A.D., and that there is no certainty about the names preceding him. Now I see that Cunningham was told practically the same thing by the natives themselves. He says on p. 28, 'The chiefs of Khapolor (Kha-pu-lu) and Keris, who both trace their families up from Bewán-cho, declare that all the chiefs of these countries are descended from Bikam, the tenth generation from Bewán-cho.' Now it does not make much difference whether we take Bikam or 'Alī-Mīr-Sher-Khān as the founder of the lines of Balti chiefs; for Bikam is 'Alī-Mīr-Sher-Khān's great-grandfather, according to the Kha-pu-lu pedigree.

The following is Cunningham's list (*Ladák*, p. 29) of Gyalpos (kings) of Khapolor (Kha-pu-lu) :—

(a) THE RAJAS OF KHA-PU-LU (Cunningham's Spelling)

1. Sultan Sikandar.
2. Sultan Ibrahim.
3. Sultan Ishāk.
4. Abdul Ralimad.
5. Mir Barāhir.
6. Arman Samāhir.
7. Beshrab Nam.
8. Tinlu Tung.
9. Sultan Mahmud.
10. Mehndi Ghazāli.
11. Mehndi Ibrahim.
12. Mehndi Malik Haider Shah.
13. Sultan Malik Ghazāli.
14. Sultan Malik Shah.
15. Sultan Juned Shah.
16. Sultan Haider Shah.
17. Sultan Haider Karār.
18. Sultan Shah Ibrahim.
19. Sultan Johar Fani.
20. Sultan Najm Malik.
21. Sultan Malik Rustam.
22. Sultan Mehndi Mir.
23. Sultan Malik Mir.
24. Sultan Malik Jahar.
25. Sāad Ulla Khan.
26. Sāad Karun Beg.
27. Sāad Jalil Khan.
28. Sāad Rustam Beg.
29. Sāad Atta Ulla Khan.
30. Sāad Khalil Khan.
31. Sāad Yakub Khan.
32. Sāad Mir Ghazi.
33. Sāad Malik Purnur.
34. Sāad Babūr Malik.
35. Sāad Mokhim Khan.
36. Sāad Shah Azim Beg.
37. Sāad Gohar Beg.
38. Sāad Malik Shah Shujā.
39. Sultan Yagu.
40. Sultan Yagu Latif Beg.[1]
41. Sultan Yagu Sher Ghazi.
42. Sultan Jagu Ahmed Ghazi.
43. Sultan Nur Ghazi.
44. Sultan Alemgir Ghazi.
45. Sultan Biwān-Cho.
46. Sultan Hil Ghazi.
47. Sultan Sher Ghazi.
48. Sultan Beg Mantar.
49. Sultan Torab Khan.
50. Sultan Salmundē.
51. Sultan Brol Dē.
52. Sultan Malik Baz.
53. Sultan Arzona.
54. Sultan Tikam.
55. Sultan Bikam.
56. Sultan Kurkor.
57. Sultan Bairam.
58. Sultan Mir Khan, *c.* 1570–1600 A.D.
59. Sultan Ibrahim, *c.* 1600–1630.
60. Sultan Ghazi Mir Cho, *c.* 1630–1660.
61. Sultan Husen Khan, *c.* 1660–1690.
62. Sultan Rahim Khan, *c.* 1690–1720.
63. Sultan Hatim Khan, *c.* 1720–1750. Mentioned in the 'Grant of land to Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje'.
64. Sultan Daolut Khan, *c.* 1750–1780. Mentioned in the 'Grant of land to Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje'.
65. Sultan Mahmud Ali Khan, *c.* 1780–1810.
66. Sultan Yahia Khan, *c.* 1810–1840. Mentioned in the 'Grant of land to Bsod-nams-bstan-ḥdzin'.
67. Sultan Daolut Ali Khan reigning in 1846. Mentioned in the 'Grant of land to Bsod-nams-bstan-ḥdzin'.
68. Has a son, Md. Ali Khan. Mentioned in the 'Grant of land to Bsod-nams-bstan-ḥdzin'.

NOTES

Kha-pu-lu stretches 25 miles down the Shayok (Sá-gyog) river, beyond Daho, the whole length of the chiefdom being 67 miles. As the mean breadth is about 30 miles, the area will be 2,010 square miles. The mean height of the villages is about 9,000 feet. (Cunningham, p. 28.)

As stated by Cunningham (p. 28), the above genealogical tree opens with Sultan-Sikandar, or Alexander the Great, whose successors were Abraham and Isaac. Cunningham believed that after Sultan-Yagu, the thirty-ninth name, the list was tolerably correct, because the name Yagu has descended to the present day as a title in the family, the present chief (in 1846) being styled Sultan-Yagu-Daolut-Ali-Khan. Of course, the Kha-pu-lu chiefs may have had an ancestor called Yagu; but Cunningham should not have made 1410 A.D. his probable date. He places him in the beginning of the fifteenth century, because he wants him to be a contemporary of the Kashmir king, Sikander-Butshikan, the fanatic Musalman. But, in order to place him there, he finds it necessary to furnish each one of the Kha-pu-lu chiefs with an average reign of only fifteen years. This is altogether too short. Experience has shown me that about thirty years is the average length of each reign in Tibet. It will be safest,

[1] Cunningham's dates begin here: they differ from those given below.

therefore, to begin our chronology of Kha-pu-lu with Sultān-Mīr-Khān (in full probably 'Alī-Mīr-Sher-Khān), and to place his reign in the second half of the sixteenth century. Of some interest is the occurrence of the Tibetan title *Cho* (*Jo*), 'prince,' 'chief,' in the names of two of the chiefs.

NOTES TAKEN FROM MISS DUNCAN'S *SUMMER RIDE* (pp. 201–65)

Miss Duncan spent several weeks of the summer of 1904 at Kha-pu-lu. The legitimate chief of the place in 1904 was Rājā Nāsir-'Alī-Khān, son of the late Rājā Hātim-Khān. As Nāsir-'Alī-Khān was a minor, his uncle Rājā Muhammad-Sher-'Alī-Khān was in charge of the government. The people of Kha-pu-lu are adherents of the Shiah sect of Musalmans, and the Kha-pu-lu mosques are built in Kashmirian style. A few people belong to the Nūr Bakhsh sect (p. 243). Compare Miss Duncan's picture (p. 200) of the famous mosque of Chag-Chang, 1½ miles from the capital. This mosque is believed to be 400 years old, and the beautifully carved walnut panels were stated to have been inserted 200 years ago. The mosque is said to have been built on the site of a Buddhist temple, and a brass plate over the door to have covered a document stating the age of the building. There was also an inscription on a beam in the veranda, which the maulvī said referred to its history. As Miss Duncan rightly remarks (pp. 239, 240), it would be interesting to have a translation of it; for it might throw some light on the question as to when Muhammadanism was introduced into the country. The ancient castle of Kha-pu-lu, high up above the present village, was also visited by Miss Duncan (p. 220). It was a complete ruin. Another observation of interest is that at the great Tamasha telescopic trumpets, like those of the Lamaist mystery plays, were used at Kha-pu-lu.

With regard to the question as to whether the name of Kha-pu-lu is of Dard or Tibetan origin, let me note that in the Kesar-saga (S.N., i) a sacrificial goat of the name of Ka-bu-lu is mentioned. Thus the name may be of Tibetan origin.

The following notes on the relationship of Kha-pu-lu to Ladakh are found on pp. 30 and 31 of the Treaty of Wam-le :—

TEXT

p. 30. རྒྱལ་མོ་ཟི་ཟི་ཡིས། ཁ་ཧྥུ་ལཽ་ན་ཐོག་མར་གཉེན་སྒྲིབས་སྐབས། བདག་གི་མེས་ཧ་ད་ཁན་དང་། ཞང་པོ་རྡབ་ལད་ཁན་ཀྱི[ས]་ཟི་ཟི་ཞིག་ལ་བཏང་ནས། སྲས་བྱུང་ན། སྟེང་མཁར་གནང་བའི་ཆད་སོ་བཅུད་བ་ཡིན་ཡང་། ཟི་ཟིའི་ཁ་དབང་ལ་མ་བཞག་པས། ད་ལྟ་ངེད་ལ་མེད་པ། ད་ཆ་ཟི་ཟི་ཁ་དབང་ཡིན་གསུང་ཚོ། དེ་ཡང་ངེད་ལ་འཛག་དགོས་ཟེར། . . .

p. 31. ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་མངའ་འོག་ཁ་ཧྥུ་ལོ་འདུ་ཚུལ་སྙན་པར་བརྗོད་པའི་སྒོ་ཙམ་ལས། ཇོ་ཁག་དེ་ཉི་དམག་ལྦུ་སྐྱོང་གི་བདག་པོ་ཡི[ས]་སྣར་རྗེ་རེས་ལ་དྭགས་འདུད་པ་གཉེན་འབྲེལ་གང་ཟབ་ལ་ལྷོས་པ་ཞིག་ལས་ལ་དྭགས་པའི་མངའ་འོག་ཏུ་བཏོགས་ཙམ་ལས། ཐུ་རིག་ཇོ་ཁག་བཞིན་ངེས་པར་འདུ་བར་ཡང་མིན། . . .

TRANSLATION

p. 30. Queen Zi-zi said: 'On the occasion when a friendly relationship was established at Kha-hphu-loo, and when my forefather Ha-da-khan (Haidar-Khān ?) and my uncle Rdab-lad-khan (Daulat-Khān ?) gave Zi-zi to wife [to the Ladakhi king], an agreement was made [as follows]: "If a boy should be born, Steṅ-mkhar will be given [to him]." As it was not put on Zi-zi's *kha-dbaṅ* (personal authority ?), it does not now belong to us. Now that it has been said that Zi-zi is *kha-dbaṅ* (become of age ? authoritative ?), it must be placed at our [disposal].'

p. 31. To speak pleasantly about the fact that Kha-hphu-lo was brought under

La-dvags, the chief of that principality, which owns 5,000 soldiers, had in turns to bow before Skar-rdo and before La-dvags, and out of regard to his near kinship (?) he was not to such a degree under the Ladakhis, as are the Pu-rig chiefs.

NOTES

Queen Zi-zi was one of the wives of Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal. She is probably identical with 'A-yum-khri-rgyal-om buried in the Muhammadan burial-ground at Hun-dar, Nub-ra. Steṅ-mkhar is not known to me; but, as the name means Upper Castle, it may refer to the Leh Castle, the residence of the kings. It is quite probable that Queen Zi-zi had received a promise that her son would be heir to the throne of Ladakh.

(b) The Rajas of Keris (Kye-ris) (Cunningham's Spelling)

1. Biwan-cho.[1]
2. Lĕo.
3. Raja Ali Mir Sher, *c.* 1570–1600 A.D.
4. Ahmed Mir.
5. Amir.
6. Ali Khan, reigning in A.D. 1685.
7. Mir-Beg.
8. Mirza-Beg.
9. Zulfikar Khan.
10. Kuram Ali Khan [reigning in 1846 A.D.].

Cunningham remarks (p. 31) that the district of Keris (Kye-ris) is situated along the lower course of the Shayok, just above its junction with the Indus. It is about 16 miles in length, and 10 miles in mean breadth. Its area is not more than 160 square miles, and the mean height of its villages above the sea is about 8,000 feet. The present chief, Kuram-'Alī-Khān, gives the above genealogy of his family.

Regarding Cunningham's date (p .31) of 'Alī-Khān (1685) I must say that there exists little foundation for it. He seems to have based it on his date for the battle of Bab-sgo. But at the same time he seems to have forgotten that according to his own statement on p. 326 a certain 'Alī-Khān had nothing to do with the battle of Bab-sgo. He mentions him as a chief of Baltistan during the time of Bde-ldan's conquest of Baltistan.

A rājā of Kye-ris (Kiris) is also mentioned by Miss Duncan (p. 276) and other modern travellers; but personal names are not given. Kye-ris is claimed by the Gilgit Dards as one of their colonies (see 'The Eighteen Songs of the Bono-nā Festival', No. vi, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxiv, 1905, pp. 93 sqq.).

(c) The Dmag-dpons of Parkuda (Cunningham's Spelling)

1. Bokha.[1]
2. Sher.
3. Ghazi.
4. Ali Sher Khan, *c.* 1570–1600 A.D.
5. Ahmed Khan, *c.* 1600–1630.
6. Sher Shah, *c.* 1630–1660.
7. Azizcho, *c.* 1660–1690.
8. Azim Khan, *c.* 1690–1720.
9. Sahadat Khan, *c.* 1720–1750.
10. Abdul Rahim, *c.* 1750–1780.
11. Mahomed Ali, *c.* 1780–1810.
12. Ali Sher Khan, *c.* 1810–1840.
    Son, Jafar Ali Khan.

NOTES

Cunningham remarks (p. 31) that the present chiefdom of Parguta (Parkuda) extends from Sarmik (probably Gser-mig), 10 miles above the confluence of the Shayok and Indus, to Goltari, near the junction of the Dras river, thus including both Khartaksha (Mkhar-maṅ) and Tolti (Rtal-ti ?). Its length is about 43 miles, its mean breadth 32 miles, and its area 1,548 square miles. The mean height of its villages above the sea is about 7,800 feet.

As correctly stated by Cunningham, 'Alī-Sher-Khān conquered Ladakh and bequeathed his possessions to his son, Ahmad-Khān. But we must add that he did not do this as Duke of Parkuda, but as master of all Baltistan. The Rgyal-pos of Sbal-ti always selected their wives from the family of the dukes of Parkuda, as the most exalted of their neighbours.

Although a number of modern travellers have passed through Parkuda, none of them mention the names of recent chiefs. It is interesting that the old title of *Dmag-dpon*, 'leader of the army' (duke, Herzog), has been preserved in this family. The title *cho* (*Jo*, 'prince' or 'chief') is also found after the name of one of the dukes.

[1] Cunningham assigns dates, not given here, to all these rulers.

Parkuda is claimed by the Gilgit Dards as one of their colonies; the same must be said of Khartaksha (Manthrokhar of the Dards) (see 'The Eighteen Songs of the Bono-nā Festival', song No. vi, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxiv, pp. 93 sqq.). It was the chief of Parkuda (or Mkhar-maṅ) who acted as way-leader to Zorawar on his expedition against Skar-rdo. It was probably also a chief of the same line (Kālamānya = Mkhar-maṅ) who according to Jonarāja's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (vv. 157–8) of Kashmir killed Riñchana-Bhoṭṭa's father (*c.* 1320 A.D.).

(*d*) The Chiefs of Shigar (Śi-dkar) (Cunningham's Spelling)

1. 'Āmāchah.[1]
2. Chāh-tham.
3. Chama-tham.
4. Yaksir Gao-tham.
5. Khomulgo-tham.
6. Gobūlgo-tham.
7. Khān.
8. Makhān.
9. Ram.
10. Rahmūm.
11. Daolat Shah.
12. Haripal Marchak.
13. Ambarot.
14. Ghazi Mir.
15. Ali Mir (1570–1600).
16. Ama Chan Dē.
17. Ghir-ze.
18. Haidar Khan.
19. Hasan Khan.
20. Imām Kuli Khan.
21. Kuli Khan.
22. Azem Khan.
23. Ali Khan.
24. Husen Khan.
25. Mohammed Khan.
26. Koli Khan.
27. Sulimān Khan, *c.* 1830.

NOTES BY CUNNINGHAM (p. 32)

The little chiefdom of Shigar is confined entirely to the valley of the Shigar river. Its length, from south-east to north-west, is 72 miles, and its breadth 36 miles. Its area is 2,592 square miles, and the probable mean height of its villages above the sea is not less than 8,000 feet.

Shigar possesses a chief of its own, but he has generally been subject to the chiefs of Balti. The above genealogy was obtained from Sulimān-Khan, the present (1846) chief of Shigar. It is curious because the title *tham* or 'king', borne by the earlier princes, proves that the family must be connected with the Dards of Hunza-Nagar, whose chiefs bear the same title at present.

NOTES BY THE AUTHOR

The occurrence of the Dard title *tham*, 'king,' in the above genealogy is, of course, of great interest, but it does not necessarily prove a relationship of the Śi-dkar chiefs to the Hunza-Nagar chiefs. It simply points to the Dard origin of all the Balti chiefs. The title *tham* is also found once in the genealogy of the Cig-tan chiefs. Śi-dkar is also claimed by the Gilgit Dards as one of their colonies (see 'The Eighteen Songs of the Bono-nā Festival', No. vi, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxiv, 1905, pp. 93 sqq.).

NOTES FROM MISS DUNCAN'S *SUMMER RIDE* (p. 291)

Although Miss Duncan does not give the names of any members of the chief's family, she mentions the famous polo-place of Śi-dkar (picture in Vigne's *Travels*, vol. ii, p. 289), three butts for archery, like those found in most Balti villages, and the large and very handsome mosque of the place. Regarding the mosque she says:—'A broad flight of steps leads to a spacious veranda, in which I lingered long, gazing with delight at the rich carving on door-posts and window-frames, the designs in most cases being the same as those at Khapallu, but much more finely executed. The moulvie . . . said that a round brass plate over the lintel of the door covers a document giving the age of the building, which he stated to be a thousand years (!).'

Vigne says (ii, p. 292) that about 6 miles from the rājā's castle at Śi-dkar there is a defile on the left, from which steatite is procured in great abundance. This steatite is turned into cups and plates by the Baltis. Vigne also states that Śi-dkar was conquered by Rājā 'Alī-Sher-Khān (father of Ahmad-Khān) of Skar-rdo.

[1] Cunningham assigns dates to all these rulers.

The following notes on the conquest of Si-dkar are found on p. 46 of the Treaty of Wam-le :—

TEXT

p. 46. མུལ་བེ་རྒྱལ་པོས། ངེད་ནས་དེ་དོན་ལ་ཟུ་བར་འགལ་བ་མ་བྱས་ཀྱང་། ལ་དྭགས་ནས་དེ་རྗེས་སྦལ་ཏིའི་ཡུལ་ཏུ་མི་ཉིས་ཅན་རྩལ་བ་དང་། དཀར་རྡོ་ཇོ་བོའི་དཔུང་གྲོགས་ས་སྐྱོང་བ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་དམག་ཚོགས་བཅས་གཏང་ནས། ཤི་དཀར་གྱི་མཁར་བབ། བྷན་ཏི་ནང་ཁོངས་ཅིག་ཏུ་དྲིལ་ནས། ཟུ་རིག་འཛོམས་རྒྱུ་ཡིན། . . .

TRANSLATION

p. 46. The king of Mul-be (Pu-rig) says: 'Although we (the Pu-rig people) did not transgress (?) in that respect (on that purpose ?), many strong and experienced men [went] after that from La-dvags to Sbal-tiḥi-yul; and, as the chief of Skar-rdo sent an auxiliary force, filling the earth [and like] the ocean, the castle of Si-dkar was reduced, and Bhan-ti and Naṅ-khoṅs were united. The aim [of all this] was the conquest of Purig. . . .'

NOTES

This conquest of Śi-dkar by the united forces of Skar-rdo and La-dvags must have taken place between the years 1730 and 1750 A.D. The purpose of this war seemed to be the conquest of Pu-rig, as surmised by Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal of Pu-rig. This is probably not true. Bhan-ti is not known to me. It may be a name of Śi-dkar. Naṅ-khoṅs is the same as Naṅ-goṅ (Baltistan).

(e) THE RGYAL-POS OF BALTI (SBAL-TI) [1]

1. Ali Sher, c. 1570–1600 A.D.
2. Ahmed, c. 1600–1630 A.D.
3. Shah Murad, c. 1630–1670 A.D.
4. Rafi Khān, c. 1670–1700 A.D.
5. Sultān Murād Khān, c. 1700–1730 A.D.
6. Zafar Khan, c. 1730–1760 A.D.
7. Ali Sher Khan, c. 1760–1790 A.D.
8. Ahmed Shah, c. 1790–1841 A.D.
9. Mahomed Shah, c. after 1841 A.D.

NOTES BY CUNNINGHAM (p. 35)

Balti or Balti-yul is called Palolo, or Balor (Bolor), by the Dards, and Nang-kod (Naṅ-goṅ) by the Tibetans. Balti (Sbal-ti) is the most common name, and perhaps the oldest, as it is presented by Ptolemy in Byltae. (Let me add that, according to Sir A. Stein, it is the 'Great Poliu' of the Chinese historians of the eighth century, 'Little Poliu' being their name for Gilgit.—F.) The country is also frequently called Skardo (Skar-rdo), from the name of its well-known fort and capital. (Let me add that the name Skar-[chuṅ]-rdo-[dbyiṅs] is mentioned in c. 804 A.D. as that of a Buddhist temple in the province of Rgya (Ladakh). A place called Gomba-Skardo is actually marked on the Indian Survey map, about 5 miles west of the present town of Skar-rdo. Gomba is the vulgar pronunciation of the Tibetan *Dgon-pa*, 'monastery.' Baltistan is the 'Little Tibet' of the Kashmir chroniclers.—F.)

Balti proper is a small district bounded by Shigar (Śi-dkar) on the north, by Keris (Kye-ris) and Parguta (Parkuda) on the east, by Gures on the south, and by Astor and Rongdo (Roṅ-mdo) on the west. Including the tableland of Deotsu, it is about 60 miles long and 36 broad. Its area is about 2 160 square miles, and the mean height of its villages above the sea is about 7,000 feet.

[1] The spelling is Cunningham's, but not the dates.

NOTES BY THE AUTHOR

For the fuller history of this dynasty, the most powerful which ruled over all the other chiefs of Baltistan, see *infra*, 'Ahmad-Shāh's Chronicles of Baltistan.' Cunningham has (p. 36) the following note on the fate of Ahmad-Shāh after 1841:—'In the winter of 1841, Ahmed Shah accompanied the unfortunate expedition against Lhasa; and on Zorāwar's death, was taken prisoner and confined in Balwāltē near Lhasa, where he soon died. Balti is now held in jaghir by Muhammad Shah, the disinherited son of Ahmed Shah, who pays an annual tribute of Rs. 7,000 to Maharaja Gulūb Sing, of Kashmir.' (Dr. Hutchison, of Chamba, however, tells me that the tomb of the Balti king Ahmad-Shāh is found in Kashṭawar.)

Miss Duncan gives us (pp. 305–6) the name of a Rājā who reigned at Skar-rdo a few years before 1905, Shāh-Abbās. Shāh-Abbās died in 1898. No other name is forthcoming. She saw the Rājā and his court hawk-hunting. She visited the ruins of the times of the Dogra wars, and has the following notes on them :—'We paid a visit to the lower of the two old killas, which was partly destroyed by the Dogras, . . . but which has been restored; it is built on two shelves of a projecting spur of the great rock in the middle of the valley. At the foot of the rock there are a few ruins, which Dr. Thomson describes as exhibiting in 1847 the remains of former magnificence, including a part of a marble fountain, but of this we saw nothing; they are probably the ruins of the palace of Ahmed Shah. . . The highest peak of the rock, about 1,200 or 1,400 feet above the valley, is precipitous on all sides; in the small upper killa perched on the top of it, the Rajah Ahmed Shah took refuge during the Dogra siege, having laid in a stock of provisions to last for three years. For some time he defied his enemies, who could not find any way of getting at him till, according to local tradition, a faithless subject betrayed him for a bribe, and showed the pathway.' Another note of interest is that the Indus is called Attak (or Attock) immediately below Skar-rdo, according to Miss Duncan.

Skar-rdo is also claimed by the Gilgit Dards as one of their colonies. See my article, 'The Eighteen Songs of the Bono-nā Festival,' *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxiv, pp. 93 sqq. A picture of the Skar-rdo rock in 1836 is given in Vigne's *Travels* (ii, p. 192).

(*f*) THE CHIEFS OF ROṄ-MDO [1]

1. Ali Sher, *c.* 1570–1600 A.D.
2. Ahmed Khan, *c.* 1600–1630 A.D.
3. Ali Shah, *c.* 1630–1660 A.D.
4. Daolat Sher, *c.* 1660–1690 A.D.
5. Assad Ulla Khan, *c.* 1690–1720 A.D.
6. Mahomed Ali Khan, *c.* 1720–1750 A.D.
7. Murad Khan, *c.* 1750–1780 A.D.
8. Abbas Beg, *c.* 1780–1810 A.D.
9. Ali Khan, *c.* 1810–1846 (reigning in 1846).
10. Husen Khan (son).
11. Abdullah Khan (grandson).

NOTES BY CUNNINGHAM (pp. 36–7)

Rongdo (Roṅ-mdo) is the last Tibetan district on the Indus to the westward of Balti (Sbal-ti). On the north lie Shigar (Śi-dkar) and Hunza-Nager, and to the west and south are Gilgit and Astor. The name means 'district of defiles' (lit. Lower Valley of defiles.—F.), and is descriptive of the bed of the Indus, which throughout Rongdo is a deep rocky gorge. The district extends from Gurbidas to a tree at Makpon-i-Shang-Rong (Dmag-dpon-gyi-spyaṅ(?)-roṅ), a distance of 45 miles, with a mean breadth of 32 miles. Its area is about 1,440 square miles, and the mean height of its villages about 6,200 feet. The chief of Rongdo claims descent from the Makpons of Balti, to whom the district has always been subject.

NOTES BY THE AUTHOR

Roṅ-mdo is not claimed by the Gilgit Dards as one of their colonies, but many of the villages in the neighbourhood have Dard names. A Tibetan inscription mentioning a royal archer was discovered near Roṅ-mdo by the Rev. Mr. Gustavson, of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission. It is mentioned in my *Collection of Tibetan Inscriptions*, under No. 9. A picture of the Indus at the Roṅ-mdo bridge is given in Cunningham's *Ladák* (Plate III).

[1] Spelling Cunningham's, but not the dates.

IX. The Chronicles of the Chiefs of Ko-loṅ in Lahul

When stationed at Kye-laṅ, Lahul, as a missionary, I asked Ṭhākur Amar-Chand of Ko-loṅ to show me his family chronicles, if he had any. He said that his father, Hari-Chand, had compiled a chronicle in 1880 A.D., but that the information contained in it was drawn from older documents. Amar-Chand recently brought it up to date. Amar-Chand very kindly had the chronicles copied for me in the original Urdū, and he also ordered his munshi to prepare an English translation for my use. Besides the Urdū chronicles Amar-Chand produced also a genealogical tree of his family in Tibetan, and several other Tibetan documents. A number of letters by Kuḷū kings to the chiefs of Ko-loṅ were discovered at Ko-loṅ by Mr. Howell. Stone inscriptions containing the names of several former chiefs of Ko-loṅ have been discovered in the vicinity of the castle of Ko-loṅ.

Ko-loṅ is situated on the right bank of the river Bhāgā, about 16 miles above the confluence of the rivers Chandrā and Bhāgā. Ko-loṅ was the capital of a small chieftainship, which in its best days extended from the confluence of the Chandrā and Bhāgā to the Baralatsa pass, on the right bank of the river. This narrow strip of land was their own property, but since the reign of Mān-Siṅgh of Kuḷū, 1674–1717 A.D., they had to watch over the interests of the Kuḷū kings in the whole of Lahul. Lahul then, as now, comprised the valleys of the Chandrā, and the Bhāgā, and of the united rivers down to Tirot.

The chiefs of Ko-loṅ are never mentioned in the chronicles of the neighbouring countries, but Lahul as a whole is referred to occasionally in the chronicles of Ladakh and Kuḷū. Under the first great king of Ladakh, Ñi-ma-ṁgon, a country called Spyi-lcogs is mentioned. According to K. Marx, Spi-lcogs probably stands for Ḷahul. Later on two Tibetan conquests of Kuḷū are described, under the Ladakhi kings Lha-chen-Utpala and Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal I. In both cases Lahul was apparently included in the conquest, although it is not specially mentioned. Then, during the reign of the last independent Ladakhi king, Tshe-dpal-rnam-rgyal, Lahul is repeatedly referred to under its Tibetan name Gar-ža. Let me add that the name Lahul is entirely unknown among the Tibetans.

In the chronicles of Kuḷū Lahul is repeatedly mentioned in the first legendary chapters, and again in the chapter referring to the conquest of Lahul by the Kuḷū kings in the seventeenth century. Here the name Lahul is used for the country.

The first European who published a pedigree (in Urdū) of the chiefs of Ko-loṅ was Col. Massey. In his publication the pedigree begins with No-no-Chuṅ-ṅun (Chogan) and Seṅ-ge. To the pedigree is added a brief account of the conquest of Ladakh by the Dogras, which would be rather out of place here.

[1] مورث [2] اعلی قوم چہتری طرف ٹہاکر چاندلا یعنی چندر بنسي

پاپال گوت گوتم

نیل چند
|
صورت چند
|
بہیم چند
|
بہاگی چند
|
دہرم چند — سنگہ
|
دیپ چند
|
گیان چند
|
ٹیک چند
|
رام چند
|
دیال چند
|
فتح چند
|
کرم چند

(کرم چند کی اولاد)

سینگی — شرسم — چوگن — ہری رام — بہیمی رام

بہیمی رام: نیما سنگہ — موتی رام — بہاگ چند؛ گٹو — دیوی چند

جاگیردار کوٹہی گمرنگ

نونوں چوگن — چہانگ نمگیال — [3]ٹشی انگیال — چہانگ — بہاگ چند

جاگیر دار کوٹہی کولنگ

بہاگ چند: دہرم سنگہ؛ ٹشی انگٹا عرف دہرم چند — تارا چند

تارا چند: ہری چند؛ رام چند؛ مہر چند

ہری چند: امر چند؛ منگل چند

رام چند: جے چند

[1] Text kindly revised by Col. D. C. Phillott, to whom the translation and notes also are due.

[2] Probably for مورث نامہ, an incorrect word.

[3] In the text always تشی.

روایت خاندان

پہلے آپ ٹھاکری یعنی خود مختاری کے وقت اس پہاڑ میں دو خاندان چھتری پال و رانا جی بجائی مختلف علاقوں میں اپنی اپنی حکومت کرتے تھے ۔ س وقت علاقہ بنگال میں ایک خاندان پال نے زیادہ زبردست ہو کر باقی چھوٹے چھوٹے خاندانوں پال و راؤں کو شکست دیکر انکے علاقہ جات چھین کر اپنے قبضہ میں کر لئے ۔ اسوقت تخمیناً آٹھ سو برس کا عرصہ گذرا ہوگا کہ رانا نیل چند قوم چھتری چندر بنسی عرف ٹھاکر چاندلا سورت ھمارا [1] جو کولنگ علاقہ بنگال میں آپ ٹھاکر یعنی خود مختار رانا تھا ۔

پال مذکور کے ظلم کی برداشت نہ کرکے علاقۂ لاھل میں (کہ جہاں پہلے ھی وہ شکار کھیلنے کی خاطر آیا کرتا تھا اور اس علاقہ کی حالت سے واقف تھا) مسمی اجو پال طوطیا ٹھاکر کے پاس جو پال خاندان میں سے ایک خود مختار رانا تھا آگیا ۔

چونکہ طوطیا ٹھاکر سوائے ایک دختر کے اور کوئی پسر اپنا وارث نہ رکھتا تھا اس لئے اس نے اپنی دختر کی شادی رانا نیل چند کے ساتھ کرکے اسکو گھر داماد بناکر رکھ لیا ۔ بعد وفات طوطیا ٹھاکر مذکور رانا نیل چند بجائے اس کے اس علاقہ کا خود مختار ٹھاکر بن گیا ۔ اور طوطیا [کے] علاقہ کو اپنے پہلے مکان کولنگ کے نام سے مشہور کیا ۔ چونکہ اسوقت آپ ٹھاکری یعنی خود مختاری کا وقت تھا اس لئے اردگرد اوس نے فتح کرکے اپنا علاقہ وسیع کرلیا ۔

طول شرقاً غرباً از لنگٹی تا جگ لوائی سرحد کوٹھی ٹھنڈی ساٹھہ (۶۰) میل ۔ عرض شمالاً جنوباً کم سے کم تیس (۳۰) میل زیادہ سے زیادہ بیس (۲۰) میل ۔ نیل چند کا بیٹا سورت چند ۔ سورت چند کا بھیم چند ۔ بھیم چند کا بھاگی چند ۔ بھاگی چند کا دھرم چند ۔ دھرم چند کا دیپ چند ۔ دیپ چند کا گیان چند ۔ گیان چند کا ٹیک چند ۔ ٹیک چند کا رام چند ۔ رام چند کا دیال چند ۔ دیال چند کا فتح چند ۔ فتح چند کا کرم چند ہوئے ۔ دس (۱۰) پشت دیال چند تک بدستور آپ ٹھاکری یعنی خود مختاری اس خاندان کی چلی آئی ۔ فتح چند کے وقت تبت کے راجہ کا لاھل پر قبضہ ہوگیا ۔ مگر دس (۱۰) خاندان کا علاقہ بدستور اپنے قبضہ میں رہا ۔ بلکہ ما تحت تبت کی اس خاندان کی حکومت کل علاقہ لاھل پر وسیع ہوگئی ۔ کرم چند کے وقت تک تخمیناً ایک سو (۱۰۰) برس حکومت تبت کی اس علاقہ پر رھی ۔ اسیوقت لاماں گوروں کا علاقہ ھذا میں دخل ھوا ۔ یہی وجہ ہے کہ کرم چند سے نیچے ھمارے بزرگوں کا نام لاماں گورو [2] تبت کی زبان میں اکھٹے رہے ۔ بعد سینگی و نونوں جوگن پسران کرم چند کے وقت راجہ تبت کا زور حکومت کم ہو جانیکے سبب علاقۂ لاھل پر حکومت راجہ مان سنگھہ کلو والے کی ہوگئی ۔ اس وقت بھی اس خاند ان کا علاقہ بدستور رہا ۔ اگرچہ اس خاندان کا اوّل سے یہہ دستور چلا آیا ہے کہ بڑا بیٹا علاقہ کا مالک ہوتا رہا اور چھوٹے بیٹے اس کے ماتحت بطور دو تھہا ئیں بیٹھے رہے اس لئے دو تھہائیوں کا نام پہلے شجرۂ نسب میں نہیں درج ہوتا رہا ۔ چونکہ سنگی [3]

[1] The probable reading should be جو ھمارا بزرگ تھا. [2] جو لاماں گرو تھے? [3] Elsewhere سینگی.

و نونوں چوگن دونوں بہائی برابر طاقتور تہے اس لئے ان دونوں میں راجہ مان سنگہہ کے وقت علاقہ کی تقیسم هوکر دونوں برابر برابر جاگیردار بن کر تابع راجہ مان سنگہہ والي کلو[1] کے هوئے ـ سنگی نے گمرنگ کے علاقہ پر اپنا قبضہ کرلیا ـ اور نونوں چوگن ئولنگ کے علاقہ پر قائم رہا ـ اس سے آگے اس خاندان کی دو شاخیں هوکر جدا جدا سلسلۂ نسل اونکا آگے چلا ـ

سینگی کا بیٹا شرسُم هوا ـ شرسم کا چوگن ـ چوگن کا هری رام ـ هری رام کا بہیمی رام ـ بہیمی رام کے دو پسران نیما سنگہہ وگٹو هوئے ـ نیما سنگہہ کا موتی رام وگٹو کا دیوی چند هوئے ـ اسوقت موتی رام کا بیٹا بہاگ چند و دیوی چند خود جاگیر پر قابض هین ـ اوردوسرا سلسلہ نونوں چوگن کا بیٹا چہیانگ نمگیال اورچہیانگ نمگیال کا تشی انگیال ـ اور تشی انگیال کا چہیانگ ـ اورچہیانگ کا بہاگ چند ـ اور بہاگ چند کے دو پسران دهرم سنگہہ وتشی انگٹا عرف دهرم چند پیدا هوئے ـ دهرم سنگہہ لاولد مرگیا ـ دهرم چند کا پسر تارا چند اور تارا چند کے تین ۳ پسران ـ هری چند ـ رام چند ـ مہر چند هوئے ـ ٹہاکر تارا چند سنہ ۱۸۷۷ ع میں ۷۴ للوی چوهتر سال کی عمر بسر کرکے سرگباس هوا ـ اور جاگیر کا داخلخارج حسب دستور قدیم مجہہ ٹہاکرهری چند پسران[2] کلاں کے نام هوا هے ـ اور قابض هوں ـ اور میرے پیچہے میرا پسر برخوردار امرچند جو اسوقت عمر ڈیڑهہ سال کا هوا هے وارث هوگا ـ

ٹہاکررام چند کا پسر جے چند موجود هے ـ مہر چند لاولد مرگیا ـ دوسو ۲۰۰ سال سے کچہہ زیادہ عرصہ یعنی نونوں چوگن سے ٹہاکر تارا چند کے عہد تک یہ علاقہ راجگان کلو کے تابع رہا ـ ٹہاکر تارا چند کے وقت هی سنہ ۱۸۴۳ ع میں راجہ جیت سنگہہ سے کلو کا علاقہ سکہوں نے فتح کیا ـ اسوقت سے علاقہ لاهل میں سکہوں کی ماتحت هوا[3] ـ چہہ ۶ سال تک سکہوں کا عمل حکومت رہا ـ تب بہی همارے خاندان کي جاگیرات مذکورد بالا بدستور قائم و برقرار رهیں ـ سنہ ۱۸۴۹ ع میں سرکار دولتمدار انگریز بہادر کا پنجاب پر تسلّط هوا ـ اسوقت میں بہی همارے خاندان کی یہ دونوں جاگیرات بدستور قائم و برقرار رهین ـ یہ تینوں انقلاب سلطنت ٹہاکر تارا چند کے وقت میں هوگئی تہیں ـ هماری جاگیرات کا دستور پہاڑی راجگان کے دستور کے مطابق یہ هے ـ کہ ٹہاکر کا بڑا بیٹا ٹیکہ کہلاتا هے ـ کل جاگیر اسی کا حق هوتا هے ـ دوسرے بہائی اُسکے دوتہائیں شمار هوتی هیں جو اس قدیمی جاگیر سے صرف گذارہ کے مستحق هو تے هیں ـ اگرکسی اصلی ٹہاکر کا ٹیکہ [نہ] هو جائے تب قریب تر دوتہائیں حق جاگیر[4] تصور هوتا هے ـ تخمیناً عرصہ آٹہہ سو ۸۰۰ سال کے جب رانا نیل چند کولونگ علاقہ بنگال سے آکر لاهل میں آباد هوا ـ اسی وقت ایک خاندان پال کا ـ ٹہاکر رتن پال گوندد علاقہ بنگال سے علاقہ لاهل میں آکر مقام تینن آباد هوا ـ اور اپنے پہلے مکان کے نام پر تینن کو گوندلہ مشہور کیا ـ جسکے خاندان کا اسوقت ٹہاکر هیرا چند جاگیردار گوندلہ موجود هے ـ[5]

(اوّل) جب عملداری تبت کی [رهی] تابع میں توحکام تبت کے ماتحت [همارے بزرگ] کل علاقہ لاهل پر حکومت کرتے رهے ـ

[1] For کلو والے ? [2] A slip for پسر. [3] A confused sentence. [4] جاگیر کا حق دار ?
[5] The whole of this sentence is obviously confused.

(۲) پھرجب تک راجگان کلو کے ماتحت رہی توجوتعلق راجگان کلّو و لداخ وتبت کے ساتھ تھا
وہ سب خدمات ہمارے سپرد تھیں – ہمارے بزرگ انکو بجا لاتے رہے –

(۳) شروع عملداری سرکار انگریزی میں بلحاظ عزت خاندانی اول بتاریخ ۱۷ ستمبر سنہ ۱۸۵۲ع میں کل
علاقہ لاہل کی خدمات نیگ پارہ[1] ٹہاکر تارا چند کے سپرد ہوئیں – وہ بخوبی بجا لائی گئیں – اور
حکام وقت و صاحبان یوروپین مسافسرین کی علاقہ ہذا میں ونیز سرحد تبت پر خدمات بجا لائی گئیں –
علاوہ تنخواہ مقررہ نیگ چارد[1] کے کل خالصہ علاقہ لاہل کا حق چرائی جنگلات بہی ہمکو معاف ہے –

(۴) سنہ ۱۸۵۷ع میں کہ جب مسٹر سلاگن‌ویت[2] صاحب بہادر افسر کمپاس علاقہ یارکند[3] میں مارے گئے تھے –
اسکا حال دریافت کرکے لانے کی خدمات گورنمنٹ سے سنہ ۱۸۵۸ع میں مجھہ ٹہاکر ہری چند کے سپرد ہوئی
تھیں – چنانچہ میں نے بذات خود لداخ جاکر وہاں سے آگے اپنا خاص معتبر شخص علاقہ یارکند میں بہیج کر
مفصل حال صاحب ممدوح کے موت کا [دریافت کرلیا] کہ ولی خاں سردار کوکاں نے جو اسوقت ارد گرد
یارکند کی لوٹ مار کیا کرتا تھا ناحق صاحب ممدوح کو قتل کر دیا تھا – دریافت کرکے بمقام جالندھر بحضور
کرنیل لیک صاحب بہادر کمشنر حاضر ہوکر سرکار میں گذارش کیا تھا – اس خدمت کے صلہ میں سرکار
دولتمدار سے مجھہ کو ایک ہزار ۱۰۰۰ روپہ انعام اور چار سو ۴۰۰ روپہ سفر خرچ عطا ہوا تہا –

(۵) سنہ ۱۸۶۱ع میں جب خبر صاحبان انگریز کی چین سے شملہ براستہ لاسہ وغیرہ پونچی ہے تو حسب
ایماے گورنمنٹ باجازت والد بزرگوار خود ٹہاکر تارا چند صاحب میں بذات خود براۓ پیشوائی و خدمت
گذاری صاحباں موصوف کے گادر و رودکھہ علاقہ تبت تک گیا تہا – جب خبر نہ آئی صاحبان موصوف کی
میں تو واپس آکر حال دریافت شدہ سرکار میں گذارش کیا – اس خدمت کے صلہ میں خلعت و پروانہ
خوشنودی مزاج جناب نواب لفٹنٹ گورنر بہادر پنجاب بدستخط صاحب سکرٹری بہادر و مُہر دفتر
گورنمنٹ عطا ہوا –

(۶) اور سنہ ۱۸۶۱ع میں سرکار سے بلحاظ غرت خاندانی و قدردانی خدمات والدم ٹہاکر تارا چند صاحب
عہدہ آنریری مجسٹریٹ و آنریزی اکسٹرا اسٹنٹ پر سرفراز کیا گیا – اختیارات پولیس و فوجداری تحصیل
درجہ آول اور دیوانی و کلکٹری میں عسع ۱۰ تک عطا ہوئی – جرمانہ فوجداری معاف ہوا – علاود جاگیر قدیمی
موروثی خود ایک سو ۱۰۰ روپے کی معافي کوٹھی بربوگ عطا ہوا –

(۷) سنہ ۱۸۶۳ع میں بموجب حکم مسٹر ریموٹن صاحب بہادر ڈپٹی کمشنر کانگڑد حسب منشاء سرکار
دولتمدار بغرض قائم کرنے رابطہ تجارت مابین ہندوستان و تبت براستہ یبستی گر علاقہ تبت تک بذات
خود گیا – اور وہاں کی حالت دریافت کرکے سرکار میں گذارش کی – اس وقت مبلغ پانچ سو ۵۰۰ روپہہ
سرکار سے انعام عطا ہوا –

[1] Is پارہ a proper name? Later occurs نیگ چارد.

[2] Schlagintweit.

[3] یارقند.

(۹) سنہ ۱۸۶۷ع میں بلحاظ کارگذاری و لیاقت وقدردانی خدمات والدم ٹھاکر تارا چند کے اختیارات میں اضافہ ہو کر آنریری مجسٹریٹ ماتحت درجہ سوئم کے اختیارات فوجداری اور دیوانی اختیارات آنریری اکسٹرا اسٹنٹ کمشنر کے مطابق اختیارات معمولی اسٹنٹ کمشنر ایک سو (۱۰۰) روپے تک عطا ھوا ـ جرمانہ فوجداری معاف ـ اور بجائے ایکسو روپے کی معاف کوٹھی بربوگ کے جو سنہ ۱۸۶۱ع میں عارضی طور پر عطا ہوئی تھی چہارم حصہ کل خالصہ معاملہ لاھل کا مبلغ پانچ سو پچاس (۵۵۰) روپہ سالانہ ملنا گورنمنٹ سے منظور ھوا ـ

(۱۰) سنہ ۱۸۶۸ع میں دفتر رجسٹری علاقہ لاھل میں قائم ہو کر والدم ٹھاکر تارا چند سب رجسٹرار مقرر ھوا ـ

(۱۱) سنہ ۱۸۷۰ع میں جو سفارت انگریزی بحکم گورنمنٹ ھند بسرکردگی مسٹر طامس دگلس فورساتھ صاحب بہادر یارکند میں بھیجی گئی تھی میں ھمراد گیا تھا ـ چونکہ سفارت انگریزی اپنے کمپ سے جو قلعہ ینگی شہر میں واقع تھا بدوں حکم اتالیق غازی والی یارقند[1] باھر آنے کی اجازت نہ تھی اسواسطے بموجب حکم جناب مسٹر فورساتھ صاحب بہادر سفیر انگریزی میں بذات خود کمپ سے باھر نکل کر شہر کے باھر شہر پناہ کی چاردیواری کی پیمائش قدمونسے کرکے نقشہ شہر کا تیار کیا جو کتاب سفرنامہ صاحب ممدوح بہادر میں شامل ھے ـ اور اسکی ترتیب کا ذکر سفرنامہ مذکور کی دفعہ ۱۷۶ میں درج ھے ـ

(۱۲) ستمبر سنہ ۱۸۷۱ع میں والدم ٹھاکر تارا چند نے بسبب ضعیف العمری عہدہ آنریری مجسٹریٹ و آنریری اکسٹرا اسٹنٹ کمشنر سے بخوشی خود استعفا دیدیا ـ سرکار دولتمدار سے استعفا والدم منظور ہوکر بجائے والد بزرگوار خود بندہ اسی عہدہ آنریری مجسٹریٹ و آنریری اکسٹرا اسٹنٹ کمشنر پر ممتاز کیا [گیا] ـ وھی اختیارات مجسٹریٹ درجہ سیوم اور اختیارات دیوانی ایک سو (۱۰۰) روپے تک مجھہ کو عطا ہوئے ـ اور سب رجسٹرار بھی بجائے والد بزرگوار خود بندہ مقرر ھوا ـ

(۱۳) سنہ ۱۸۷۴ع میں [بہ] منظوری گورنمنٹ کمیٹی لوکلریٹ ضلع کانگڑہ کی نمبری میں نام میرا درج ھوا ـ

(۱۴) سنہ ۱۸۷۶ع میں بلحاظ خاندانی و قدردانی خدمات بحکم چٹھی نمبری ۱۰۶ مورخہ ۳۰ مارچ سنہ ۱۸۷۶ع صاحب سکرٹری گورنمنٹ پنجاب بنام صاحب سکرٹری فناشل کمشنر بہادر بجواب آپ کی چٹھی نمبری ۲۷۸ مورخہ ۱۷ ماہ مذکور سرکار دولتمدار سے خطاب وزیری بندہ کو عطا ھوا ـ

(۱۵) علاوہ اس کے والدم بزرگوار ٹھاکر تارا چند صاحب کو دربار گورنری میں عزت کرسی نشینی کی حاصل رھی ـ اور اب بندہ کا نام فہرست درباریاں گورنری میں نمبر ۴۳ درج ھے ـ اور میرے پانچ ملازم مسلح ایکٹ اسلحہ کی تاثیر سے مثل دیگر رئیساں و راجگان بحکم گورنمنٹ معاف ھیں ـ

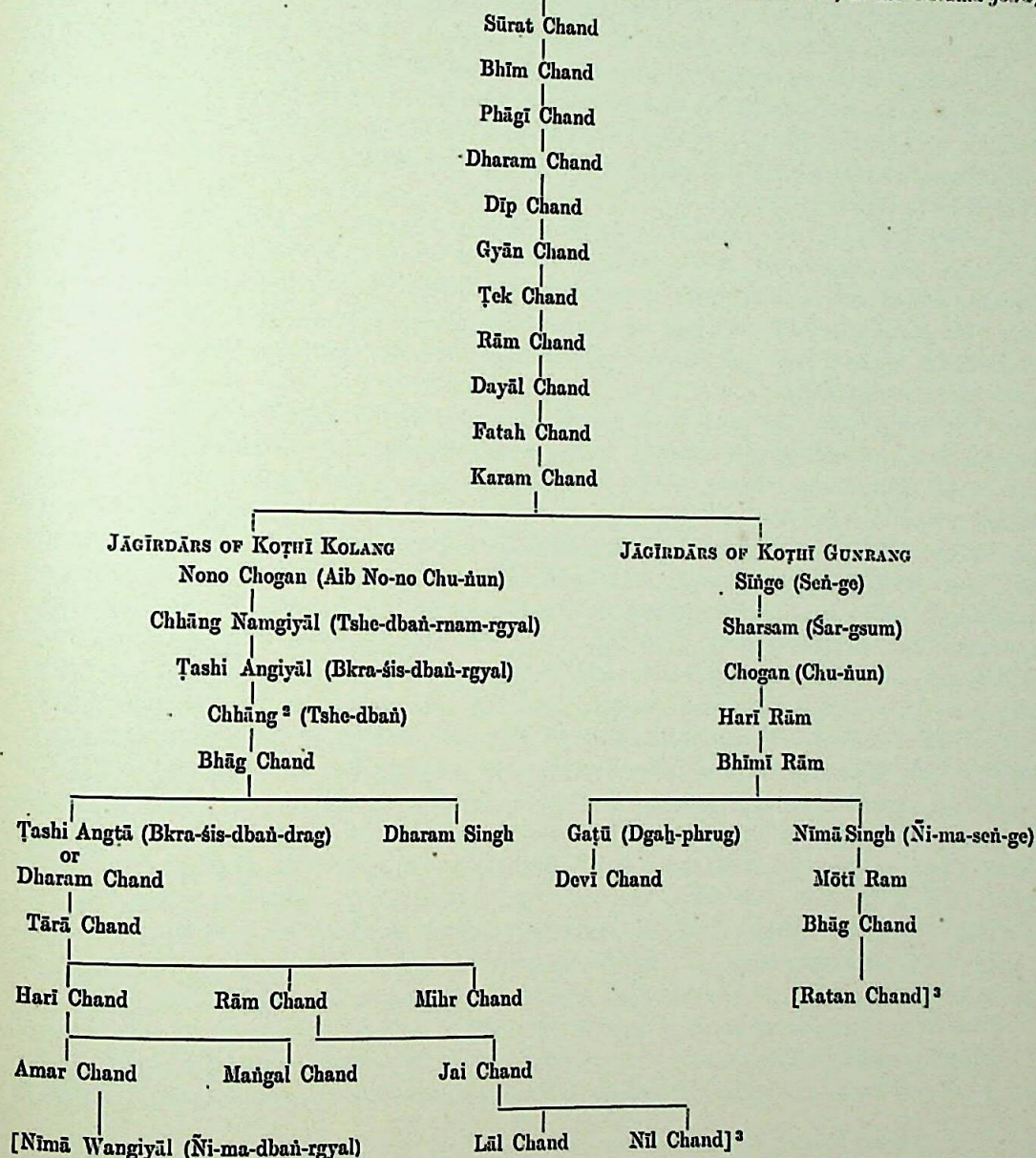
۹ اپریل سنہ ۱۸۸۵ع

ٹھاکر ھری چند وزیر ـ آنریری مجسٹریٹ
و آنریری سول جج لاھل ضلع کانگڑہ

[1] یارکند.

LITERAL TRANSLATION[1] AND NOTES

By Lieut.-Col. D. C. Phillott, M.A., Ph.D.

Genealogical Tree

[1] The original Urdū is peculiar and has copyist's errors and omissions.
[2] [Read 'Chhiyāng', as in the Narrative.—F. W. T.]
[3] Not in the Urdū.

Narrative of the Family

At first, during the time of self-rule (i.e. of independence) two Chhatrī families, Pāl and Rānā, ruled over various districts in that mountain. At that time, in the district of Baṅgāl, one family, Pāl, becoming powerful, defeated the remaining small families of Pāl and Rā,ō and took possession of their country. At the present time a space of about 800 years must have elapsed since Rānā Nīl (a Chhatrī by caste and of the Lunar Family), commonly known as Ṭhākur Chādlā Sūrat, an ancestor of ours, was a self-ruler (i.e. an independent *Rānā*) in Kolang, in the district of Bangāl.

Unable to endure the oppression of the above-mentioned Pāl, he came into the district of Lāhul (where he used formerly to go for sport, and hence was acquainted with the district) to one named Ajo Pāl Ṭoṭiyā Ṭhākur, who was an independent ruler of the Pāl family.

Since Ṭoṭiyā Ṭhākur had no heir, but only a daughter, he gave her in marriage to Rānā Nīl Chand, whom he took to live with him as a son-in-law.[1] After the decease of the above-mentioned Ṭoṭiyā Ṭhākur, Rānā Nīl Chand became independent ruler of the district in his stead and named [Ṭoṭiyā's] district after his first place.[2] Since that was a time of independent rule, he made conquests round about and extended his territory.

The length east to west from Lingṭī to Jagliwā,ī, the frontier of Koṭhī Ṭhādī, is 60 miles; breadth north to south at the least 30 miles, at the most 20[3] miles. The son of Nīl Chand was Ṣūrat[4] Chand; of Ṣūrat Chand, Bhīm Chand; of Bhīm Chand, Phāgī Chand; of Phāgī Chand, Dharam Chand; of Dharam Chand, Dīp Chand; of Dīp Chand, Gyān Chand; of Gyān Chand, Ṭek Chand; of Ṭek Chand, Rām Chand; of Rām Chand, Dayāl Chand; of Dayāl Chand, Fataḥ Chand; of Fataḥ Chand, Karam Chand. For ten generations without a break, i.e. down to Dayāl Chand, the independence of this family continued. In the time of Fataḥ Chand the Rāja of Tibat got possession of Lāhul; but the territory of ten families remained as before in their possession. Moreover, under Tibat the rule of this family was extended to the whole of Lāhul. Down to the time of Karam Chand, i.e. about one hundred years, the rule of Tibat over this territory continued. During this time Lāmās and Gurūs were introduced into this country. This is the reason why below[5] Karam Chand the names of our ancestors[6] are in Tibetan. Afterwards, in the time of Sīngī and Nonō Chogan, the sons of Karam Chand, Rāja Mān Singh of Kullū, through the decline in power of the Tibatan Rāja, became the ruler of Lāhul. At this time, too, the territory of this family remained as before. Since in this family the custom had come down that the eldest son should succeed and the younger sons sit under him as *dothā,īs*,[7] the names of the latter used not to be entered in the family tree. Since the two brothers Singī and Nonō Chogan were equally powerful, hence in the time of Rājā Mān Singh the territory was divided and both became equal *jāgīrdārs* under Rājā Mān Ṣingh of Kullū. Singī took possession of Gumrang and Nonō Chogan of

[1] I think this is the meaning of گھرداماد 'house son-in-law.'

[2] i.e. Kolang in the district of Baṅgāl.

[3] The figures seem to be merely transposed.

[4] In the Urdū usually spelt with a ص.

[5] In the genealogical tree?

[6] [Who were Buddhists.]

[7] [Is this word a derivative of the Hindī *dohatā*, 'a daughter's son'?—F. W. T.]

Kolang. From this onwards there are two branches of the family, the descent of each being carried on separately.

The son of Sīngī was Sharsum; of Sharsum, Chogan; of Chogan, Harī Rām; of Harī Rām, Bhīmī Rām. Bhīmī Rām had two sons, Nīmā Singh and Gaṭū. Nīmā Singh's son was Motī Rām, and Gaṭū's son was Devī Chand. At this time Motī Rām's son Bhāg Chand and Devī Chand [1] himself are in possession of the *jāgīr*. The second branch is: the son of Nonō Chogan was Chhiyāng Namgiyāl; and the son of Chhiyāng Namgiyāl was Tashi Angiyāl; and the son of Tashi Angiyāl was Chhiyāng; and of Chhiyāng, Bhāg Chand: and to Bhāg Chand two sons were born, Dharam Singh and Tashi Angṭā, known as Dharam Chand. Dharam Singh died without issue. Dharam Chand had a son Tārā Chand, and Tārā Chand had three sons, Harī Chand, Rām Chand, and Mihr Chand. In 1877 A.D. Ṭhākur Tārā Chand died in his 74th year; and according to ancient custom the succession fell to me, Ṭhākur Harī Chand, the eldest son, and I am now in possession. After me my son Amar Chand, now one and a half years old, will succeed.

Ṭhākur Rām Chand's son, Jai Chand, is alive. Mihr Chand died without issue. For something over two hundred years, i.e. from the time of Nonō Chogan down to the time of Tārā Chand, this district remained subservient to the rājās of Kullū. In 1843 A.D., in the time of Ṭhākur Tārā Chand, the Sikhs conquered Kullū from Rājā Jīt Singh. At that time Lāhul, too, came under the Sikhs. The Sikhs ruled for six years. Then even the above-mentioned *jāgīrs* of my family remained as before. In 1849 A.D. the English Government took over the Panjāb. Then, too, these two *jāgīrs* of my family remained as before. These three changes of rule occurred in the time of Ṭhākur Tārā Chand. It is the custom in our *jāgīrs*, following the custom of the hill Rājās, that the eldest son of the Ṭhākur is called *Ṭīkah*. The whole of the *jāgīr* is his right. The other brothers are counted as his *dothā,ē*, and they are entitled to subsistence only from this ancient *jāgīr*. If there is [no] *Ṭīkah* born to a real *Ṭhākur*, then the nearest *dothā,ē* is considered to be the rightful heir to the *jāgīr*. About 800 years have elapsed since Rānā Nīl Chand came from Kolong in the district of Bangāl to settle in Lāhul. At the same time Ṭhākur Ratan Pāl of the Pāl family, a resident of Gondh in Bangāl, came to Lāhul and settled in Tīnan, and named Tīnan Gondala after his first place of residence; and of his family at the present time Ṭhākur Hīrā Chand is alive and the holder of the *jāgīr* of Gondala.

1. As long as the Tibatan rule remained, [our ancestors], under the Tibatan rulers, governed the whole of Lāhul.

2. Under the rule of the Kullū Rājās all state business between the Rājās of Kullū and Laddākh and Tibat was entrusted to us: our ancestors conducted it.

3. In the beginning of the English rule, on account of the social position of the family, first on 17th September, 1852, all the business of Lāhul was entrusted to *Neg* (*Pārah* [2]) Ṭhākur Tārā Chand. He performed various services for his superior officers and various European travellers in these parts and also on the Tibat frontier.

[1] First cousin of Motī Rām?

[2] I do not understand what *pārah* and *chārah* mean. They do not appear to be proper names. [Wilson's glossary gives the word *nek-dārī* in the sense of 'sums or portions of the crop, collected from the cultivators' of a village for 'the village expenses and payments to the village officers and servants'.—F. W. T.]

In addition to his pay as a *Neg* he had the grazing rights[1] of the whole of Lāhul allotted to his family.

4. In 1857, when Mr. Salāganwait (Schlagintweit), a Survey Officer, was murdered in Yārkand, the duty of inquiring into the case and bringing back all information was entrusted by Government to me, Ṭhākur Harī Chand. Accordingly, in my own person I went to Laddākh. From thence I sent my special trustworthy servant to Yārkand and learned all the details of the above-mentioned officer's death, how he was murdered without any reason by Walī Khān, the ruler of Kokān (Kokand), who at that time was engaged in ravaging the country around Yārkand. On learning this I returned to Jālandhar, to Colonel Lek (Lake), the Commissioner, and reported the matter. As a reward for this service, I received from Government one thousand rupees and four hundred rupees as travelling expenses.

5. In 1861, when news was received that some English gentlemen were coming from China to Simla by way of Lāsa, etc., then according to a suggestion from Government and with the sanction of my revered father, Ṭhākur Tārā Chand Ṣāhib, I, in my own person, went out as far as Gādar (Sgar-thog ?) and Rodakh (Ru-thog ?) in Tibat to welcome and offer my services to the above-mentioned gentlemen. When no news of them was obtainable, I returned and reported the fact to Government. As a reward for this service, I was granted a robe of honour and a *parwānah* expressing the satisfaction of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjāb, signed by the Secretary, and sealed with the office seal.

6. In 1861, in recognition of the high status of his family and in appreciation of his services, my father, Ṭhākur Tārā Chand Ṣāhib, was raised to the rank of Honorary Magistrate and Honorary Extra Assistant [Commissioner]. He was given the power of a police officer of the first grade in criminal cases and of a civil officer with powers to fine up to Rs. 10. The criminal fines were allotted to him. In addition to his ancient ancestral *jāgīr* he was granted a *mu'āfī*[2] of Rs. 100 a year, on Koṭhī Barbog.

7. In 1863, in accordance with orders from Mr. Remūṭan (Egerton ?), Deputy Commissioner of Kāngrah, according to the wishes of Government to establish trade connections between India and Tibat by way of Yabastī Gar, I, in my own person, went as far as Tibat and reported the circumstances of that place to Government. On this occasion Government granted me a reward of five hundred rupees.

9.[3] In 1867, on account of his services and ability and in appreciation of what he had done, an increase was made in the powers of my father, Ṭhākur Tārā Chand. He was made an Honorary Magistrate of the third grade, with criminal and civil powers of an Honorary Extra Assistant Commissioner, [and] according to the powers of an ordinary Assistant Commissioner he could deal with civil cases up to Rs. 100. Criminal fines could be retained by him, and, instead of the exemption of Rs. 100 on Koṭhī Barbog which in 1861 was granted to him as a temporary measure, he was permitted to retain the fourth part of the revenue of Lāhul, a sum amounting to Rs. 550.

10. In 1868 the office of Registration was established in Lāhul, and my father, Ṭhākur Tārā Chand, was appointed Sub-Registrar.

[1] It is not clear whether he had the right of grazing for himself or the taxes for grazing generally allotted to him.
[2] Exemption.
[3] There is no para. (8) in the Urdū.

11. In 1870, when an English Mission, under Mr. Ṭāmas Daglas Forsāth (Thomas Douglas Forsyth), was sent to Yārkand by the Indian Government, I went with it. Since the English Mission was not permitted to go outside its camp, which was in Yangī Shahr,[1] without the permission of Atālīq Ghāzī, the *Wālī* of Yārqand, I, in my own person, and in accordance with the orders of Mr. Forsāth of the English Mission, came out of the camp and measured the circumference of the ramparts by pacing, and made a map, which is reproduced in the book of travels of the above-mentioned English gentleman, and of which the method of preparation is mentioned in paragraph 176 of the travels.

12. In September, 1871, my father, Ṭhākur Tārā Chand, voluntarily resigned from the office of Honorary Magistrate and Honorary Extra Assistant Commissioner. The Government accepted my father's resignation, and in place of my revered father appointed your humble servant to this office of Honorary Magistrate and Honorary Extra Assistant Commissioner; and those powers of a Magistrate of the third grade and civil powers up to Rs. 100 were bestowed upon me; and your humble servant, too, was appointed Sub-Registrar in the place of his revered father.

13. In 1872, with the approval of Government, his [my father's] name was entered as a Member of the Committee of Local Rates of the District of Kāngṛah.

14. In 1876, in appreciation of the social position of his family and his services, the title of *Wazīr* was bestowed by Government on him, reference Letter No. 606, dated 30th March, 1876, from the Secretary to the Government of the Panjāb to the Secretary to the Financial Commissioner in answer to Your Honour's letter No. 278, dated 17th of the same month.

15. In addition to this, my revered father, Ṭhākur Tārā Chand, obtained the honour of a seat in the Governor's Darbār, and now your humble servant's name, too, is found in the list of the Governor's *darbārīs*, being number 42 of the list; and, like other chiefs and Rājās, I have five armed retainers exempted from the provisions of the Indian Arms Act.

9th April, 1885.

Ṭhākur Harī Chand, *Wazīr*—Honorary Magistrate and Honorary Civil Judge of Lāhul in the District of Kāngrah.

(*Later additions, not in the Urdū original.*)

15. In the year 1900 A.D. Ṭhākur Harī Chand died, and Ṭhākur Amar Chand succeeded to the *jāgīr* of Ko-loṅ. My claim to the offices of Honorary *Wazīr*, Trade and Civil Judge of Lahul was acknowledged, and my cousin Ṭhākur Jai Chand was appointed *Wazīr* of Lahul during my minority. In June, 1903, on coming of age, I was appointed Honorary Magistrate and Civil Judge of Lahul. I have held the office since then, and have filled it to the full satisfaction of my superior officers. During the absence of Ṭhākur Jai Chand I have also acted as Sub-Registrar of Lahul. I have also been acting as an assistant to the Military Transport Registration Department.

16. In June, 1906, Mr. H. Calvert, Assistant Commissioner of Kuḷū, proposed to visit certain places in Tibet and to take me along with him. I accepted his offer.

[1] 'New City.'

The work of providing beasts of burden was entrusted to me, and before the date of starting I had the required number of horses and mules ready. We went through the Rāmpur State (Bashahr) to Tibet. In Tibet we visited places of mercantile interest. The journey lasted from the 18th of June till the 3rd of October. We returned viâ Spiti. During the journey we suffered much through the scarcity of grass and other things; and the bad roads were also a source of trouble to us. We first visited Gartog, where the Assistant Commissioner met with the Garpon (*Sgar-dpon*). He conversed with him on matters of trade facilities. From Gartog we went to Chocho, and from that place to Bongba, and thence to Thog-jalung, Dolang, etc. There are gold-mines in these places, and I guided the Assistant Commissioner. I also took him to Shumorti (Chumurti) and Chhagrachan. These two places are famous for their horses. These places have not as yet been visited by any English traveller, the reason being that the Tibetan authorities do not permit the English to visit them. Even if permission to visit them has been secured, it is very difficult to surmount the many obstacles which arise on the way. For many marches it is difficult to find water, grass, or wood. Even coolies are not supplied for these places in Tibet, so that vast arrangements have to be made before starting. I myself made the arrangements for everything that was needed on such a terrible journey. It was also I who kept the Garpon from refusing us permission.

NOTES.

With regard to the first part of the chronicle, which contains the history of the chiefs from Nīl Chand to Karam Chand, I wish to state that it is not supported by other historical documents or inscriptions. Not a single name of a chief ending in Chand has as yet been discovered in Lahul, apart from the chronicles of the Ko-loṅ chiefs given above. On the contrary, from an old inscription and a document of the sixteenth century we learn that the chiefs of Ko-loṅ had Tibetan names prior to Nono Chogan (Chu-ṅun) and Seṅ-ge, who lived in the seventeenth century. On an old stone inscription discovered by Mr. Howell the name of an ancient Ko-loṅ chief is given as Boldor (probably Ḫbol-rdor); and in a document referring to the erection of a *mchod-rten* (Inscription No. 128) the name of a chief of Ko-loṅ, who was a contemporary of Parbat-Siṅgh of Kuḷū (1584–1618), is given as Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal. It is quite possible that the names ending in Chand were invented by the chronicler with a view to making the chiefs of Ko-loṅ appear as descendants from Rājpūt ancestors. This, they thought, would raise them in the eyes of the Kuḷū kings. It is also very strange that the Rājpūt origin of the chiefs of Ti-nan is asserted in the Ko-loṅ chronicles. According to the Ko-loṅ chronicles the chiefs of Ti-nan emigrated from Gondha in Baṅgāl; but according to the Ti-nan chronicles they came from Lcags-mkhar in Gu-ge. I should think that the latter statement has a greater claim to our acceptance. The country of Baṅgāl mentioned in the chronicles is the province of Baṛā Baṅgāl, which nowadays forms part of Kuḷū. The many Tibetan names which are found in the second part of the pedigree cannot be recognized in their Urdū dress. They have to be compared with the names contained in the Tibetan document from Ko-loṅ (*q.v.*). Instead of Kolang the Tibetans say Ko-loṅ; and instead of Gumring, Guṅ-raṅ. For Thog-jalung see above, p. 94 (*sub fin.*).

As regards the claim of the Ko-loṅ chiefs to have been in charge of the management of Lahul during the times of Tibetan rule before 1605 A.D., I must say that it is not confirmed by popular tradition. The latter is in favour of the view that the chiefs of Bar-ḫbog were Governors of Lahul during that time.

The conquest of Lahul by the Sikhs must have taken place before 1843; for, when Cunningham visited Lahul in 1839, he found the country already in the hands of the Sikhs (JASB., 1841, pp. 105 sqq.).

Adolf von Schlagintweit was murdered on his expedition to Turkestan on the 26th August, 1857, near Kashgar.

The date of Tārā Chand's death is not clearly given. First we read that Tārā Chand died in 1874; then we read that he was still alive in 1876; and according to Col. Massey he died in 1877.

X. The Genealogical Tree of the Chiefs of Ko-loṅ in Lahul

In my introductory notes to 'The Chronicles of the chiefs of Ko-loṅ' I remarked that Hari-Chand, when compiling the chronicles in 1880 A.D., made use, according to his own statement, of older documents. I discovered one of these older documents when the present chief of Ko-loṅ, in 1906, very kindly allowed me to examine his family papers. It was a simple pedigree in Tibetan. I had it copied at once by my munshi, Bzod-pa-Bde-chen of Kye-laṅ, and now publish it. The original is a one-sheet MS. written in Tibetan *dbu-med* characters. At first sight it may appear superfluous to edit it at all, in addition to Hari-Chand's chronicles of Ko-loṅ in Urdū. But, as the Tibetan names of the pedigree are very difficult to recognize in their Urdū dress, it is of importance to show them also in their Tibetan form. This genealogical tree in Tibetan shows a great similarity to the genealogical tree of the Bar-ḥbog chiefs, especially with regard to the first line of the MS., which in both documents is not quite intelligible.[1] I give this line in parallel columns:—

1 Bar-ḥbog : Nag-se-tsi-ka-bai be mu-dzab na-mu-na lam bar 2
2 Ko-loṅ : Nag-śa-cig-kyi ba-yi mu-jub-bad na-mu-na lam bār 2
1 bā-ba-ṭa ji-min-gar-pa-nra ko-khri Bar-bog
2 ba-bad ji-min-gar-spran-na ko-khri Ko-loṅ.

Several words of these lines seem to be Urdū. *Mu-dzab* or *Mu-jub-bad* is probably Hindī-Arabic *mūjib*, 'cause,' etc.; *namūnah* is Urdū for 'type', 'pattern'; *bā-ba-ṭa, ba-bad,* may be Urdū-Arabic *bābat*, 'account'; *lam-bar* is the Urdū-English word 'number'; *ko-khri* is Urdū *koṭhī*, 'granary,' 'government office.'

The fact of the existence of these Urdū words in the first line of both documents would point to a time when Lahul was strongly influenced by her Kuḷū neighbours. This was certainly the case when Lahul was conquered by the Kuḷū kings in the second half of the seventeenth century. That the Bar-ḥbog pedigree was drawn up not much later is proved by the fact that it was not continued after the conquest of Lahul. As the same Urdū words occur also in the Ko-loṅ document, we may conclude that it was also drawn up after 1680 A.D., say in 1700 A.D. (if the word *lambar*, 'number,' does not point to a still later origin). But it was added to as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century. Another explanation would be that the first lines in Urdū were written at a later date than the rest.

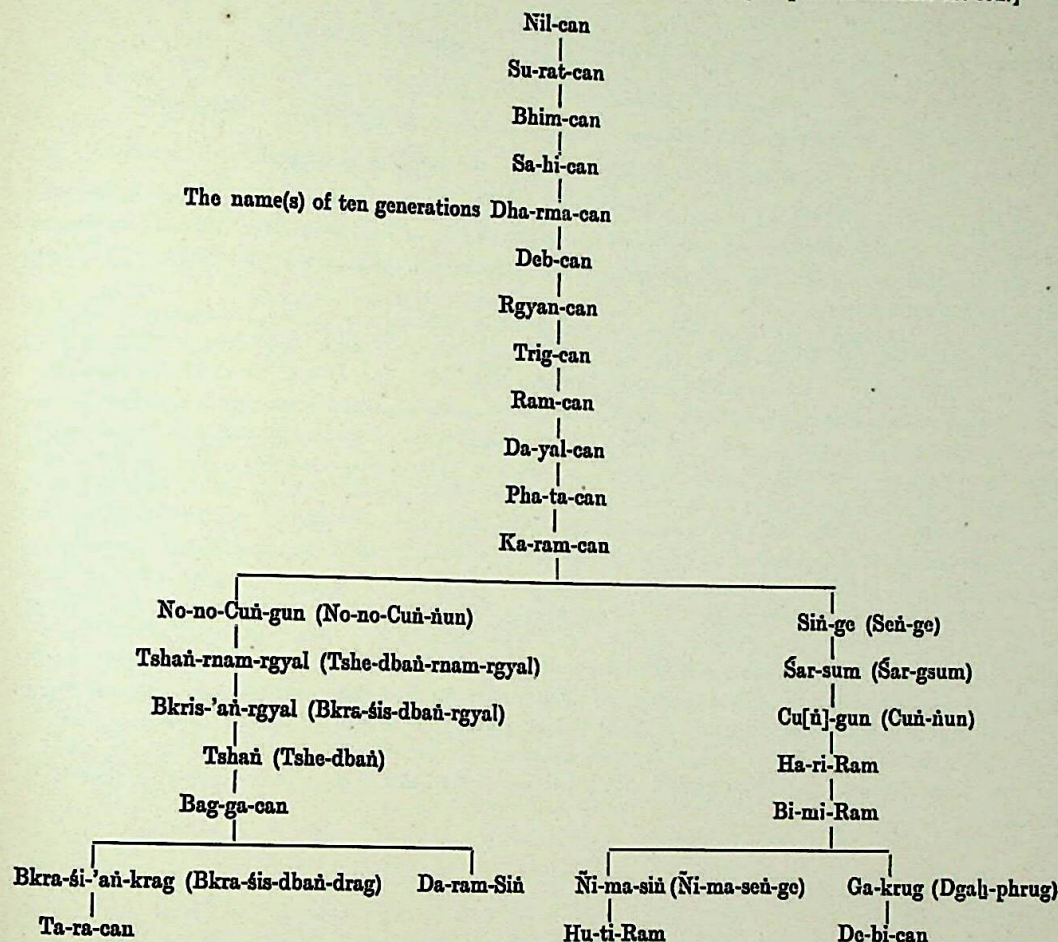
As I stated in my notes on the 'Chronicles of Ko-loṅ' (p. 205 *supra*), it is probable that the names ending in *can* (*cand*) were invented by the chronicler of Ko-loṅ with a view to making the chiefs of Ko-loṅ appear as descendants from Rājpūt ancestors.

[1] [For an explanation see below, p. 209, n. 1.—F. W. T.]

TEXT

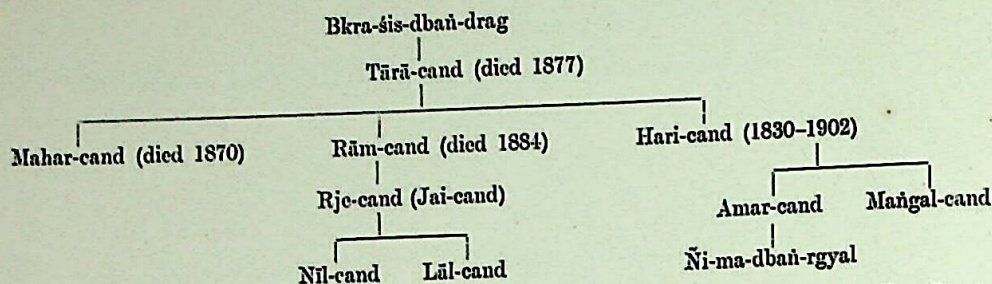
ནག་ཁ་ཅིག་གྱི་བ་ཡི་ཟུ་རྒྱབ་བད་ན་ཟུ་ན་ལམ་བླང་ཞ་བ་བད་ཐི་མཐི་གར་སྣན་ན་ཀོ་ཁི་ཀོ་ཡོང །

TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION

[1] [Zag-śa-cig-kyi-ba-yi-mu-jub-bad-na-mu-na-lam-bār 2 ba-bad-ji-min-gar-spran-na-ko-khri-Ko-loṅ.]

NOTES

The meaning of the words 'name (or names) of ten generations' is absolutely unintelligible to me. As regards the Tibetan forms of the names, the orthography leaves much to be desired. I suppose that the following spellings were intended :—(below Karam-can[d]) : No-no-Cuṅ-ṅun, Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal, Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-rgyal, Tshe-dbaṅ, Bhāga-cand, Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-drag (or grags), Dharma-siṅ, Tārā-cand ; Seṅ-ge, Śar-gsum (?), Cuṅ-ṅun, Harī-rām, Bhemī-rām, Ñi-ma-siṅ, Dgaḥ-phrug, Hu-ti-(?)rām, Devī-cand.

The following is the genealogical tree of Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-drag's descendants drawn up by my munshi, Bzod-pa-Bde-chen, and continued to the present day. Some of the dates are taken from Massey's book on Panjab genealogies.

[1] [This seems to be only the heading of an official form (Urdū) on which the genealogy was written. With the aid of Mr. C. A. Storey and Col. D. C. Phillott I make out the reading and rendering as follows :—*naqsh-i-chakī ba mūjib namūnā lambar 2 bābat zamīn parganā koṭhī Ko-loṅ* 'statement of property according to form number 2 : account of the lands of the Parganā (district) of koṭhī Ko-loṅ'.—F. W. T.]

As regards the branch line of Guṅ-raṅ, Seṅ-ge's descendants, the following notes will suffice to bring the pedigree down to the present day:—Dgaḥ-phrug's son, Devī-cand, lived from 1832–1903. Ñi-ma-siṅ's son was Motī-rām (or Hu-ti-rām). Motī-rām's son, Bhāg-cand, was born in 1863. He lives at Ga-riṅ (Ska-riṅ). He has a little son called Ratan-cand.

Only a few of the names of chiefs given above are found in Lahuli inscriptions. The earliest among them seems to be Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-rgyal, whose name is given as a contemporary of Spri-tim-Siṅ (Pritam-Siṅgh) of Kuḷū, c. 1767 A.D. It is found in a hitherto unpublished inscription from Khaṅ-gsar, Ko-loṅ. In an old document from Ko-loṅ (see my collection of inscriptions, No. 128) a certain chief called Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal is mentioned. This Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal of Ko-loṅ cannot possibly be Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-rgyal's father, as according to this document he is a contemporary of the Kuḷū king, Parbat-Siṅgh, c. 1584 A.D. He is probably one of the Tibetan ancestors of the Ko-loṅ chiefs whose names were eradicated when the theory of the descent of the Ko-loṅ chiefs from Rājpūt ancestors was invented. As regards Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-rgyal, the inscription says that he was of Bu-ram-śiṅ-pa's (Ikshvāku's) family. This is a statement which reminds us of the claims of the Tibetan Buddhist kings of Ladakh, who also wish to be called Bu-ram-śiṅ-pa's descendants. Such a statement is in contrast with the pretended descent of the Ko-loṅ chiefs from Indian Rājpūt ancestors. Possibly in Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-rgyal's days this theory had not yet been started, and the chiefs of Ko-loṅ were quite satisfied with their relationship to the Ladakhi kings. As I see in another hitherto unpublished inscription from Kye-laṅ, one of the Bar-ḥbog chiefs, No-no-(Jo) Rnam-rgyal, is also stated to be of Bu-ram-śiṅ-pa's family. Then the chief Dharma-Siṅgh of Ko-loṅ is mentioned in several inscriptions as a contemporary of the Kuḷū king, Bir-khyim-(Bikermān) Siṅgh, c. 1810 A.D. There is an inscription in Tāṅkrī (Ṭākarī) and Devanāgarī characters at Taṅ-ti, Lahul, which contains the name of Otu-rām. This Otu-rām is possibly identical with Ḥu-ti-rām or Motī-rām of the above pedigree (see Inscription No. 143).

XI. The Chronicles of Ti-nan (Lahul)

When stationed at Kye-laṅ, Lahul, 1906–8, I heard a rumour that the chiefs of Ti-nan (or Gondhla) were in possession of a family chronicle. I did not, however, succeed in getting to see it. I therefore asked Miss Duncan, in 1908, to make efforts to procure it. She actually obtained the MS. from Hīrā-cand, the present chief of Ti-nan. The greater part of the document was copied and translated for her use by Maṅgal-cand, brother of the reigning Jo of Ko-loṅ. Maṅgal-cand did not consider it necessary to copy the latter part of the little book, as it contained only the names of the guests who were present at the death-ceremony of the chief Ha-ri-ya, in the sixteenth century. As Maṅgal-cand's translation was not quite literal, I had a new one made in 1908. For the present publication of the Tibetan text I intended to reproduce Miss Duncan's copy of the document. Miss Duncan had died, too early for Tibetan archæology, in 1909, and her brother's efforts to procure the Tibetan text were in vain. I therefore asked Mr. Hettasch, of Kye-laṅ, to send my old munshi, Bzod-pa-Bde-chen, from Kye-laṅ to Ti-nan to copy it once more. After several fruitless attempts to get hold of the MS. the munshi succeeded, and the Tibetan text attached below is based on his copy. My hope that he would include the list of the 40 guests who were present at the Chief Ha-ri-ya's death-ceremony was, however, not realized. On the contrary, Bzod-pa stopped his work a few lines earlier than Maṅgal-cand. He believed that the chronicle proper ended there, and that the rest of the MS. had nothing to do with history. Bzod-pa's copy closely agrees with the translations made from Miss Duncan's copy of the text. A few names of chiefs, omitted in Bzod-pa's copy through some clerical error, were restored from the translations.

The principality of Ti-nan extends from the confluence of the rivers Chandrā and Bhāgā about 20 miles up the valley of the river Chandrā, and is of little importance. The language of its inhabitants is Ti-nan, and Manchat in a few villages. For specimens see my publication, *Die historischen und mythologischen Erinnerungen der Lahouler*, and *Tabellen der Pronomina und Verba in den drei Sprachen Lahoul's* (ZDMG., vol. lxiii, pp. 65 ff.).

TEXT

[གསེར་གྱི་མེ་ལོང་ཉེས་པའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་བཞུགས་སོ ||]

༄༅ || ཨོཾ་སྨོ | ཨོཾ་སྭ་སྟི་སི་དྷཾ |

སྐུ་གསུམ་མངོན་དུ་གྱུར་པའི་སྟོན་པ་སངས་རྒྱས་[དང་] |[1]

སྒྲིབ་གཉིས་བག་ཆགས་སྦྱོང་མཛད་དམ་པའི་ཆོས |

སྐྱབ་གསུམ་གྱི་མཛེས་པའི་དགེ་བདུན་སྟེ |

སྐྱབས་གནས་དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ ||

[1] [The scansion is faulty. Perhaps སྟོན་པ is an insertion.—F. W. T.]

ཆོས་སྐུ་མངོན་དུ་གྱུར་པའི་སྣང་བ་མཐའ་ཡས་དང་ །
ལོངས་སྐུ་འགྲོ་དོན་མཛད་པའི་སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས །
སྤྲུལ་སྐུ་བརྒྱད་[ཀྱི]་འདུལ་མཛད་པ་དྨ་བྱུང་ །
སྤྲུལ་སྐུ་སྐྱབས་པ་གསུམ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ ||
ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོའི་སྤྲུལ་པ་སྲོང་བཙན་སྒམ(སྒམ) |
ཁྲིམ་གཉེར་སྤྲུལ་པ་ལྷ་ཅིག་ཁྲི་བཙུན་དང་ |
སྒྲོལ་ལྗང་སྤྲུལ་པ་ལྷ་ཅིག་ཀོང་ཇོ་དང་ |
འགྲོ་བའི་དོན་མཛད་གསུམ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ ||

ཀྱེ་ལགས | ཏྲེ(ཏྲེ ?)་སྟོད་པེ་ཏུ་ཏུ་རྒྱ་གྲམ་རླུང་གི་སྙེར |
ནང་བརྟུད་སེམས་ཅན་སྐྱི་མཐུན་ལས་ལ་གྲུབ |
འཁོར་ལོ་རྩིབ་བརྒྱད་ཁ་འབབས་བྱུར་འོག |
མདོ་བཀོད་ལགས་རིན་ཆེན་གསེར་གྱི་སྙིང་ |
གཙ་ཁ་སྒྱུར་གནམ་ས་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བར |
སྙིང་གསུམ་མི་མཛེར་ཤ་ཀྱིའི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་མིང་ |
གླིང་ལ་ཁྲད་འབབས་ནུར་རྒྱལ་བོད་ཀྱི་ཡུལ |
ཁྲད་པར་དམ་ཆོས་དར་བ་གངས་ཅན་ལྗོངས་ |
སོ་སྦྲང་ཁྲད་འབབས་རྒྱལ་ས་མ་གར་ས |

ཆོས་རྒྱལ་ཆེན་པོ་བི་དྷུར་སེང་གེ་དབུ་རྨོག་མཐོ་བའི་དུས | ཡུལ་ལ་ཁྲད་འབབས་སྐུ་མཁར་ནལ་ཚེ་འདིར | | ཀྱེ་ལགས | མི་རིགས་ཁྲང་རྩུན་འོད་གསལ་ལྷ་ནས་ཆད་ཚུལ་ནི | བྱུན་དེ་(བྱུ་གེ་)ལྷགས་མཁར་ནས་ཆད | མི་དབང་ཆེན་པོ་ར་ན་བ་ལ་དང་ | དེའི་སྲས་རྡོ་རྗེ་བ་ལ | དེའི་སྲས་ཉི་མ་བ་ལ | དེའི་སྲས་ནང་ཀ་རྒྱལ་པོ | དེའི་སྲས་བསོད་ནམས་དཔལ་ལྡེ | དེའི་སྲས་བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱ་མཚོ | དེའི་ནོ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྒྱ[ལ]་པོ | དེའི་ནོ་ཚེ་རིང་རྒྱལ་པོ | དེའི་སྲས་བཀྲ་ཤིས | དེའི་སྲས་པའ་རི་མཁན | [དེའི་སྲས་ཕྲ་ཕྲ་མན་ཏྲ | དེའི་སྲས་ཏ་རི་ཡ | དེའི་ནོ་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ | དེའི་སྲས་དཔལ་འབར་!] ཆབ་སྲིད་ཡར་ངོའི་མཚོ་ཟླ་ལྟར་འཕེལ་བར་གྱུར | ཀྱེ་ལགས | ཡོན་གྱི་བདག་པོ་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ | བློ་བློ[ས་]ཀྱིད་གཉིས་དང་ | ཡུམ་གྱི་མཆོག་བཟུར་དང་དབང(དག་དབང)་བློ་མ་གསུམ་གྱི[ས] | སྐུ་གཤེགས་ཏ་རིའི་དོན་དུ་ཟངས་རྒྱན་མཆོད་རྟེན་བཞེངས | གསུང་གི་རྟེན་དུ་རྒྱལ་རབས་གསེར་གྱི་མེ་ལོང་བཞེངས |

[ཏི་ནན་ཇོས་ཟེར་དོན་ལ | བྱུན་དེ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་ཡུལ་ནི་ཡེར་བང་གླིང་ཕྱོགས་སུ་ཡོད་དེ | དེ་དག་གི་མེས་པོའི་དེ་ཡུལ་ནས་ཆད་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར་འདུག |||]

TRANSLATION

The chronicle called the 'Golden Mirror' is set down [in the following]:—

Oṃ-mo | *Oṃ svasti sid*[*dh*]*aṃ !* To the Teacher Buddha, who is manifest in the three bodies; to the holy Religion (books), which purify from attachment to the two kinds of moral obscurities; to the Clerical Order, adorned by the three teachings (doctrines ?) —to these refuges, the three jewels, I offer a salutation.

To Amitābha, revealed as the Dharma-kāya; to Avalokiteśvara, who as the Sambhoga-kāya serves the good of the world; to Padmasambhava, who as the Nirmāṇa-kāya subdues the eight classes [of demons]: to these three powerful incarnations I offer a salutation.

To Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, an incarnation of the Greatly Compassionate (Avalokiteśvara); to the goddess Khri-btsun (one of his queens), an incarnation of Khrom-ñer (Bhṛikuṭī); to the goddess Koṅ-jo (his other queen), an incarnation of the green Tārā: to these three helpers of created beings I offer a salutation.

All hail! In the treasure-house of the air, the emerald vessel of the svastika, all the creatures came into existence in a satisfactory manner. Below, the eight-spoked wheel and the thunderbolt of the subjects (?); above, the golden and precious lower ground; between these two dwelling-places or beautiful receptacles there are three thousand suffering worlds under King Śākya.[1]

Among countries the most eminent country is Bur-rgyal-bod (Tibet). The holy religion spread particularly in the snowy regions.

While the exceedingly lofty palace of the capital Ma-gar-sa was held by the great religious King (Dharmarāja), Bi-dhur-Siṅ (Bahādur-Siṅgh), with his helmet high, [there lived] in this castle Nal-rtse, the most eminent in the country—all hail!—a family of undefiled origin called Ḥod-gsal ('Bright Light'), which was descended from the gods. It originated at Lcags-mkhar in Gun-de (Gu-ge). [Its members are the following]:—

The great lord of men, Ra-na-pha-la.
And his son Rdo-rje-pha-la.
His son Ñi-ma-pha-la.
His son Naṅ-ka-rgyal-po.
His son Bsod-rnams(nams)-dpal-[lde ?].
His son Bsod-rnams(nams)-rgya-mtsho.
His younger brother Bkra-śis-rgya[l]-po.
His younger brother Tshe-riṅ-rgyal-po.
His son Bkra-śis.
His son Paḥa-ri-mkhan.
His son Bha-gha-man-rta.
His son Ha-ri-ya.
His younger brother Rgyal-po.
His son Dpal-ḥbar.

[May their lifetime become as firm as the powerful mountains][2] and may their government increase like the fifteenth of the waxing moon! All hail! By the donors

[1] [Perhaps the meaning of this obscure passage is more or less as follows:—'In the treasury of air, the emerald svastika vessel which is the universe (*phyi-snod*), originated through the united works of the creatures in it—below, the eight-spoked wheel with its thralls; above, the bejewelled, golden heaven—between these two . . . are three thousand worlds, which are King Śākya's (Buddha's) name.'—F. W. T.]

[2] Only in Miss Duncan's translation.

Rgyal-po and Blo-dros-skyid, both, and Ṅaṅ(Ṅag)-dbaṅ-gro[l]-ma, the best of mothers, by these three, at the death-ceremony of Ha-ri, a Byaṅ-chub mchod-rten (stūpa) was erected for his soul. And as a verbal record, this chronicle, called 'The golden mirror', was written. [It is astonishing how much was gathered and given for the sake of religion. All hail! The number of what was presented according to the word. . . .

And the others, who brought flesh and beer for the benefit of men, were . . . (c. 40 names) . . . like nectar of the gods.

May all the partakers in this sacrifice meet later on in Mṅon-dgaḥi-źiṅ (one of the heavens).

. . . the red colour of idols . . .

. . . be blessed !]

[The chief of Ti-nan says that Gun-de is situated in Bir-Baṅgāl (Baṛā Baṅgāl, a province of Kuḷū), and that his ancestors came from there.]

NOTES

As is plainly stated, the above chronicle was compiled at the death-ceremony of the Chief Ha-ri-ya, who was a contemporary of the Kuḷū king Bi-dhur-(= Bahādur) Siṅgh. King Bahādur-Siṅgh of Kuḷū reigned, according to Dr. Vogel's investigations, about the middle of the sixteenth century. This Kuḷū king claims to have ruled over Lahul, and the chief Ha-ri-ya may have been his agent in the country. The very powerful Ladakhi king Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal I, who reigned at about the same time, also claims to have conquered Kuḷū (including Lahul). Possibly one conquest followed the other.

The statement of the Ti-nan chiefs regarding their descent from a Gu-ge family is of great importance. It is in contrast to another statement, found in the chronicles of the chiefs of Ko-loṅ, in Lahul. The latter says that the Ti-nan chiefs came to Lahul from Baṅgāl (Choṭā or Baṛā Baṅgāl, now a province of Kuḷū). The clear statement of the Ti-nan chronicle, which was compiled three centuries before the Ko-loṅ chronicle, is, of course, the more trustworthy of the two. I believe that the family was of purely Tibetan origin. The name Phala (*pāla*) is possibly an Indianization of the Tibetan word *dpal*, glory, which is so often found in Tibetan names. The original name of the family, Ḫod-gsal, is of Bon-po origin. Ḫod-gsal is the name of a Bon-po heaven; see S. Ch. Das' Tibetan-English Dictionary, p. 1120. A place called Lcags-mkhar, 'iron castle,' I have not yet been able to trace on a map.

Not a single one of the names of the Ti-nan chiefs has as yet been found in inscriptions of Lahul. A certain inscription from Żug-mur, Lahul, mentions a Ha-yar-jo (No. 127 of my collection). But, as Ha-yar is mentioned in other documents as a place-name, the word Ha-yar-jo had better be translated by 'Chief of Ha-yar'. Otherwise I should have felt inclined to identify Ha-yar with Ha-ri-ya of Ti-nan. There is a somewhat indistinct inscription in Śāradā characters on a boulder about a mile below the present village of Ti-nan. Another Śāradā inscription on a stone idol in the Chos-ḫkhor (probably Stod-rgyal-mtshan-chos-ḫkhor) monastery near Si-su, which belongs to the Ti-nan district, contains nothing but mystic syllables. It was discovered by Mr. G. C. L. Howell and myself, and examined by Dr. Vogel. A Byaṅ-chub mchod-rten is a *mchod-rten* with square steps between the upper bowl and the square lower part. It is a pity that the list of the forty guests was not copied; for it contained, in all probability, the names of several contemporary chiefs of Lahul of those days. The Mṅon-dgaḥi-źiṅ is, according to S. Ch. Das' dictionary, a mythological garden, 'the world of joy in the East.' Ma-gar-sa is the name of the ancient capital of Kuḷū. Bur-rgyal-bod probably stands for Spu-rgyal-bod, an ancient name of Tibet. Compare *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*, part ii.

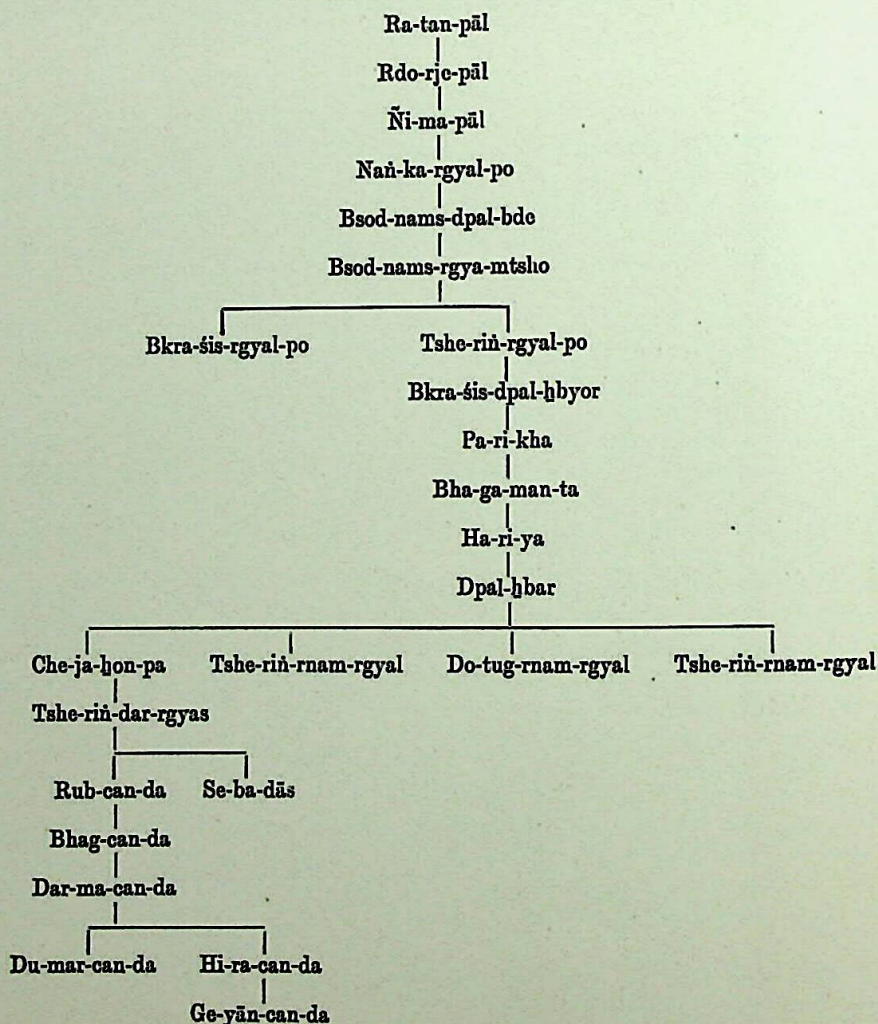
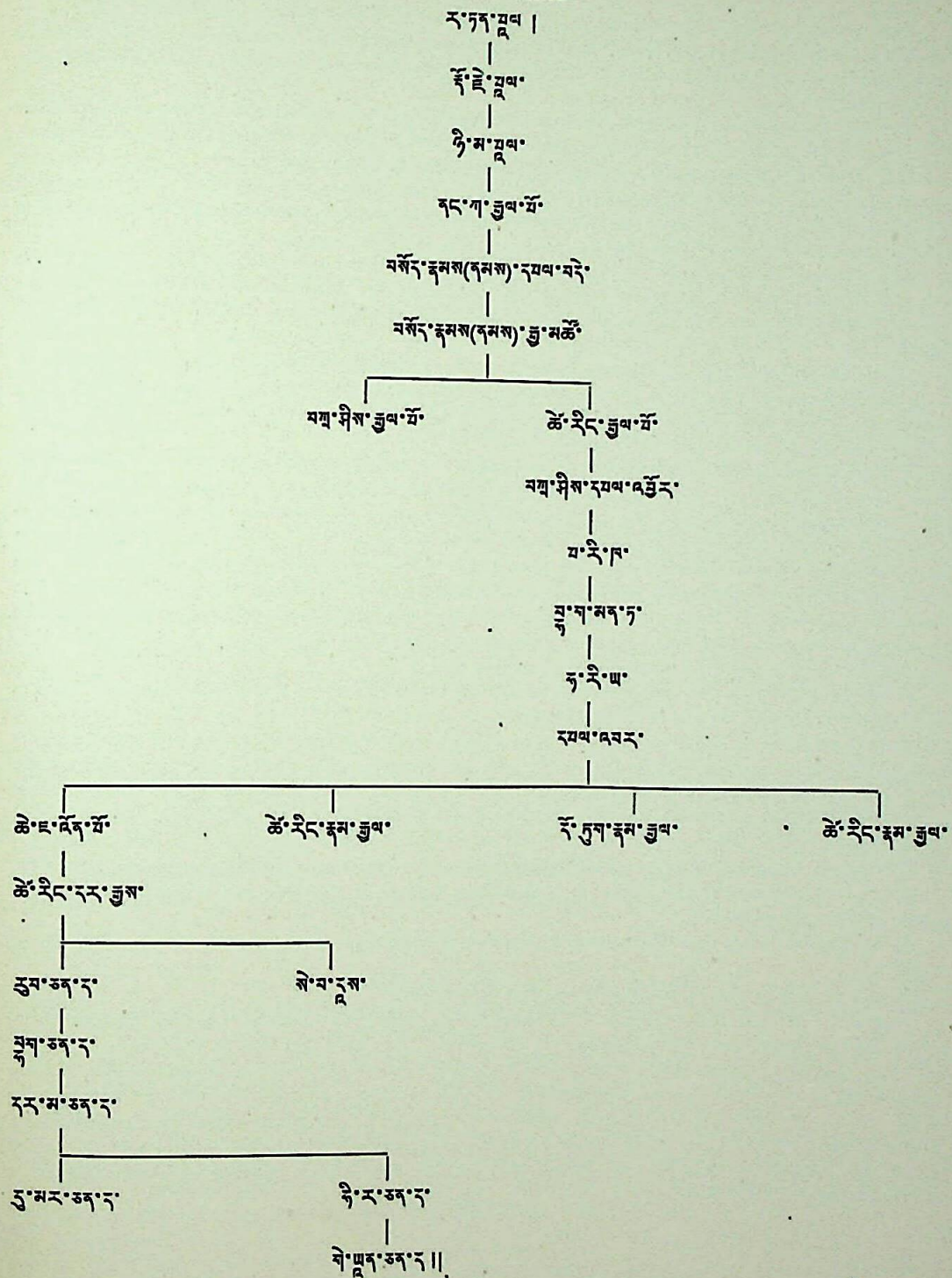
Later additions :—In the place of the name Gu-ge, which was plainly legible in Maṅgal-cand's copy, Bzod-pa-Bde-chen's copy contains the name Gun-de. I am fully convinced that this is due to a recent alteration of the original text. My conclusions, based on the old reading Gu-ge, were not welcomed by the present chief of Ko-loṅ,

whose interest it is to derive the Ti-nan family, as well as his own, from Rājpūt ancestors. If the family came from Gu-ge, it must be of Tibetan origin; if it came from unknown Gun-de, it might be of Rājpūt origin. The fabricated name Gun-de suited the Ko-loṅ chief's purpose particularly well, as it apparently explained the present name of Ti-nan, viz. Gondhla. But the name Gondhla is of quite different origin. The principality received this name from the important and ancient monastery of Gandhola, which is situated within its boundaries. I am convinced that the text of the original document has been purposely altered since 1908, and that this alteration was suggested by the Ko-loṅ chief. Fortunately, the impostor forgot to alter also the other Tibetan names contained in the chronicle, viz. Lcags-mkhar, Ḥod-gsal, Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, etc. They point distinctly to a Tibetan origin of the family.

My thanks are due to Dr. F. W. Thomas for his translation of several difficult passages.

XII. The Genealogical Tree of the Chiefs of Ti-nan

The following genealogical tree of the chiefs of Ti-nan was obtained at Ti-nan by my munshi, Bzod-pa-Bde-chen, of Kye-laṅ, in 1910, when he went to Ti-nan at my request to copy 'The Chronicles of Ti-nan'. By some mistake he got hold of the genealogical tree instead of the chronicles, and in this way this document was unexpectedly discovered. We should have expected the first half, at least, of the genealogical tree to agree with the list of names given in the chronicles. But this is not the case. For this reason it is necessary to publish both separately.

ROMAN TRANSLITERATION

TIBETAN TEXT

NOTES

Taking the names singly, we notice the following deviations from the list given in the *Chronicles of Ti-nan* :— The first chief is here called Ra-tan, instead of Ra-na ; the dynastical name is here spelt Pāl, not Pha-la. The chief of the seventh generation is here called Bkra-śis-dpal-ḫbyor, against Bkra-śis of the chronicle. The Chief Ha-ri-ya's brother is omitted here.

But there is another radical difference between the two lists, viz. that, according to the chronicles, Bkra-śis-rgyal-po and Tshe-riṅ-rgyal-po are Bsod-nams-rgya-mtsho's younger brothers, whilst here they are stated to be his sons. Which of the two versions is correct will perhaps remain obscure for ever.

With regard to the second half of the genealogy, which contains entirely new material, it is remarkable that it consists of nine generations only, whereas we should expect about eleven, considering that it covers a period of about 350 years, from 1550 to 1900 A.D.

I do not think that, beside that given under No. 5 below, there exist any stone inscriptions containing the names of Ti-nan chiefs. But, as there are a number of paper documents in the country which commemorate the erection of certain stūpas, or the acquisition of important books, we might examine them in search of names of Ti-nan chiefs.

1. Bar-ḫbog document, commemorating the acquisition of a Sūtra *Za-ma-tog* in the time of Pirtib-Singhe of Kuḷū (Partāb-Siṅgh, 1569 A.D.). It mentions Tshe-riṅ-sa-grub and Bkra-śis-rgya-mtsho, father and son, chiefs of Bar-ḫbog. Then other chiefs of Kar-sdaṅ (Mkhar-daṅ), Kye-(g)laṅ, Ti-no, Ha-yar, Leug-dra, Sa-raṅ, Bi-liṅ, etc., are also mentioned, but none of Ti-nan.

2. Bar-ḫbog document, commemorating the acquisition of a *Bkaḫ-ḫgyur* during the reign of Tre-tru-Siṅ of Kuḷū. This Kuḷū king is, as I believe, Pṛithvī-Siṅgh, *c.* 1618 A.D. The syllable *Pri* is pronounced *Tri* in Tibetan. The *v* was changed to *u* in Tibetan. The following chiefs of Bar-ḫbog are mentioned in this document :—Ḫbrug-rnam-rgyal, Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje, No-no-Phun-tshogs, Ḫbrug-bde-legs, all of whom belong to the third generation after Bkra-śis-rgya-mtsho, which circumstance again speaks in favour of my identification of Tre-tru-Siṅ with Pṛithvī-Siṅgh. Again, other contemporary chiefs of Lha-braṅ, Pa-spa-rag, Kar-daṅ, Guṅ-raṅ, Ti-mur, and even Ti-nan are mentioned ; in the latter place a certain No-no (younger chief) Rnam-rgyal. This Rnam-rgyal is in all probability one of the three Rnam-rgyals who are mentioned in the genealogical tree of Ti-nan as Dpal-ḫbar's sons, viz. the two Tshe-riṅ-rnam-rgyals and Do-tug-rnam-rgyal.

3. Decree of Riddhi(Ṛiddhi)-Siṅgh of Kuḷū to the Gandhola monastery (*c.* 1663 A.D.). Although Ti-nan is mentioned in this decree, the chief's name is not given.

4. Document from Ko-loṅ, commemorating the erection of a *mchod-rten*, in the time of Parbat-Siṅgh, of Kuḷū (*c.* 1584 A.D.). It does not mention Ti-nan, but Śi-la, which name may refer to the same principality. There it mentions a Rgyal-po-Tshe-riṅ (or Rgyal-po-Tshe-riṅ-dpal-lde). It is, of course, possible that this prince is identical with Ha-ri-ya's brother, Rgyal-po, Rgyal-po being the abbreviated form of the name ; but there is no certainty about it.

5. Votive tablet from Ko-loṅ (?), time of Spri-tim-Siṅgh of Sur-stan-pur of Kuḷū (Pritam-Siṅgh of Sultanpur, *c.* 1767 A.D.). It mentions a No-no (younger prince) Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu of Ti-nan, who cannot be found in the genealogical tree given above.

6. An unknown queen, Rani Dzvivanti (Rānī Jīvantī, perhaps of Ti-nan), is mentioned in an inscription at Gandhola.

That is practically all that can be gathered from documents.

When Dr. Vogel travelled in Lahul in 1902, he made the personal acquaintance of the Chief Hīrā-cand, who showed him the Maṇi monastery at Ti-nan. Of this monastery the Chief said that he had built it himself in 1880 A.D. A small image in this sanctuary had the inscription : *Jo-Bsod-nams-stob-rgyas-la-na-mo.* It was stated to refer to the Chief Hīrā-cand's deceased brother. This inscription apparently contains the spiritual name of the prince. The following ancient monasteries are situated within the principality of Ti-nan :—Gandhola (Padmasambhava's time), Chos-skor (Atīśa's time), Śi-la (of unknown origin). But the chronicles of the country do not tell us anything about them, nor do they contain the date of the erection of the stately castle of Ti-nan by a Kuḷū king, as tradition has it.

XIII. The Genealogical Tree of the Chiefs of Bar-ḫbog, Lahul

When stationed as a missionary at Kye-laṅ in Lahul, in 1906, I was told that a certain family of zamindars at Bar-ḫbog was descended from an ancient line of chiefs, and that the chiefs of Bar-ḫbog were once the highest among the baronial houses of Lahul. To find out whether the family was still in possession of old documents or a chronicle, I sent my munshi, Bzod-pa-Bde-chen of Kye-laṅ, to Bar-ḫbog, to make inquiries. Bzod-pa was so fortunate as to discover a MS. containing the genealogical tree of the family and two votive documents. The latter record the acquisition of a *Bkaḫ-ḫgyur* and a *Za-ma-tog* by members of the family, and contain the names of two kings of Kuḷū. This is of great importance; for without this clue we should not be able to furnish the chiefs of Bar-ḫbog with rough dates.

The castle of Bar-ḫbog, which is still the seat of the family, is situated on a hill above Mkhar-daṅ, the ancient capital of Lahul, on the left bank of the Bhāgā river, opposite Kye-laṅ. The very site of the castle indicates that its residents may have really held authority over Lahul.

Neither the chiefs nor the castle of Bar-ḫbog are mentioned in the chronicles of Ladakh or Kuḷū; but they occur occasionally in historical documents from Lahul.

Although I did not succeed in seeing the original MS. of the pedigree, I am convinced that Bzod-pa's copy of it is quite trustworthy, as I know him to be a very reliable worker. With the exception of a short passage in Ṭākarī, the document is written in Tibetan *Dbu-can* character. But the language does not appear to be Tibetan throughout. As I find it impossible to translate the non-Tibetan passage, I shall simply transcribe it.[1] The few historical notes which Bzod-pa added to the original document will be reproduced and translated in brackets.

NOTES

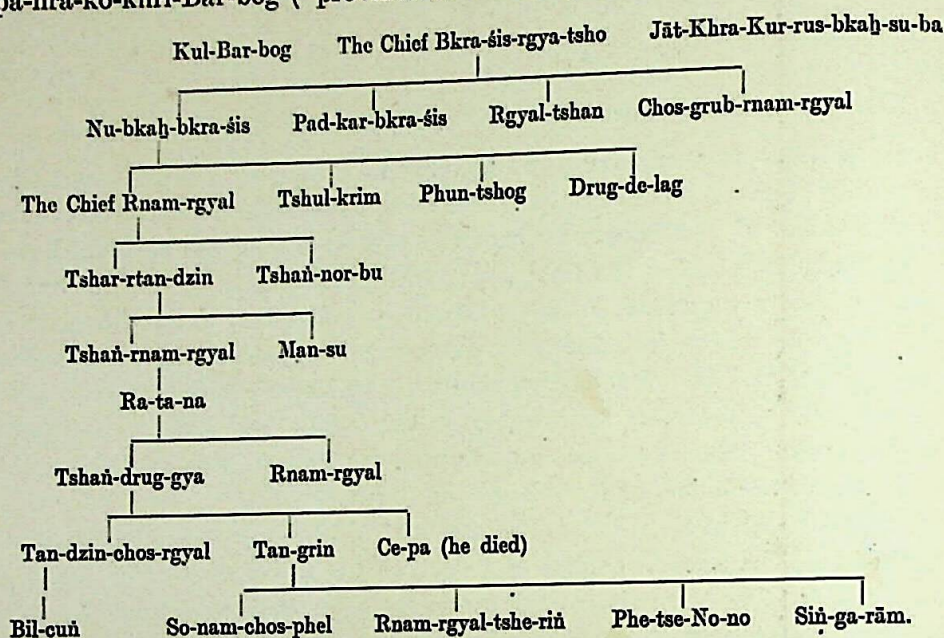
The word *ko-khri*, pronounced *kothri*, is the Hindi *kothī*, a 'government office'. In Lahul, as in Kuḷū, this word is generally used for the whole district which is governed by the office.[2] For notes on the first non-Tibetan lines see 'The Genealogical-tree of the Chiefs of Ko-loṅ'.

The word *Byo*, which is placed before the name of the first chief, probably stands for *Jo*, 'chief.' It is an orthographical mistake. Hardly any of the names in the list are written correctly. The following is an attempt of my own at restoring them to their correct forms:—Jo-Bkra-śis-rgya-mtsho, Nu-bkaḫ-bkra-śis, Pad-dkar-bkra-śis, Rgyal-mtshan, Chos-grub-rnam-rgyal, Jo-Rnam-rgyal, Tshul-khrims, Phun-tshogs, Drug(or Ḫbrug)-bde-legs, Tshaṅ(Tshe-dbaṅ)-brtan-ḫdzin, Tshaṅ(Thse-dbaṅ)-nor-bu, Tshaṅ(Tshe-dbaṅ)-rnam-rgyal, Mansu, Ra-ta-na, Tshaṅ(Tshe-dbaṅ)-drug-brgya, Rnam-rgyal, Brtan-ḫdzin-chos-rgyal, Brtan-drin (Rta-mgrin ?), Gces-pa, Bil-(Bil-ba)-chuṅ, Bsod-nams-chos-ḫphel, Rnam-rgyal-tshe-riṅ, Phe-tse-No-no, Siṅ-ga-Rām.

[1] [But see note 1 on p. 220.—F. W. T.]

[2] Cf. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, pt. i, p. 136.

TRANSLATION

[1] [Nag-se-tsi-kabaḥ-be-mu-dzab-na-mu-na-lam-bar 2 ('number two') bā-paṭa-ji-min-gar-pa-nra-ko-khri-Bar-bog ('province of Bar-ḥbog').]

(This genealogy of the chiefs [was copied] from the one that has been preserved in MS. with the chiefs of Bar-ḥbog. According to a statement by the old [ex-]chief who lives there, it is said to have been written during the reign of the Kuḷū Rājā Mān-Siṅgh.

And their power or *jāgīr* remained firmly established down to the chief Bil-cuṅ or Cuṅ-ṅun. After that they were left without a *jāgīr* and [now they] earn a livelihood as peasants. Written by Bzod-pa of Kye-laṅ.)

As we know from other documents from Lahul, Jo-Bkra-śis-rgya-mtsho was a contemporary of the Kuḷū king, Partāb-Siṅgh, who reigned from 1560 to 1584. Bil-cuṅ and his four cousins, on the other hand, were contemporaries of the Kuḷū king, Mān-Siṅgh, 1674–1717 A.D. Thus the genealogical tree has to be placed between the years 1570 and 1700. This is a comparatively short time, if we consider that it comprises nine generations. There must be a mistake somewhere. The genealogical roll was not continued after the chiefs were deposed by Mān-Siṅgh. From another document we learn, in addition, the name of a chief who preceded Jo-Bkra-śis-rgya-mtsho. It is Tshe-riṅ-sa-ḥgrub, a contemporary of the Kuḷū king, Bahādur Siṅgh, and of Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal I of Ladakh.[2]

It is very probable that the chiefs of Bar-ḥbog were placed in authority by Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal I of Ladakh on the occasion of his conquest of Kuḷū, which included that of Lahul. The chiefs of Bar-ḥbog had to watch over the interests of the Ladakhi kings. They probably took the side of the Ladakhi kings when Mān-Siṅgh of Kuḷū conquered Lahul, and that may have been the reason why they were deposed.

[1] [On the transliteration and purport of this formula see p. 209, note 1.—F. W. T.]
[2] It is the Bar-ḥbog document that commemorates the acquisition of a *Sūtra Za-ma-tog* in the time of Partāb-Siṅgh of Kuḷū.

XIV. Account of the Trade between the Kings of Ladakh and Kuḷū

When stationed at Kye-laṅ as a missionary (1906–8), I heard that a man was still alive in Kyor (Lahul) who in his younger days had done service in the trade between the kings of Ladakh and Kuḷū. He was named Drun-drub (Don-grub), of the house Myoṅ-pa of Kyor. I sent my munshi, Bzod-pa-Bde-chen, to him to write down the tale of the trade according to his dictation. Bzod-pa's MS. consisted of three pages of Bu-nan text, written in Tibetan characters. The orthography employed is the same as that which we used for our translation of St. Mark. The Bu-nan text of the 'tale of the trade' was published without a translation in my collection *Die mythologischen und historischen Erinnerungen der Lahouler*, under No. 9. Of this collection only forty copies were printed at Kye-laṅ.

TEXT

ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ཀུ་ལུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཉིས་པེ་རེའི་ཚོང་

ཞིག་རྒྱུན་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས །

དང་པོ་དང་པོ་གར་ཞང་བོད་པ་ཟེ་ལྷང་ཞིག་ཤི་ཡེན་ཟེ། རྒྱུད་ཅི་ཀུ་ལུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཏེ་ཀི་ཟེ་བོད་པག་ཅི་གར་ན་ཆེད་ཟེ། ཏལ་ཟེ་ལྷང་ཞིག་ཤི་ཡེན་ཟེ། རྒྱུ་ལུ་ཨས་ཏོག་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ཀུ་ལུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཉིས་པེ་རེ་ཚོ་ཐེན་ཚུག་ཚར་ཀ་ཏེ་ཀི་ཞིག་ཤི་ཡེན་ཟེ། ཀུ་ལུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཟེ་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་རོག་ལོ་ཞུང་ཅགས་ནོའི་སློག་རྒྱུན་དང་། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཟེ་ཐེར་མང་ཀན་ཅི་ཟླ་ཟེ་སློག་རྒྱུན་ཞིག་ཤི་ཡེན་ཟེ། རྒྱུ་ནང་ནོཨག་ཞིག་ཅིས་ཏང་། ཀུ་ལུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཟེ་གར་ཞ་པ་རྫོག་རིག་དང་གི་ཁལ་གྱི་ཚོང་ཏོག། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་རོག་ཅགས་ན་ཏེ་རེ་རེ་ལོ་ཞུང་ད་རྒྱུན་གྱི་ཧྲུ་ཀྲུམ་ད་ཟེ། གར་ཞ་པ་དང་མེ་ཏྣག་པ་ཚོ་ཀུ་ལྦུང་ཅི་ཅགས་ན་ཏེ་རེ་རེ་ཡོག་ཀ་དེ་རྒྱུན། ཐ་ལྦ་ཅགས་ཚོའི་ལ་དྭགས་མང་ཁ་ནག་རྗེལ་ཚ་རིང་ནང་། ལ་དྭགས་མང་ཅི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་སོ་ཉ་ཧྲི་ཏེ་ཀི་གར་ཞང་ཨས་ཏོག་ཅགས་རྩ་ཛ་ར་མེན། རྒྱུ་ནང་གར་ཞ་པ་དང་མེ་ཏྣག་པ་ཐི་ཧྲེ། ཏོག་ཅི་ཐེར་མང་ཚོའི་ཚོ་ཁ་རེ་རེ་དང་ཅགས་ན་ཏེ་རེ་རེ་དང་ཅགས་ཙག་ཅ་ནད་ཕྱིའི་ཨས་ཏེ་ཐ་ལྦ་སོ་ཉའི་རྒྱུད་རིད་ཟེ་ད་རྒྱུན། རྒྱུ་ནང་ཐ་ལྦ་སོ་ཉ་ཟེ་གར་ཞ་པ་དང་མེ་ཏྣག་པ་ཚོའི་དོག་ཅགས་ཚོའི་ཀལ་ཟེ་ཞིང་ཏེ་ཨས་ཏོག་རྗེལ་རྒྱུན། རྒྱུ་ལུ་ཨས་ཏོག་ཨམ་ཅི་རེ་ཀྱི་ལད་མང་ཅི་མ་ནི་ཨ། གར་དང་མང་ཅི་ནིན་ཟ། ཀུར་ཞེན་ནང་། ཡང་ན་ཁ་ཟིང་གིལ་ཀྱུ་ནང་རེ། ཚོའི་ཀར་དང་ཛོམ་མེན། ལ་དྭགས་མང་ཅགས་ལོ་ཞུང་རྒྱུ་ཀུར་ཐལ་ཞེག་རྗེལ་ཤི་ཛོད་ཀྱུ་ནི། ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཟེ་ཀུར་པ་ཛོག་བྲ་ཡང་ན་བཀ་ཤིག་ཁ་རེ་ད་སྲུམ་མེན། ཐ་ལྦའི་ཚོང་ཏོག་ཞེར་ཀ་ཀྲེད་ཀྱུ། རྒྱ་རེའི་ཏེབ་ཀ་རྗེལ་རྒྱུན། ཞིང་ཏེ་ཨས་ཏོག་ཅགས་རྒྱུ་ཟེ་ད་ཟེ། ཐ་ལྦུད་ཅི་ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཚོ་རེ་ཤི་ཚུག་ཟླ་ཟེ་ཀུར་ཅི་ནོཨང་མེན། ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཟེ་ཅགས་ཀུར་ཅི་ཏབ་ཤི་ཨོལ་མེན། རྒྱུ་ནང་ཐ་ལྦ་ཟླ་ཟེ་ཀྱི་ལད་ཨས་ཏོག་རེད་ཟེ། ཀྱེ་ལད་ཅི་ཡུལ་བར་གྱི་ཙ་ལག་གལ་ག། ཀུ་ལྦུད་ཨས་ཏོག་ཟླུ་ཐེར་རྒྱུན། རྒྱུ་ལུ་ཨས་ཏོག་ཀྱིད་པ་ཙོང་པའི་རྒྱན་རྒྱབ་ཧྲི་ཚུག་ཙ་སུམ་ཞེད་ཀྱུ་ཟེ་ནིཨ་ཨས་ཏོག། ཏལ་ཟེ་རེ་ཅགས་གྱི་ཙ་ལག་ཞིང་ཏེ་ཨས་ཏོག་རྗེལ་ནེན་རིང་ག་རེ། རག་སན་ཁག་ཟེ་ཤི་ཚུག་ཀར་ཅ་ཚོའི་རེ་ཏའི་ཨག་ཏོག་ཅི་ཡེན་ཟེ་ཞེ་ཤི་ཡེན། རག་སམ་ཏལ་སུམ་ཉི་ཟའི་རྒྱུད་ཉིས་ཞེད་ཞེག་ཞེན་ཤི་ནི།

ཁོ་རེག་ལ་དགས་མང་ཅགས་རྟེལ་རྒྱུམ་རྩུག་ཁ་ནག་མའི་ཀྱུ་ཟ་རེད་ནང་། གར་ཞང་སིང་བ་ཞེབ་ཅིས་ཏོག་ཅི། ཐ་རྒྱ་མའི་ཀྱུ་ཌི་ཨེལ་ཟ། སིང་བ་ཚེ་ལྫང་ཞིག་ཅ་ཨས་ཏོག་རེ། ཚོའི་དོག་བར་དོ་ནོའི་ཀན་ཅིས་ཏང་། ཅག་ན་ཪོ་ཨང་མང་ཤེད་ཀྱུ་ནང་ཪོད་མེན། རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་ཨས་ཏོག་ཀོ་ལོང་ཪོ་ཏ་ར་ཅན་དང་། གུང་རང་ཪོ་མོ་ཏི་རྣམ་གོཨན་ཚེ། སྤྲིམས་ཞིག་ཅི་བ་མེ་ཏྲོག་ཟུ་རང་བ་བ་ཞི་རྣམ་ཏྲི་ཏི་ཀི་ནིན་ཟ། སྤྲིམས་ཞིག་ཌི་མི་ཪོག་ཚད་བ་ཁ་ཀལ་རྒྱུམ་རེད་ནང་། ཏང་ཀའི་ཚད་པ་མ་ཀལ་ན། ཟུ་ཊག་རྒྱུན་ཌི་རྒྱུ་རེའི་ཏིབ་རྒྱུམ། གྲིགས་ཏང་སྣ་བ་ཌི་ཐག་ཞེབ་ཅིས་ཏང་། ཊུ་རེག་རྩུག་ཨས་ཏེ་ཁ་ཁ་མོ་ཚོའི་ཞུ་ཊེག་ཌི་རྟེལ་རྒྱུམ་གྱི་ཚབས་ཏོག། ཁ་རྟེལ་ནང་རེ་ཡོག་ཀ་རྟེལ་ཌི། ཞི་ཪོག་གུར་ཀལ་ནང་། བྲ་ཨེ་བོ་རཨ། ཚོའི་དོག་ཁ་རེ་གུར་མའི་གྱིད་བོ་ཀྱུ་ཟ།།

གྱུར་བ་སྐྱོང་བ་ཟྭན་ཟྭབ་ཙེ་ཤད་ཌི། གྱི་ལང་བ་བཟོད་པ་བདེ་ཆེན་ཟི་ཟྭི་ཤི་ཡེན།།

TRANSLATION

Account of the Trade between the Kings of La-dags and Ku-zu

At first the Bod-pa (Tibetans) reigned in Gar-ża; later on a certain king of Ku-zu conquered Gar-ża from the Bod-pa, and he reigned. At that time the kings, both of La-dags and Ku-zu, made an agreement as follows:—The king of Ku-zu [promised] to send much iron to La-dags annually, and the king of La-dags [promised] to send sulphur in this direction. Then they did accordingly, and the king of Ku-zu gave orders that the people of Gar-ża, instead of a field-tax, were to give to the king of La-dags one *ba-ṭi* of iron each annually. The people of Gar-ża and Me-rlog each had to buy a *ba-ṭi* of iron in Ku-zu and to bring it. If you ask how all this iron was sent to La-dags, [we answer] that a man called 'the king's messenger' came from La-dags to Gar-ża to receive the iron. Then all the people of Gar-ża and Me-rlog from Thi-rōṭ up to here had to bring each house one *ba-ṭi* of iron before that messenger, and an old bag to hold the iron. Then that messenger, having loaded the iron on the people of Gar-ża and Me-rlog, transported the iron as far as Liṅ-ti. At that time there was no road through (from) Kye-laṅ, but through (from) Kar-daṅ (Mkhar-daṅ on the left bank of the Bhāgā). As soon as the loads arrived, the call to work was issued, and all the people had to assemble at Kar-daṅ. More than a 100 loads (coolie-loads) had to be sent to La-dags annually. The La-dags people did not give any wages or bakhshish to the carriers; instead of that they wielded the stick, and the transport was carried on under continual beating. The iron had to be taken as far as Liṅ-ti. From there we had to come back, carrying sulphur which had been brought there by the Ladakhis, and the Ladakhis went away, carrying the iron. When the sulphur had been brought to Kye-laṅ, it was passed on from Kye-laṅ according to the inter-village service, and sent to Ku-zu. At that time a man called Drun-drub of the house Myoṅ-pa of Kyor was 13 years old (or Drun-drub saw the trade carried on till he was 13 years old). He told me that he himself did service in the transport of the iron to Liṅ-ti. All that is written here was written as it was heard from his mouth. Now he is 77 years old. If we ask how the transport of iron to La-dags came to an end later on, [we answer] that it came to an end when the Siṅ-pas arrived in Gar-ża. When the Siṅ-pas reigned, they gave much trouble to everybody; every day people fled into the narrow valleys

and remained there. At that time Ta-ra-can was chief of Ko-loṅ, and Moti-Rām chief of Guṅ-raṅ. A man called Bali-Rām, of Phu-raṅ in Me-rlog, was judge. If you ask what kind of punishment he inflicted in passing judgment, [we answer that] he did not fine people; he tied them to a tree and flogged them. Later on the Sā-ba (Sahibs, English) arrived here. Instead of stealing labour, as had been done before, they paid for what they wanted. When they put a load on a man, they paid him good wages; and now there is no more fear, but happiness.

This was told by Drun-drub of the house Myoṅ-pa of [the village of] Kyor. It was written down by Bzod-pa-Bde-chen of Kye-laṅ.

NOTES

The above account contains the date of the abolition of the trade. The account was written in 1907, when Drun-drub was 77 years old. Consequently Drun-drub was born in 1830. The trade was discontinued when Drun-drub was 13 years old, i.e. in 1843 A.D. As Dr. K. Marx tells us in *JASB.*, vol. lx, p. 119, note, the tax-collector of the king of Ladakh used to visit Lahul, and probable Kuḷū, some twenty years ago, i.e. in 1870. I should think that such a thing could be done only secretly. Or does it refer to certain estates in Lahul which in Moorcroft's time (1820 A.D.) were the particular property of the kings of Ladakh? The Sikhs who abolished the trade are called Siṅ-pa in the above account, because all the names of the Sikh kings ended in Siṅgh.

The text contains a number of local names in their Bu-nan dress. Thus, Ku-zu is the Bu-nan name for Kuḷū. Gar-ža is used in two ways; sometimes it signifies the whole of Lahul, and sometimes it is used as the name of the Chandrā and Bhāgā valleys only, whilst the valley of the united rivers (the district of the Manchad language) is called Me-rlog. Dr. Vogel in his MS. notes on Lahul gives Ku-zuṅ as the Gārī (Bu-nan) name of Kuḷū. Ku-zuṅ is the locative case of Ku-zu. He adds that Kuḷū is called Ram-ti by the people of Ti-nan, and Ram-di by those of Caṅsa (Me-rlog). The Tibetans call it Ñuṅ-ti. Liṅ-ti is the name of a nomad's camping-ground north of the Baralatsa pass.

A family of the name of Pho-ña, 'messenger,' is still resident at She, Ladakh. It is probably the same family of which one member acted as royal messenger to Lahul in former days.

The Bu-nan language was first reduced to writing by the late Rev. A. W. Heyde, of Kye-laṅ, Lahul, in 1869 A.D. He used Tibetan characters for writing Bu-nan. He also made a first attempt at writing a Bu-nan grammar. More grammatical notes are found in vol. iii of the Linguistic Survey, and in my article 'Tabellen der Pronomina und Verba in den drei Sprachen Lahul's', *ZDMG.*, vol. lxiii, pp. 65 ff.

The tree to which culprits were tied for flogging is still pointed out at Taṅ-ti (Tandi) in Me-rlog.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE TRADE BETWEEN THE KINGS OF LADAKH AND KUḶŪ

BY YE-ŚES-RIG-ḤDZIN OF KHA-LA-RTSE

TEXT

ད་ལྟ་ཞེལ་སོ་ཀུའི་གནས་ཚུལ་ནི ། དང་པོ་སོ་ཀུ་ལ་འགྲོ་མཁན་གྱི་མིང་ནི ། མེས་པོ་ཚེ་དབང་དཔལ་འབྱོར ། དེའི་བུ་དོན་གྲུབ་བཀྲ་ཤིས ། དེའི་བུ་ཚེ་རིང་ཟླན་ཚོགས ། མི་རབས་གསུམ་པོ ། དཔེ་ནི ། དཀར་ཆ ། ཤུང་ནི་ཟླུག ། ལ་དྭགས་ནས་ཟླུ་ཟེ་འཚེད་ནས ། ལས་བཟང་པོ་ཡང་ན་དངུལ་པ་ཙེ་འདུག་ལྟ་གྱིར་ཏུ་སོང་ནས ། ཁྱིད་ལོག་ཡོང་ཟ་ན ། ཕྱུགས་བཀལ་ནེ་ཁྱོང་སྦོལ་འདུག ། ཚེ་རིང་ཟླན་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་བུ ། བློ་བཟང་བསོད་ནམས་ད་ལྟ་འདུག ། འདི་ལྟར་སོ་ཀུ་འགྲོ་ལུགས་ལ་ལྟ་ན ། སྔོན་མ་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དབང་ཡོད་ཏུས ། དཔེ་ནི ། དཀར་ཆ ། ཤུང་ནི ། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་གཡོག་ཡིན་ནེ ། སོ་ཀུ་འདི་འདུག་པའི་ཁང་པ་ཞིག་ཤུང་ནེ་ཚ་དག་ས་ཡང་ཡོད་ཟེར་འདུག ॥

TRANSLATION

Now, as regards the position of the *pho-ña* (messengers) of Śel :—The name of the first who went as a messenger was Tshe-dbaṅ-dpal-ḥbyor, the forefather ; his son was Don-grub-bkra-śis ; his son [was] Tshe-riṅ-phun-tshogs. These three generations went as far as Dpe-ti (Spyi-ti), Dkar-cha (Lahul), and Ñuṅ-ti (Kuḷū), carrying sulphur from La-dvags. They also had to look after good and bad works (inflict judgment). There was a custom that on their way back they had to transport iron. Blo-bzaṅ-bsod-nams, the son of Tshe-riṅ-phun-tshogs, is still alive. Regarding the way of travelling of those *pho-ña* : At the time when the kings of La-dvags were still in power Dpe-ti, Dkar-cha, Ñuṅ-ti were under [the sway of] the kings of La-dvags. The house where the *pho-ñas* resided in Ñuṅ-ti still exists, as [people] say.

NOTE

It is remarkable that the only *pho-ña* who is mentioned in the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*, viz. Bsod-nams-ṅos-grub, cannot be found in the above list.

XV. The Ministers of Rgya

The following account of the rise of the chiefs or ministers of Rgya to great power is found on pp. 73 and 74 of the Treaty of Wam-le :—

TEXT

p. 78. ལྷག་ཏུ་རྒྱལ་སྲས་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་གསུང་ལས་ན་རེ། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་རིམ་བྱོན་པ་ཡི[ས]་བྱ་ལ་གསང་་གཏམ་བཀའ་ཆེམས་རྩོལ་དུ། རྒྱ་པ་རྡོ་པོའི་རིགས་མཁར་གྱི་ལས་ཆེན་མགོ་སར་མི་བསྐྱལ་ཏེ། མགོ་སར་བསྐྱལ་ན། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཕྱལ་འཁོར་ཚང་མ་ལ་སྣབ་བཏུག་ནས། ཁོན་པ་ཞིག་ཡོངས་ལས་མི་འོང་རྩོལ། གསུང་བ་ཟེར་ལྷན་ཀུན་ལ་རླུང་ལྟར་དུ་བརྡལ་བ་ཡིན་འདུག་ཀྱང་། མེས་ཉེ་མའི་སྐབས། རྒྱ་པ་རྡོ་པོ་འབྲུག་གྲགས་ཀྱི་བུ་པོ་ཐོག་མར་བརྩོན་པ། ཕྱི་དེ་ལས་ལྡོག་ཏེ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཉི་མའི་དྲུང་འཁོར་དུ་ཕུར། མི་རིང་བར་བཀའ་བློན་དུ་འཁེལ། དེ་ནས་བཟུང་། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དབང་ཐང་གི[ས]་སྙིང་ནས་ཟ་བར། རྫས་པ་འབབ་ཞིག་པས་ཏུས་འདས་མེད། དཔེར་ན། ས་ཞིང་ཁོ་ནས་མཚོན་བ། ཁོ་རང་བ་བྲ་སྒྲུན་རྣམས་ནས་མཁར་གྱི་ས་རིམ་ཁ་ནས་གསར་ཚོད་དུ་བླང་བ་དང་། མཁར་གྱི་ཐུག་འདེབས་ཉེ་མ(ཉ་མ?)་ནས་ཁ་ལ་རྩེའི་བར་ཕྱོགས་གཅིག་ཏུ་སྒོམས་ན[ས]། དེ་བས་ལྷུབ་འབྱུང་ལས་ཀྱང་ལྷག་པ་ཙམ་དུ་ལྷ་མདོན་ཐུམ་འདི་ཡིན་མཚོན་ལ། བྱ་རིག་ཨ་ཁྲ་ཐུབ་བེའི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དབང་ཡུལ་དུ་ཡང་བློན་བསོད་ཀྱི་བྲ་སྒྲུན་གྱི་ས་ཞིང་དང་། ཨ་ཁྲ་རྒྱ[ལ]་པོའི་ཐུག་འདེབས་གཉིས་བློན་པོ་ལ་ལག་འདེབས་བྱས་པ་མ་ངེས་ཡོད་སྐད་དང་། དེར་མ་ཟད། བློན་པོའི་འབངས་སྲེ་ཡང་ཨ་ཁྲ་ལ་བཟོ་བ་ཙམ་ཡོད་འདུག་པ། དེ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དབང་ཐང་སྙིང་ནས་གསར་་ཚོད་[1]བྱས་པ་ཁོ་ན་ཡིན་ལ། ཁོ་རང་གི་བ་ཞིས་དངོས་མ་ནི། གོང་ཞུས་ལ་དྭགས་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་པ་མཁར་སྐྱེ། དེ་ནི་ལ་དྭགས་ཡུལ་སྲོལ་བཞིན་བྱ་ཟུན་པས་འཛིན་པ་ལས། གཞོན་པས་མི་ཐོབ་སྐྱེ། དོན་རིས་རྒྱ་པ་རྡོ་པོ་མི་རབས་ཅི་རྟེན་མར་དུ་བྱུང་བ་ཡང་། བྱ་ཚང་ཆོས་སྒོར་ཞུགས་གཟིགས། ཐེམས་སྐད་གཅིག་ལས་མ་འཛོལ་ལ། དེང་གྱི་མེས་ཉེ་མའི་སྐབས། མཁར་གྱི་ས་རིས་བློན་པོས་ཅི་བདེར་སྤྱད་ཚོག་པ་སྤྱང་གཟིགས། བློན་བསོད་རང་གི[ས]་བྱ་སྒྲུན་ཆོས་སྒོར་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མ་བཏུག་ནས། མཁར་གྱི་ས་གཞིས་འབོད་མེད་[དུ]་བགོ་ཟ་བྱས། ཁོ་རང་གི་བྲ་མོ་རྣམས་མཁར་གྱི་སྲས་མོའི་དོད་དུ་དཔོན་ཁག་རྣམས་ལ་བག་མར་བཏང་། རིགས་ཀྱང་མངའ་བདག་ཡིན་རྒྱ་བ་བྱས། མཐར་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་དངོས་ཐོབ་པར་རེ་ཞིང་། མཁར་དུ་དབང་ཚོད་དང་ཚོད་ཡོད(མཚོད་ཡོན?)་ཏམ་པ་ཚབས་པོ་ཆེ་འབབ་ཞིག་གི[ས]་ཏུས་འདའ་བས། འབངས་ཀྱེན་ལྡོག་གི་རྣམ་པ་བཟོད་དཀའ་བྱས་པ། རྒྱ་དཀར་རྒྱ་ནག་བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སོགས། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ་རྒྱའི་བདག་པོ་སུ་ཡི[ན]་བས[མ]་ཀྱང་། བཀའ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི[ས]་ཚ་ར་བཏང་དགོས་ཞེས་སུ་བབ་པའི་དང་རྩོལ་ཞིབ་པར་དག་ཐོག། ཤུ་ཚོག་འཐུལ་དགོས་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། བཟང་མཚམས་ལོ་ཏུས་ལ་ཞིབ་གླེང་མི་དགོས་པ་དང། དེར་མ་ཟད། མཐའ་དག་ཉན་པ་ཡང་། མི་སྤྱོད་རྩོལ་བཀའ་ནག་ཀྱི་བ་བེབས་སྣབས་འདིར་ཞུ་མ་སྤྲིབས་ཟིང་། གང་ལྟར་བློན་རྩོལ་དང་ནས་མཁར་ལ་ཅིས་མེད་ཀྱི་རྒྱར་གཏོད་འབལ་ཟིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་བར་བརྟེན། མཁར་ནས་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི[ས]་རྗེ་གཏོན་གཏོང་དགོས་བྱུང་སོང་བ་དང་། བློན་བུ་གཉིས་དེར་ལ་ཐོག་སྐྱབས་བྱུང་བཞིན། དེར་

[1] For ཚོད་གཅོད།

ནས་ཀྱང་སྔོག་སྐྱོབས་སྐྱབས་རྫེ་དམ་པ་འབྲུག་པའི་བཀའ་བཞིན་ཁ་ཞེ་མེད་པར་ཞུས་པ | དཀོན་མཆོག་དཔང་བཞག་ཡིན་ཡང | དེད་ལ་རྩིས་མེད་མགོ་བསྐོར་བཏང་ | ཧེ་མི་དགོན་པ་ཐུར་ནས་དམ་ཆེན་མཐའ་དག་པར་པ་གླིང་ཡིན་ཀྱང | དེ་ལ་ཡང་ཆ་འཛོག་པ་མེད་པར | སྤྲད་མར་དགོན་སྡེའི་བསྟན་དོན་ལ་རྒྱ་ལ་གནོད་པའི་དཔེར་འོས་པ་ཟུས་ནས | ཞོས་ཏེ་ཨ་ཁ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་རྩར་སོང་ || . . .

[Note by Joseph-Thse-brtan : རྒྱ་པ་རྫེ་ལ་སྟོད་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཟུ་སྟེ | རྒྱལ་ཟེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་སྨད་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཟུ་སྟེ | དེ་གཉིས་སྤྱུགས་ཅན་ཡོད་ཚོད་འདུག | .རྒྱ་པ་རྫེ་ཟེལ་སྐན་ཟླ་བར་མག་མལ་ཧྲེ་ཟེ་བསྒྲངས་ནས | མཁར་ལ་འོངས | དེ་བཞིན་སྨལ་ཟེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་དཔེ་སྦོབ་ཁང་ལྷག་བར་མག་མལ་ཧྲེ་ཟེ་བསྒྲངས་ནས | མཁར་ལ་འོང་བའི་ཁྲིམས་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན་ཅེས་ཟེར་རོ ||]

TRANSLATION

p. 73. Furthermore, the precious prince (Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal) said: The Ladakhi kings in due succession [told] father to son, a secret word, in the manner of a testament; that the family of the Rgya chiefs must not be given an office in the castle or be entrusted with a high position. If they be placed in a high position, they will put a bridle on the king of La-dvags, and on the country, and behave [like] a rider.[1] This is not right! Although that speech was scattered among all the wise, as if by wind (?), in the time of [my] ancestor Ñi-ma, the younger brother of Ḫbrug-grags, chief of Rgya, first became a monk; then he withdrew from that and entered the court of king Ñi-ma. After a short time he was made minister (*bkaḫ-blon*). Then he began to nibble away the royal power of La-dvags; time passed in continual coveting. For example, he recorded exactly [the] land and fields: he investigated and made inquiries regarding the territories belonging to the castle [of Rgya], according to [the statements of] his father's sons and brothers, and collected into one the registers of the castle extending from Ño-ma (Ña-ma ?) to Kha-la-rtse. Though this was repeatedly done, yet from what now remains, this may be clearly shown:—Although it is falsely said that in the realm of [my] uncle of Pu-rig, king of Mul-be, there are grounds and fields belonging to the sons of the minister Bsod, and that two registers of [my] uncle-king were given to the minister as [his] register; yet, apart from that, the realm of the minister was [so great] as to rival that of [my] uncle. All this has been revoked through the authority of the king of La-dvags. His own real inheritance is the before-mentioned castle of Rgya in Upper La-dvags. According to the custom of La-dvags this was to be taken by the eldest son; the younger ones were not to receive anything. According to that [custom], [among] the chiefs of Rgya, through all generations that can be traced, the younger sons had to enter the clergy. They never increased to more than one branch. But in the days of our ancestor Ñi-ma the territory of the castle was dealt with just as the minister pleased. The minister Bsod did not send a single one of his sons to the clergy, and he distributed the territories of the castle in a lavish manner. His daughters he gave in marriage to officers (*dpon-khag*), instead of princesses of the [royal] castle. His family he made dominant. He hoped that in the end the kingdom would really become his own. At the castle

[1] Or, if *gżon-pa* is to be read instead of *żon-pa*, 'a younger one must not be allowed to come up.'

the time was spent in offerings for power (*dbaṅ-mchod* ?), and very great covetousness. The section of the subjects who had to bear the change found it hard to remain patient.[1] The kings of India, China, and Tibet thought 'Who is this master of Rgya [who appears] in the government ? Inquiry must be made according to law! What is due to it ought to be really attached to it!' Although such words should be said, now, in the days of agreement (*bzaṅ-mtshams*), we must not speak about it too closely. Besides, it might be heard by[2] the frontier [nations], and here [I] do not venture [to attack with] heavy orders this unduly behaviour. On account of very great damage to Rgya, through respect not being paid to the castle [of Leh] by the ministers [of Rgya] themselves, it was [found] necessary to suppress the chiefs by law from the castle [of Leh]. The two sons of the minister appeared before me in order to save their lives, and, in accordance with the word of the great saviour, the holy H̱brug-pa [lama], their safety was granted by us in a sincere manner, and the [Three] Precious Ones were called as witnesses. Nevertheless they have deceived us innumerable times; and, although the He-mi monastery has been [called] Nam-chen-mthaḫ-dag-thar-pa-gliṅ from early times, they did not adhere to it, but have worked against its teaching. This made them worthy of an example of harm (?) to be done to Rgya. Then they ran away, and went to the uncle-king [of Mul-ḫbye] . . .

[Popular saying reported by Joseph Tshe-brtan:—The chief of Rgya was called king of Upper [Ladakh]; the king of Mul-be was called king of Lower [Ladakh]. Both were powerful. When the chief of Rgya [arrived] at Sman-bla of Śel, he put on a velvet cap, and went to the castle [of Leh]. Likewise, when the Mul-be king [arrived] at Khaṅ-ltag of Dpe-thob, he put on a velvet cap and went to the castle [of Leh]. Such is the custom that is said to have existed.]

NOTES

As regards the genealogy of the Rgya chiefs, two members only are mentioned in the above text. The first generation consists of the Chief H̱brug-grags and his brother Bsod (the minister Bsod or Blon-Bsod). The second consists of the two sons of the minister Bsod. According to the 'Treaty of Wam-le' they are called Dbaṅ-rgyal and Bstan-ḫphel. The name of the uncle-king is Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal, king of Pu-rig. He resided at Mul-ḫbye. The H̱brug-pa lama who spoke in favour of the sons of the Rgya minister is the same who presided at the Treaty of Wam-le. His name was Bhoṭa-dzo-ki-Harinātha. A Rājā of Giah (Rgya), named Tsimma Panchik (H̱jigs-med-phun-tshogs), is mentioned by Moorcroft (*Travels*, i, p. 233).

[1] The translation of the passage here following is uncertain.

[2] Or 'listened to'.

XVI. The Services of General Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje according to the account of King Bde-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal

INTRODUCTION

The original of this document was discovered by Joseph Tshe-brtan at Leh, in 1915, and sold to Sir John Marshall, together with a number of other documents of more or less importance. It is No. 45 of Joseph Tshe-brtan's Second Collection of Tibetan decrees.

The document contains a grant of land by the king to his faithful general. The second part, therefore, contains a list of sites given to the general. The first part is that which interests us here. In it king Bde-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal gives a tale of the general's services under several kings of Ladakh. As the general was engaged in more than one expedition against Baltistan, and as the names of several Balti chiefs are mentioned, the document is of importance in regard to Balti history. Concerning this history we have not yet come to know much beyond the genealogies of chieftains collected by Cunningham and published in his *Ladák*. Down to the present time it has not been proved that any of the names found in them are historical. It is through the publication of the present document that at least some of the later Balti chieftains given in Cunningham's list can be proved to have been known to the Ladakhis.

The narrative would have us believe that the Ladakhi kings were the suzerains of the Baltis. But from other documents it appears that on the whole the Balti chiefs did as they pleased. They may have bowed before the Ladakhis whenever the Ladakhi armies were at the gates of their capitals. Otherwise they were apparently rather independent.

TEXT

ཞབས་འདེགས་ཟླུབ་པ་རྣམས་གསལ་པོར་ཁྱངས་ལྡན་ཏུ་རྫོད་ན། མི་འམ་[ཙི?]་པོའི་སྔོ་འཁྲུར་དང་། ཏསྲུ་རའི་རྒྱུད་མང་སྡེབས་པ་ལྷ་ཟླུའི་སྐྱན་ཚིག་ཏུ་ཚུད་ཟད་ཟླེད་བར་བྱ་བས། ཁྲོད་་ཅག་ཀུན་ནུ་བའི་སྒྲོ་ལེགས་པར་གཏོད་ལ། དགའ་བར་གྱིས་ཤིག། ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རྡོ་རྗེ་འདི་དང་པོ་བཅུ་ཙུག་གི་སྐབས་བསྒོད་ནམས་ལྡུན་ཟླུབ་དང་མཉམ་ཁ་ཟླུ་ཡོར་ཕྱིན་ནས། ཞབས་འདེགས་ཀྱི་ཐོག་མར་ཟླ་ཟླ་ནུ་ཐེ་མཁན་བ་ཟླ་འཛོན་འཆང་གི་སྐབས། ཟློ་རིག་གྲིམ་པོའི། ཉིན་མཚན་ཏུ་མ་ལྷོས་པ། དབྲ་ཐབས་ཀྱི[ས]་བྱ་བར། ཟློ་འཛུག་པའི་རྒྱུར་སེག་རྫོད། ཡུལ་ཏུ་བན་པ་ཟླུང་བ་དང་།

མིང་ལྷུག་ཡོར་༧་གོང་ས་དེད་ཡབ་སྲས་རྣམས་པ་སྐྱུབ་ལ་དམག་འཛུག་ཏུ་ཞེབས་ཏུས་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་ནས་གང་སྐྱུར་མཚན་གྱི་ཟུག་བརྡ་སོགས་ཐབ་ར་སོང་ནས། ཉིན་མཚན་ལྷོས་མེད་ཏུ་རྒྱུར་སེག་མིག་ལྷོས་ལ་བན་པ་བྱས་ཤེད་།།

མེ་སྤྲེ་ལོར་འདབ་ལད་མཁན་དང་ནང་མ་མཇལ་བར། མི་ཤྲར་པ་དབྱང་ཏུ་སྦྱིན་ནས། ས་གླིང་མཁར་བརྩམ་ནས་བྲ་བྲར་ཙ་ཐུག་པོ་འགྲོ་སྐབས། བསོད་ནམས་ལྷུན་དང་མཉམ་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་ནས། ས་གླིང་མཁར་ནས་འདབ་ལད་མཁན་ནབ་སྐབས་དམག་སྣབས་ཀྱི་གྲོས་རོགས་དང་གང་སྐྱིར་བསོད་ནམས་ལྷུན་གྱི་ངག་སྐོར་ཏུ་ཧུར་ཐེག་ཅན་འདུག་པ་དང་ ། །

ས་བག་ལོར་སྐར་རྗོ་པ་ལ་མི་ཤྲར་ནས་དམག་གཟིམ་ཅན། འཛིགས་སྐྱག་ན་རྫོང་པར་འདི་ཁར་དབྱང་རོགས་ཕྱུས་པར། ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རྡོ་རྗེ་དེ་སྐབས་རང་སྐྱ་ཟེར་བ་བྱུང་ནས། དམག་མགོར་བཏང་བར། ཏ་ཏུ་བར་ཕྱིན་ནས། མི་ཤྲར་པ་ལ་སྤྲ་འགྲོས་ལོ་ཉ་ཉི་ཞག་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྔོ་ནས་སྙིངས་ནས། དེ་བར་ཏ་ཏུར་འཐེན་འདུག་པར། བློ་གྲོས་ཀྱི་འཇུག་པ་ཐབས་ལ་མཁས་པིད། ནར་སྙིང་ཏུ་སྐྱན་གླིབ་པ་ལྷ་བུ་སོང་ནས། དེ་ཐོག་ནས་དམག་བཏེག་དགོས་མེད་པ་མི་ཤྲར་པ་འདི་ཁའི་ཞལ་འོག་ཏུ་ཞིམ་པ་བྱུང་ ། །

ཕྱུགས་ཕྱི་ལོར་བསོད་དང་དཀར་ཅེ་གཉིས་ཅིག་སྲིད་ཅན། ཁ་ཅུལ་དང་ཚ་ཐུག་སོགས་ལ་རོལ་པོའི[ས]་བརྩམ་སྐབས། ཚ་ཐུག་དཀར་ཅེའི་ཕྱོགས་ལ་དྲན་མགོར་རབ་བརྟན་བཏང་། བསོད་ཕྱོགས་ལ་དམག་མགོར་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རྡོ་རྗེ་བཏང་བར། ཀུར་སྐར་ཐང་དམག་སྐར་བབ་ཐོག། བསོད་ཕྱོགས་རྒྱུག་དམག་ཕྱུགས་སུ་ཐལ་མར་ཕྱིན་ནས། མཁར་གཡོང་ཏུ་ཁྱུག་པ་སོང་བས། མཁའ་[འགྲོ་]རི་ལ། རི་[སྣར་དམག་འདེགས་བཏང་]བར། ཚོང་སྒྲིན་བཅུང་ཟད་ཙམ་མེད་པར་རི་སྣ་བཅགས་ནས། [མཁའ་འགྲོ་]རི་བརྩམ་པར་ལྷ་ཀྱག་ཏུ་དམག་སྐར་བཙུགས་ནས་ཞག་བདུན་གྱི་བར་མཁར་སྐོར་བཏང་བར། ཐུག་རས་ཕྱིག་བབས། ཁ་སྦྲངས་ནས་འདིར་ཅུག་ལ་ཕྱོངས། ཟླ་ཉིལ་མཁན་ལ་སྦྲར་ཅེ་དང་ལྷ་ཕུང་ཚོལ་མོ་སོགས་མཁར་སྐལ་ཏུ་བཏངས། བསོད་ཀྱི་མདའ་མད་ཆེན་མོ་བཅས་གཏམ་དོན་ཏུ་བཏན་རྒྱུར་འདིར་ཕྱོངས་པིད ། །

ཙ་སྟག་ལོར་མི་ཤྲར་རྗེ་ཨ་ཟམ་མཁན་ནས། སྐར་རྗེ་སྦྲལ་ཏི་མཐའ་དག་རོང་ཡུལ་སྦྲུ་མཛལ་སོགས་རང་དབང་བདག་འདུས་ཅན། བྲཱ་བྲཱ་ཏ་ཐམ་མཁན་ལ་དམག་གཤོམས་ཀྱི། འཛིགས་སྐྲག་ཆེན་པོའི། འདི་ཁར་དབྱང་དམག་ཕྱུས་འབྱུང་བར། དཀུན་ཟླ་༡༨་པ་ཁ་བའི་དུས་ཅང་ལ་ཕྱོགས་ནས་ཅན། ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རྡོ་རྗེ་དམག་མགོར་རྫངས་པར། ལྷུམ་ར་ནས་ཅན། མ་འབྱུངས་པར་ཕྱིན་ནས། བྲཱ་བྲཱ་ཏ་ཐམ་མཁན་བ་ཟུ་ཇོ་ཟན་དང་མི་མཇལ་པ་སོགས། མཚམས་སྤྲོད་བཟང་པོའི་ནང་འཕྲིག་བཅུག་ནས། སྐྱེ་རིས་ཀྱི་ཁར་ཐལ་མར་ཕྱིན་ནས། ཀུ་རིས་སོགས་སུ་ཅ་མ་[མ]ཐོངས་པར་མཁར་ཡུལ་སོགས་ལག་ཏུ་སླེངས། སྐྱེ་རིས་སུ་ཁྱུག་པ་སོང་བར། མིད་ཕྱི་ཟུ་ཞིག་ལ་རང་ཕྱོགས་ནས་ལག་ཐལ་ཏུ་སོང་ནས་མི་སྐབས། རང་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་སྦྲལ་ཏི་ཇོ་ཟན་ཐམས་ཅད་ནས་རང་རེ་ཆོས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་གཏམ་འདོན་ཅེས་པའི། ཐམས་ཅད་དབྲང་འབྱུར་བ་སོགས་གཏགས་པོ(དཀགས་པོ ?)་འགྲོ་ཏུས། ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རྡོ་རྗེ་འདི་དབྲ་ཕྱོགས་སུ་དཔའ་ཞིང་། རང་ཕྱོགས་སུ་མཛངས་པིད། ཟུར་མཁས་པའི་བློ་གྲོས་ཀྱི་འཇུག་པ་རྒྱ་ཆེར་སྐྱེད་ནས། ཕྱི་ནང་ཐོག་མཐའ་[བར་]གསུམ་ཏུ་གང་ལ་གང་མཚམས་ཀྱི་མཚམས་སྦྱོར་ཅན་པར། རང་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་སྦྲལ་ཏི་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བློ་མཐུགས་ཐུབ་པ་བྱུང་ནས། སྐྱེ་རིས་མཁར་ལ་མཇོགས་ཀྱི་[འ]ཁྱིལ་འཁོར་བཙུགས་ནས། མག་ཟུད་མཁན་སློག་ཅིག་ཅམ(= འཛིགས་པ་ཙམ)་ཡང་འགྲོ་མ་བཅུག་པར། སྦྲབ(= བབ)་ནས་མཁར་ལག་ཏུ་སླེངས་པིད། དེ་གོ་རངས་སུ། མི་ཤྲར་སྐར་རྗེ་རོང་ཡུལ་འབྲུ་མཛལ་སོགས་ཀྱི་དམག་དབྱང་ཕྱོགས་ཅིག་ཏུ་སྒྲིལ་[ནས]། རང་ཕྱོགས་དམག་སྐར་ཐོག་ཕྱོངས(= མཆོངས)་ནས་འཁྱུག་འཐབ་ཆེན་པོ་འགྲོ་ཏུས། ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་ནས་བློ་གྲོས་ཀྱི་གོམ་སྟབས་མ་ཆོར་བ་ཡང་བག་ཚ་མེད་པར། དབྲ་སྟབས་ལ་མཁས་པའི[ས]་བསྐོར་བ་ཐོགས་མེད་པར་སྒྲིགས་ནས་བར་ཐབས་པར། བ་རོལ་པོའི་དབྱང་ཆེན་ཏུས་ཅིག་ཏུ་བར་[བ]ཅག། བ་རོལ་པོ་མི་བ་དང་མཆེད་སོག་སོགས་རྩིས་སུ་མེད་པ་བབ་ཆེར་རྒྱང་འཕྱོངས(= མཆོངས)་པིད། འཛིག་རྟེན་བ་རོལ་གྱི་ལམ་ཏུ་རྫོང་བ་བྱས་པིད། གོ་མཆོད་ཏྲ་དང་བཅས་པ་ཚུར་སླེངས་པ་དང་ །

ཊི་ལྷར་ཞེས་ཅ་ན། གཏན་སྒྲེ་འཛོམས་པ་ལ་མཆོག་ཏུ་ཊམ་པའི་དམག་དཔོན། དབྲ་ཐོག་ཏུ་མི་བསྲུན་པའི་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་དཔའ་བསྔོད།

མི་སྐྱན་པའི་ངག་གི[ས]་ཚར་གཅོད ། སྙིང་རྗེ་མེད་པའི་ཡིད་ཀྱི[ས]་དབྲ་བོ་ཟ་ལག་དང་བཅས་པ་གཞོབ་ཏུ་བསྒྲིག་པ་ལ་དཔའ་བའི་མི་
ཁྱུང་ལྷ་ཟུར་སྒྱུར་ཞིང་ ། བ་རོལ་གཡུལ་ལས་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བས ། མཚན་དོན་ལ་རྒྱ་སྦྱིན་རྩེར་འདེགས་པའི་བྱེད་པོ་ཁོ་ན་ར་སྒྱུར་ཞིང་ །
ཤྲི་སྐར་ཛོ་ཨ་བསམ(=ཟམ)་མཁན་འཇིགས་སྒྲགས་ཆེན་པོའི[ས]་རོང་ཡུལ་འབྲུ་མལ་ཕྱོགས་བོས ། སྲིད་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་ཤྲི་སྐར་དུ་ཕྱིན་
ནས ། ཨ་ཞི་མཁན་མཁར་དུ་ཛོ་ལ་བསྐྱོས ། སྐར་རྡོ་ཙ་ན་མ་ཟ་བར་མཁན་ཛོང་བཀོད ། སྐར་རྡུག་ཕ ། པར་ཀུ་ཏ ། རྟོལ་ཏི་སོགས་
ནས་རྫོ་ལྷ་ཟེར་བཅས་དང་དང་གི་དམག་རྣམས་དང་བཅས་དེར་ཕུག་ཟུལ་དུ་བཞགས་ [ཕོ་བྲེད་] པར་ཚོགས་སྡེང་ ། [འདི་ཁའི་མཆན་
དོན་དུ] ཤྲི་སྐར་གྱི་སྡེང་ རྒྱལ་ཆེ་བ་རྣམས་བཅད ། ཞག་ལ་ཡི་གེ་ཞིས་ཕྱིན་ཏུས་ཕྱོག་ མར་ཡལ་བས(=བའི?)་སངས་རྒྱས་གླང་པོའི་
གཏུང་རིང་སྲེལ་གྱི་ཟུང་པོ་ཅན ། སངས་རྒྱས་ [བ]སེ་ཏུར་སྐུ་ལྷམས་པའི་ཙ་ཏོ ། ཏུ་སྲག་དཀར་རྩེ་པ་སོགས་དང་ ། ལུགས་ཀྱི་མདའ་
མན་མེད་གྲགས་ཅན་སོགས ། འདི་ཁར་ཐུག་ཏུ་འགྱོར་ཞིང་ ། གཞན་ཡང་དང་སྨྲིན་རྩེར(=སྨན་མཛོར?)་ཁང་ཟུར་ཡལ་བའི་ལག་
ཆ་ཏྲ་ཏ་རིབ་སོགས་རྫེས་སོབ་བྲུབ་པ་འབྱུང་ཞིང་ ། མདོར་ན་སྒྲལ་ཏེ་རིགས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་སྐྱབས་པ་བྱང་ཟུར་བྱེད་པའི་ [ག] ཉིན་
པོ་ཁོ་ན་ར་སྒྱུར་ཞིང་ ༎

ཙ་ཡིས་ཡོད་གཅེས་མ་དོར་འཛིན་དབང་མོ ། གློའི་སྐྱེ་པ་བཅས་བར་ཐེབས་སྐབས་སུ ། ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རྡོ་རྗེ་གདན་སྐྱེལ་ཏུ་བྲངས་པར །
གློའི་སྐྱེ་པ་ཡབ་ནས་མཛོད་མ་བདེ་བ་ཞིག་ལ ། · · · · · · · འཛུམ་ལང་པ་དང་ཀོན ། སྐྱེ་པ་དང་ ། ཨ་པི་དོར་འཛིན །
ཞལ་ངོ་དཔོན་བློན་བཞི་བཅུ་སྐོར་སྐག་ཏུ་མོན་གྱི་བཙོན་དུ་བསྒུམ་ནས ། གློར་མོན་གྱི་འཛིགས་ཉེན་གྱིས་གཞིར་ཏུས ། ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རྡོ་རྗེ་
ནས་བྲོ་གསོར་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་ནས ། སྐྱེ་འཆིང་བླ་ཏུར་སྐུ་འགོགས་ཙ་སྐྱོར་མཁས་པ་ཙམ་ནས་སོག་པོ་ཏྲ་པ་བརྒྱ་སྐོར་ཞིག་དང་ ། ལ་དྭགས་པ་
བདུན་བཅུ་སྐོར་བཅས ། གློའི་དམག་ཞིབ་བསྐུལ་ཙམ ། སྐག་རྫོང་ཏུ་དམག་དྲངས་པར ། རྫོང་ནང་ནས་མོན་གྱི[ས]་ཁྲག་ཐབ་ལ ། ངར་
བ་རྣམས་ཕྱིར་ཕོན་བྱུང་ནས ། ཉེ་བར་བཅད་ནས་ཐབ་མོ་སོང་བར ། མོན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་བ་གཅིག་ལ་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་ནས་མེ་མདའ་རྒྱབ་ནས་
བཀུམ་པ་དང་ ། སྲིད་བར་ཅག་ནས་མོན་མང་ཟམ་མཆོད་ཕོག་ཏུ་ཤི་བ་དང་ ། དེ་ཕྱོག་འཛིན་ར་བཙུགས་ནས་བྲུའི་རྒྱལ་པོར་བཏང་
ཕྱིན(=ཆེན)་ཤིངས་པར ། བྲུ་པའི་མོན་སྟོང་ཟག་ཅིག་སྒྲིབ་བྱུང་བར ། སྐག་རྫོང་ལ་བསྐོར་རྒྱག་རམ་ཏུ་བཏང་བར ། ཉིན་མཚན་བཅོ་
བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་བར་ཐབས་ནས ། སྲིད་མོན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་བཟས ། ཁ་སྲངས་ནས ། ཡབ་སྐྱེ་པ ། ཨ་པི་དོར་འཛིན ། ཞལ་ངོ་དཔོན ། བློན་བཞི་
བཅུ་སྐོར་ཚུར་ལག་ཏུ་སྲངས་ཤིང་ ། མོན་དང་འདུས་པ་ཙམ ། སྡོད་ཏུས་བྲི(=བྲི་ཁྲིའི)་སྐས་དང་བསམ་གྲུབ་དཔལ་འབར་གྱི་སྐབས་
སྲོལ་རྒྱུན་ལ་གནས་དགོས་ཀྱི་བར་ཚུན་གཉིས་སུ་མདའ་ཆད་ངམ་པོ་ཞིས ། སྐག་རྫོང་གི་མགོན་པོའི་སྐུ་རྗེ་ནག་ལས་གྲུབ་པ་དེ་དང་ །
རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་གི་ལུགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱང་བ་རྣམས་དཔང་དུ་[བ]ཞག་ནས ། འཆིངས་དང་སྒྲིགས་ནས་ཞབས་འདེགས་ཟུལ་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་པ[ར]་ཟུབ་
པ་དང་ ། ཇི་ལྟར་ན ། ཁབ་འཇུག་གི་དཔའ་བརྟུལ་དང་ཟུར་ཟུའི་ཀློ་བྱོས་སྣང་ཏུ་འཛེལ་བ་ཞིག་གི ། ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་སྲིད་ལ་རྒྱང་
མཚན་དོན་ཏུ་སྐྱན་པ་སོག་བོད་ཀུན་གྱི་ངག[འ་བོ]་ར་བརྗོད་ཏུ་སྣང་ རྒྱུའི་ཙམ་ཅན་ཀོ་ན་འབྱུང་བ་དང་ ༎

ས་ཏ་ལོར་བྲི་བ་བྲིས་ལན་ཏུ་ཟོ་ཉེ (=ཉའི)་ཟློ་ནས ། ཀུ་གེ་ནས་འདི་ཁར་མཏུན་མ་པའི་སྐོར་ཏུ ། ཕྱོན་ཏུ་མི་སྣ་བྲག་པ་རེ་
སྐྱུར་ནས་ཡང་ཡང་ཏུ་བྲངས་ཀྱང་ ། དོན་ཟ་ཚོད(=ཙར་གཅོད)་པ་ཞིག་མ་འབྱུང་ནས ། སྲིད་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རྡོ་རྗེ་བཏང་བར ། འགྲུངས་
ཞེར་ཏུ་འདིར་[མཐའ་འམ]་གཏན་འཛིན་ཙམ་པ་དང་ ༎

ཤིང་སྟག་ལོར་དོས་ཉིད་ས་ཡི་ཚངས་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ ཁྲིར་ཁོད་ནས ། མཐའ་ བཞི་ལས་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བའི་ཙ་མཆོད་འགྱུར་ཞིང་ །
རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྣ་བདུན་ལ་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་པའི་སྐབས་དང་ཡོད ། བ་[རོལ་པ]་རྒོལ་ བ་ ནག་ ཕྱོགས་སྒྲལ་ཏེ་རིགས་ཅན་རྣམས་གླགས་ལྟ་བའི་
བྱེད ། འདི་ཁའི་ས་མཚམས་ཁ་ཟུ་ལོར་ཕྱིན་ནས ། འདབ་ལད་མཁན་ལ་སློག་ཅིགས(=འཛིགས)་ཙམ་ཡང་མི་འགྲོ་བ་ལ་ཙ་ཐུག་སྐབས །

འདི་ཁར་དཔུང་རོགས་ཞུས་འབྱུང་བར། འདི་ཁ་ནས་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ལ་རྒྱའི་ཐོག་མ་ཡིན་སྐབས། ཚུར་གྲོལ་གྱི་དགྲ་བོ་གཉའ་བ་རེངས་
སུ་རྟུག་པའི་མི་ཐུམ་ཤིང་། ངོས་ཉིད་ས་ཡི་བདག་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཆིབས་ཀྱི་ཁ་ལོ་བསྒྱུར་ཞིང་། སྔ་འགྲོས་སུ་རྒྱུག་དམག་ཕྱུགས་སུ་
བཟང་མཁར་ཨ་ཁྲུ་ལགས་དང་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རྡོ་རྗེ་བཏང་བར། ཇི་ལྟར་འབྲུག་གི་སྒྲ་དབྱངས་མི་ཟད་པར་ཐོས་ཚེ། ངང་པའི་ཁྱུ་ཚོགས་
དངངས་ཤིང་སྐྱག་པའི། ཕྱོགས་བཅུར་ཐོས་པ་ལ་རྟེན་པ་བཞིན། ཕྱིར (= ཚུར?)་གྲོལ་བ་མཐའ་དག་གི་སྙིང་ཕྲུབས་ནས་ཐོད་དེ། ཡོག་
སྐྱིབས་ཀྱི་སྒྲུགས་སུ་སྐྱབས་ལ་འཛོམ་པའི། འདར་ཞིང་ཞུམ་པ། ཐྲུན་ཆད་གྲོལ་བའི་སྤྲོབས་པ་རྨེག་མེད་དུ་བཅོམ་པ་ལ་མངགས་པའི་
གཉེན་པོར་བྱུར་པ་གང་དེ་ཉིད། བ་ཏོལ་པོ་དཔུང་ཆེན་གྱི་སྟེང་དུ་དམག་ཆེན་རྣམས་དང་། རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཆེན་པོར་ངང་པ་འཇུག་པ་བཞིན།
[ཕྱི]་ཚོམ་པ་མེད་པར་བྱིན་ནས། བ་ཏོལ་གྱི་དམག་གསུམ་སྟོང་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་བཅོད་དུ་བཅུམ། གསུམ་བརྒྱ་སྐོར་འཇིག་རྟེན་ཕྱི་ལམ་དུ་ལྟར་
མོར་རྫོང་བ་བྱས། གོ་མཚོན་རྟ་དང་ལག་ཆ་རྣམས་ཚུར་བླངས་ཤིང་ཕྱག་ཏུ་འབྱོར།། བློར་བཙོན་[པ་]རྣམས་ཚེ་ཐར་དུ་བཏང་ནས།
མ་འོངས་པར་དྲིན་བཟོའི་ལ་ཕྱར་བན་པ་བྱེད་པའི་མནའ་ཆད་ཐུམ་བརྒྱུག་ནས་བཏངས་ཤིང་། ཁྲོ་རྩེ་མཁར་བདེ་ཐབས་ཀྱི[ས]་བཀོད་པར་
བྱས་ཤིང་། དུག་གི་རྩ་བ་འདོན་པ་བཞིན། དགྲ་བོ་རྩད་ནས་འདོན་ནོ། བཞེས་བདེན་དང་ཐུན་པས། ཨ་སར (= ཏ་སར)་མཁན་གྱི་བུ་
རྣམས་རྩ་འདོན་བྱས་ཐོངས། ཏོལ་ཏྲིར་ཨ་ཁེ་རབ་རྫོང་བསྐོར་ནས། སྐར་སྟག་ཁ་ནས་ས་སྐྱུར་སྦྲ་རི་གཡེང་འབྲུར་སོགས་དང་།
. . . ནས་ལག་ཆ་རྣམས་དང་ནོར་དགོས་སུ་བྱུང་བ་རྣམས་དང་བཅས། བྷ་བྷ་ནམ་བདེ་བར་ས་བགོས་སུ་ཞགས། སྐྱེ་རིས་ཀུ་རོས
(= རེས)་གཉིས་སུ་ངོར་ཕྱུལ་བསྟན་བསྐྱོམས་ནས་ཞགས། མདོར་ན་སྤྱིར་དངོས་རྫས་གསུམ་དང་ལྡན་པའི་སྒོ་ནས། སྤྲུལ་ཏེ་རིགས་ཅན་
མཐའ་དག་ཇི་སྲིད་འཚོ་བའི་བར། འདི་ཁའི་ཞབས་འོག་ཏུ་ཁྲིམས་ནས། བསྒྲོད་པའི་མདའ་ཆད་བླངས་ནས། ཁྲོ་རྩེ་མཁར་གྱི་ནང་བཞག་རྣམས་
ཁོང་མཉམས་ནས། ཐལ་ཐུགས་ཀུན་ཏུ་འདི་ཀའི་བསྟན་སྲིད་ལ་ཕྱར་བན་པའི་ཞབས་འདེགས་སོགས་དཔེར་རྫོང་དུ་[བ]ཞག་རྒྱུའི་བྱས་
ཅན་ཀོ་ནར་རྟེན།། . . . . .

TRANSLATION

In order to tell clearly the services rendered [by Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje], and in accordance with the authorities (?), let us tell them as if the voices of Kinnaras were mingled with the beautiful sounds of the *Tambura* (drum). You all must lend an attentive ear, and enjoy [the tale]!—When this Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje had reached his sixteenth year, he went with Bsod-nams-lhun-grub to Kha-bu-lo. As the first of his services, on the occasion when Bha-bha Ha-tham-mkhan, father and son, were seized, he worked with intelligence, not regarding day or night, in the manner of an enemy [of the Baltis]. To relate summarily, an advantage ensued for our country.

In the Wood-Sheep year (*c.* 1715 A.D.), when we, the exalted father and son, went off to carry war to Pa-skyum, Tshul-khrims (generally ?) went to battle upon a night alarm. Not regarding night or day, he achieved an advantage for us within no time.

In the Fire-Monkey year (*c.* 1716 A.D.), when there was an inner disagreement (?) with H̱dab-lad-mkhan, when [the chief of] Si-sgar summoned an army, when Sa-gliṅ castle was seized, and when they came to Bha-bha (= Ha-tham-mkhan) in distress, he went there together with Bsod-nams-lhun-grub. And, when H̱dab-lad-mkhan was brought down from Sa-gliṅ castle, [they gave] military advice and assistance in general. Through Bsod-nams-lhun-grub's clever (?) tongue all was brought to a quick end.

In the Earth-Pig year (c. 1719 A.D.), when Si-sgar made ready an army against the people of Skar-rdo, [the latter] were not only afraid, but even asked here for assistance with an army. Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje was able to make all [necessary] arrangements himself (conveying ?). He was sent as head of an army. When he had arrived at Ha-nu, he stopped the Si-sgar people by means of messengers, both mild and strong, sent in the morning. Meanwhile he waited at Ha-nu. Expert in wise expedients, as if treating an illness with medicines, he thenceforth, without the necessity of keeping there an army, made the people of Si-sgar submit to our commands.

In the Iron-Mouse year (c. 1720 A.D.) Bsod and Dkar-rtse united (lit. became one government). At the time when Kha-rul and Chu-thug, etc., were seized by the enemy Rab-brtan was sent as general against Chu-thug [and] Dkar-rtse ; and Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje was sent as general against Bsod. On the Gur-sgar plain an encampment was established, and a quick attack was directed against Bsod. In front of the castle it came to a battle. Also Ri-[sna] on the Mkhaḥ-[ḥgro hill was attacked]. Although there was no fault whatever on our part, Ri-sna was demolished, and the [Mkhaḥ-ḥgro] hill was seized. Then behind [Ri-]sna an encampment was established and for seven days the castle was surrounded. Then Sbag-ram-bhig came down therefrom, and, his face having been raised,[1] was brought here [to Leh ?] to make his salutations. Mu-til-mkhan received Sbar-rtse and Hla-luṅ-tshil-mo as his portion, and the big drums of Bsod, because of their [beautiful] sound, were brought here.

In the Water-Tiger year (c. 1722 A.D.) 'Azam-mkhan, the chief of Śi-sgar, brought Skar-rdo under his sway, together with all Sbal-ti, Roṅ-yul (= Roṅ-mdo), Sbru-śal, etc. As Bha-bha Ha-tham-mkhan was afraid of war being prepared [against him], he asked here for military assistance. In the twelfth winter month, in the time of snow, we started in (lit. from) the direction of the Byaṅ-la [pass]. Tshul-khrims-rdo-[rj]e was sent as general. Coming from Ldum-ra, he arrived soon [in Baltistan]. Bha-bha Ha-tham-mkhan, father and son, chief and subjects, who did not agree [with one another], were brought to an agreement. [Then we] passed through Skye-ris castle, and seized the castle and country of Ku-res, etc., before [we] could be seen by a bird. At Skye-ris there rose a quarrel, and on the occasion when a hand was raised against a son of Mir from his own side and he died, and when the chiefs and subjects of Sbal-ti who were [originally] on our side, began to talk of their religion, all became inimical [to us], and it was a difficult time, [then] Tshul-khrims-rdo-[rj]e was a hero in the face of the enemies, and a wise man among his own party. He was clever in every situation and showed (lit. produced) great wisdom (?). He made everyone, be he an outsider (Muhammadan) or an insider (Buddhist), be he high, low, or middling, abide by the boundaries due to him. It occurred [even] that the Sbal-ti men of his own side found it easy (?) to bow [their heads]. The castle of Skye-ris was surrounded with magical swiftness ; Mag-mud-mkhan was brought down before any-

[1] I.e., he had received grace.

body's life was risked, and [his] castle was taken. Next morning the armies of Śi-sgar, Skar-rdo, Roṅ-yul, Ḫbru-śal, etc., assembled in one place; and after they had ascended (lit. leapt to) the top of their own trenches a great battle ensued. Then Tshul-khrims, never making a wrong step, and remaining free from all fear, by his wisdom made clever arrangements to meet the tricks of the enemy in an unembarrassed way. He fought with them, and in a moment annihilated the great opposing host. The dead and wounded of the enemy were beyond counting; many leapt into the water, and were sent on the road [which leads] beyond this world. [Their] armour together with [their] horses were taken by us (lit. taken on this side).

If you ask how, he was a most splendid general in subduing foreign countries; he knew how to humiliate the hostile heroes in a manner which was not mild; he examined them with a tongue that was not well-sounding. When, with a merciless mind, he burnt the enemy together with their belongings, he was like a conflagration of heroism. [In battle] he was victorious over the adversary, and he was a man who worked solely for the advantage and fame of [his own] government. When the chief of Śi-sgar, 'A-bsam-khan (or 'A-zam-mkhan), in great alarm fled in the direction of Roṅ-yul and Ḫbru-śal, once more Tshul-khrims marched to Śi-sgar and appointed 'A-li-mkhan as chief of the castle. At Skar-rdo Ma-ma Za-phar-mkhan was appointed chief. From Skar-stag-śa, Par-ku-ta, Rtol-ti, etc., the chiefs and wazirs, accompanied by their several armies, were made to assemble there (at Skar-rdo ?) to pay homage.

[For the sake of our fame] the great trees (Chenars ?) of Śi-sgar were cut. An inscription was carved on the rock. The relics of Buddha's bones in his elephant incarnation, which had withered through old age and were kept in a mound (lit. having a mound), the horn of Buddha in his rhinoceros incarnation, the rifles, etc., of Skar-rtse [workmanship], the famous iron drums, etc., were handed over to us (lit. to our side): furthermore, the things hidden in a hole at Smen-rtse (or Sman-mdze); horses, and clarionets which could be repaired later, were afterwards recovered (?). In short, he was a discouraging adversary to all the Sbal-ti nobles.

In the Water-Hare year (*c.* 1723 A.D.), when the noble Nor-ḫdzin-dbaṅ-mo arrived on the other side together with the governor of Glo, Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje was sent to meet [her]. Upon an unfair action by the father, the governor of Glo, . . . whilst smiling, he [nurtured] hatred. The governor himself, the grandmother Nor-ḫdzin, and the Żal-ṅo-dpon, with a retinue of forty ministers, were detained at Skag, in the prison of the Mons. At a time when Glo was seized by fear of the Mons, Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje went to Bro-gśod. The Sde-ḫchiṅ-Bha-dur (= Bahādur) asked in a clever way for assistance; and together with an escort of 100 Mongol horsemen and 70 Ladakhis, a call to arms having been issued to Glo, the force was led against the castle of Skag. Whilst the Mons fought from inside the castle, the most ferocious came outside, and, they pressing near [towards us], a battle ensued. One of the Rgyal-ba (leaders) of the Mons was hit by a bullet from Tshul-khrims and died. They were thrown back (lit. turned), and many Mons died from wounds. After that a prisoners'

camp was established, and a swift messenger was sent to the King of Gru. Thereupon one thousand Mons from Gru arrived [at Skag]. The castle of Skag was surrounded in a solid manner, and after the fighting had lasted for eighteen days and nights the King of the Mons came down again. They having been comforted, the father-governor, the grandmother Nor-ḥdzin, [and] the Żal-ṅo-dpon, with [his] retinue of forty ministers, were seized by us (lit. on our side). A meeting with the Mons was arranged, and an oath was written, saying that both sides were to live according to the rules [laid down] at the time of the son of Bhi-[khra] and Bsam-grub-dpal-ḥbar. The stone-image of the Mgon-po of Skag-rdzoṅ, [called] Nag-las-grub-pa (made of black stone ?), and the king's own rosaries of iron were both put forward as witnesses; and, the agreement having been concluded, they came to offer service [to us]. If you ask in what manner they were [expected to work for] the fame of the government and the religion of La-dvags, which combines, as in a couple, the hero-overcoming [power] of Viṣṇu (Khyab-ḥjug) and the wisdom of Phur-bu, they were to tell pleasant things [regarding us] among the heroes of all Mongolia and Tibet.

In the Earth-Hen year (*c.* 1729 A.D.), after many questions had been asked here [regarding a princess] from Gu-ge, and although previously noble messengers had been repeatedly sent, in company with the bride-bidders (*mdun-ma-pa*), no result had appeared. [Then] Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje was sent once more, an [oath of engagement ?] or an invitation here (?) was agreed upon without delay.

In the Wood-Tiger year (*c.* 1734 A.D.), I, the great Brahmā of the earth, was placed on the throne, and the flags of conquest over the four ends [of the world] were hoisted. At the outset of my enjoyment of the seven jewels, inasmuch as our enemies, the clever Sbal-tis of the black region, looked for an opportunity to fight, I went out to Kha-bu-lo on our frontier. Although Ḫdab-lad-mkhan was not in the least danger regarding his life, he was in a helpless state, and asked us for reinforcements. As I was just at the beginning of my government here, and therefore could not march (lit. enter) against the stiff-necked enemies who fought with us, I, the great ruler of the world, having to guide my own steed, sent the King (uncle) of Bzaṅ-mkhar and Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje in the morning as a flying column. Just as a flock of geese which, suddenly hearing the melodious sound of the thunder, become frightened and strive to escape in the ten directions, so our enemies, their hearts leaving their bodies (lit. sheaths), ran to (lit. seized) [all] the secret caverns and recesses for shelter. They trembled and were afraid. Finally, [their] fighting spirit being rooted out, they became adversaries who [may be] sent to defeat. Just as geese rush into the great ocean, so [our] great army rushed on to the great host of the enemy, without hesitation. And the enemy's army, numbering 3,500 men, was taken prisoner. About 300 [of them] were sent on the road to the next world (i.e. were killed) for the sake of [our] entertainment, and their armour, horses, and utensils were brought here and offered into [my] hands. Afterwards the prisoners were released and their lives spared. They had to swear an oath that in future they would work for the advantage of [our] gracious government. The castle of Tho-rtse was built in a beautiful manner. Just as a poisonous root

is taken out, the enemy was thoroughly rooted out. Thus, in accordance with the purpose [of the war], the sons of 'A-sad (or, Ha-sad)-mkhan were rooted out. At Tol-rti 'A-śe-rab was appointed chief. The places Spa-ri, Gyiṅ-ḥgud, etc., which had been taken from Skar-stag-śa, together with the necessary utensils and riches, were handed over for distribution to Bha-bha, for so long a time as he should live. At Skye-ris and Ku-res, both, Sul-bstan was elected and appointed chief.

Finally, for past, present, and future the nobility of Sbal-ti, for so long as it should exist, was brought under our sway (lit. feet). A contract to remain [in that condition] was written; the inner state of Tho-rtse castle was set straight; and it was agreed that for ever, for the present and the future, they [the Sbal-tis] should be an example of service to the welfare of this (our) government, etc. . . .

NOTES

The dates found in the above account appear to be more accurate than is usual in Ladakhi chronicles. They seem to refer to the reigns of Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal and Bde-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal.

The Balti rulers named in the document correspond to the following chiefs of Cunningham's list (p. 30) :—

Ha-tham-khan of Kha-pu-lu is Hatim Khan, No. 63 of C.
Ḥdab-lad-khan of Kha-pu-lu is Daolut Khan, No. 64 of C.
'A-zam-khan of Śi-dkar is Azem Khan, No. 22 of C (p. 33).
'A-li-khan of Śi-dkar is Ali Khan, No. 23 of C (p. 33).
Ma-ma Za-phar-khan of Skar-rdo is Zafar Khan, No. 6 of C (p. 35).

The expedition against the Mons of Blo-bo in *c.* 1723 A.D. led apparently to Bde-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal's marriage to Ñi-zla-dbaṅ-mo of Glo-mon-braṅ ; see the Chronicles.

The document contains a number of place-names which at present I cannot identify. The sites of the principal places mentioned in the text are, however, well known, and on the map will be found all those which have been identified. The chief Sbag-ram-bhig of this document is apparently identical with Mag-ram-beg of the Sod genealogy; see *ante*, p. 177.

XVII. The Services of Bsod-nams-bstan-ḥdzin, minister of Sṅon-dar in Ldum-ra, according to the tale of King Tshe-dpal-mi-ḥgyur-Don-grub-rnam-rgyal

PREFACE

The original of the following document was discovered at Leh in 1915 by Joseph Tshe-brtan, and sold to Sir John Marshall, together with a number of other documents of more or less importance. It is No. 46 of Joseph Tshe-brtan's Second Collection of Tibetan decrees.

The document contains a grant of land by the king to his faithful minister. The second part therefore furnishes a list of estates given to the minister. In the first part King Tshe-dpal tells a tale of the minister's services. It comprises several expeditions against Baltistan; and, as the names of several Balti chiefs are given, it has for our study of Balti history a value similar to that of the document containing the services of Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje, according to the tale of King Bde-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal. See the latter (pp. 228 sqq.).

TIBETAN TEXT

ལྷུམ་རའི་ནང་གསོ་ནོ་ནོ་བསོད་ནམ[ས]་བསྟན་འཛིན་གྱིས་ལྷག་བསམ་རྣམ་དག་གི[ས]་སྔ་ཕྱི་ཞབས་སྟོག་ཕུལ་བ་རྣམས་གླེང་བར་
ཐམས་ཅད་རྣ་བ་ཉན་ཅིག་དང་། མི་དཀར་ཛོ་ཨ་ཟམ་ཁན་དང་ཁོ་ར[ང་]གི་ལྷ་ཞིར་མ་ན་སྤུལ་ཉན་གཉིས་མ་མཐུན་པ། ཛོ་ཨ་ཟམ་
ཁན་མི་དཀར་མཁར་དང་བཞུ་ནས། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཞབས་པད་དུ་མགོ་གཏད་ཅིས། དཔུང་དམག་ཐུགས་ཐེ་གཟིགས་དགོས། ནན་
ཆེར་ཞུས་པར། འདི་ནས་པཀའི་དཔུང་བློན་ག་ག་ཚེ་དབང་དོན་གྲུབ་དཔུང་ཆེན་དང་བཅས།
5 རྒྱ་ཕྱི་ཟླ་༦་ཚེས་༢་ཞག་དཔུང་བཏེགས་ནས། ཉིད་སྐྱང་དུ་ཐེབས་བསྟུན། བྲ་རིག་གི་དམག་རྣམས་དང་འཛོམ་ཕོག་གསུང་གྲོས་
མཛད་དེ། ད་ལྟ་ཚོད་ཆེ་བ་དང་རྒྱ་ཆེ་སྐབས་དམག་བརྒྱུག་པ་ལ། དབྱ་ཡུལ་དུ་ཐུས་པ་[འ]ཁོད་རྒྱུ་བར(=བར)་བཞག། དང་དེའི་
དམག་མི་རྣམས་ལ་ཁག་སྡོང་ཡོང་ཚོད་ལ་རེས་མིག་དམག་(འ)ཐུས་པར(=བར?)། སྐྱིད་ཐག་གི་ཆེད་དུ་ནོ་ནོ་བསྟན་འཛིན་དང་།
བདེ་སྐྱིད་བློན་པོ་རིག་འཛིན། ལྷོ་[བ]ཉིད་སྐྱང་གི་བྱང་པོ་དང་བཅས་སོ་ཉ་ལ་སོང་བར། སྤུར་མོ་[འ]ཁྲོག་བསྡེབ་སྐབས་སུ་ཁ་བྲ་ཕུའི་
ཛོ་ལྷ་ཞིར། མི་དཀར་ཛོ་ཨ་ཟམ་ཁན་བཅས་ཚང་མ་བློ་ཁོལ་ཆེར་འབར་ཏེ། དམག་ཆེན་འཐེགས་པ་ད་མི་སྐྱིད་པར། ཕྱིད་ཚོ་སོ་ཉ་
10 ཡོང་དོན་མེད་ཟེར་ཏེ། ཞག་བཅུ་སྐོར་བསྒུགས་འདུག་ཀྱང་། ནོ་ནོ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ནས་ཐབས་སྒོ་དུ་མའི་[སྒོ་ནས་]། ཁོ་པའི་སེམས་
མལ་དུ་བབ་སྟེ། ལོ་ཁ་ཤས་དམག་བཏང་མི་དགོས་ཐུས་སོ།།
ཉིང་ཕྱི་ལོར་བཀའ་མཛོད་ཚེ་དབང་དོན་གྲུབ་དང་། ག་ག་རྡོ་རྗེ་གཉིས་དམག་དཔོན་དུ་བསྐོས་སྟེ། མང་ཡུལ་སྐྱོད་ཤམ། བཟང་
དཀར། ལྷུམ་ར། བྲ་རིག་ཐུགྱི(=བཅས་ཀྱི)་དམག་ཞིབ་བསྐུལ་དང་བཅས། དཔུང་ཆེན་རྫོངས་ནས། རེས་མིག་བཀའ་མཛོད་ཏུ་
ཐུར་སྐྱིངས་མིང་། ག་ག་རྡོ་རྗེ་དང་། ནོ་ནོ་བསྟན་འཛིན་གྱི་གཏོང་མ་མ་སྤུལ་དད(=ཏན?)་ལ་རྒྱ་མཚན་སྟོད་པར། ཕྱིད་ཁ་ཕྱིར་
15 བསྐྱོས་ཀྱི། དང་གི་ཇོ་བསྐྱུར་ནས། སྐར་རྡོ་པ་དབྱངས་སུ་ཁྲར་དང་ཚོད་མེད་པ། ཉི་མའི་འོད་ལ་མར་མེས་འགྲན་པ་ནི་འོས་སུ་མ་

མཐུན་ཅིང་། དེ་ནས་ཁྱོད་སྤྱད་ཟུས་ལ་འགྱུར་བཀགས། ཕྱིན་ཆད་ཁྱོད་དང་བཟོ[ས]་བདེད་ཕྱོད་པར་དགའ་ན། མི་དཀར་མཁར་ཕྱག་
རྟེན་ཏུ་ཁར་ནས་འགོ་ཟུས་འདུད་བྱེད་ན་ལེགས། དེ་ལྟར་མ་བྱེད་[ན་]། དེད་དཔུང་དང་བཅས་པ་མི་རིང་བར་དེད་ལྷགས་ནས།
ཁྱོད་དབྲ་དཔུང་འཁོར་དང་[བཅས]་པ་བཅོམ་ཏུས། ཁྱོད་འགྱུར་པས་མི་བད་ཅེས་སྒྲིངས་འདུག་པ། དེ་ནས་ག་ག་རྡོ་རྗེ་དང་ནོ་ནོ་བསྟན་
འཛིན་དཔུང་དང་བཅས་པ་ཁ་ཞུམས་པ་ལྟར་སོང་ནས། དམར་པོ་ཐང་གི་སྐར་རྡོ་པས་བཟུམ་ཡོད་བོག་ཏུ་ཟུད་བཅགས་ཀྱི་སྐར་རྡོ་པ་
ཕྱིར་བསྐྱད་དེ། དེ་སྔ་དེ་ཐལ་ཏུ་ཐུངས། སྐན་མཛོས་ཁོམ་ཐུད་དམག་སྐྱད་གཏད། ཡུལ་མི་མོད་བརྒྱུགས(= རྒྱུག་དམག)་བཏངས་ 5
ནས། མནོན་པ་ཐུངས། དེ་ནས་ནམ་ཟླ་དང་བསྟན་རང་འཚོ་བཏན་པའི་ཟུ་བ་ཞེས་སུ་བབ་པར། ནོ་ནོ་བསྟན་འཛིན། ད་རྒྱའི་བློན་
པོ་རབ་བརྟན་གཉིས་པོ་ཉར་སོང་ནས། བཀའ་མཛོད་ཀྱི་འཕྲིན་ཡིག་སྤྲད་དེ། ཉི་ཟླ་གང་མཚམས་སྒོ་ནས་མ་[མ་]ཐུལ་ཏན་ཀྱི་སེམས་
རྒྱུད་རྡ་ལྟར་ཁྱོང་བ་དེ་གཙུ་བཞིན་བཀུགས་སྟེ། ཟུ་ཁབ་འདུ[ལ་]ལ་ཕྱག་རྟེན་གསེར་དང་། ཏུ་བག། རྟ་བཅས་བཀལ་ནས། ད་རྒྱའི་
བློན་པོ་དང་སྤྲགས། ག་ག་རྡོ་རྗེའི་གམ་ཏུ་ཕྱག་ཕུལ་བར་བཏངས་ནས། ནོ་ནོ་བསྟན་འཛིན་རང་མི་ཚབས་ལ་གྲུད་ནས། ལྷ་རྫེད་དང་
ནང་གྲོས་ཞིབ་ཐིག་གི་ཚད་དོན་ཟུས་པར། འདི་ལོ་ང་ཡི་གཉིས་ཟུ་སྐྱད་རྣམས་སྐར་རྡོར་ཡོད་སྟབས་ཀྱི། མཁར་ཕུལ་བ་དེས་མིག་མ་ 10
བདེ་ན་ཡང་། ཕྱི་ལོ་མི་རྣམས་སྐར་རྡོ་ནས་འདེད་ཞིངས་ཏེ། མི་དཀར་མཁར་དང་ཐང་བ་ཟུ་འཁོར་བཅས་ལ་དྲགས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཕྱག་
ཕུལ་ངེས་ཀྱི་མནའ་བཅིགས་དང་སྤྲགས་པའི་ཁ་རྟགས་སྤྱད་ཁར་ནས། འདེད་ཕུལ་བ་དང་། ཕྱི་ལོ་ཁ་དོན་མཚུངས་པའི། མི་དཀར་
ཕྱག་ཏུ་ཕུལ་བ་ནས། ད་བར་འགྱུར་མེད་དང་།

སེ་སྟག་ལོར་ག་ག་བཀའ་མཛོད། ནོ་ནོ་དབང་དྲག་གཉིས་མི་དཀར་དུ་ཕྱིན་ནས། ནང་ལ་མཁར་སྐོར་བརྒྱབས་ནས། སྐར་
རྡོར་ཚོ་ཉ་ལ་ནོ་ནོ་བསྟན་འཛིན། ས་སྤྱི་ཅེའི་བློན་པོ་བསོད་ནམས། བརྟན་པ་ཚེ་རིང་བཅས་སོང་ནས། སྐར་རྡོ་རྫོ་ཨ་མར་མ་དང་། 15
མི་དཀར་ཇོ་ལྷ་ཟིར་བཅས། སྤྱད་འབྲས(=དབྲ་ཡིན་ཀྱང་)། ད་འཁོན་མེད་པའི། ཚད་ཡིག་མོད་རྟགས་ཅན། བཀའ་མཛོད་ལ་ཕྱག་
ཕུལ་བར་སྒ་རང་ཇོ་དང་། སེར་པོ་པ་གཉིས་ཕྱག་རྟེན་བཀལ་ཏེ། བཀའ་བློན་གྱི་ཛད་ཁྱིངས། ནང་ལ་ཡོད་པའི་དམག་རྣམས་ཞིངས་ནས།
རང་རེའི་མཁར་དཔོན་བཞགས་ནས། ཡིག་ལམ་རྒྱུད་ཞེབས་ཕྲུབ་པ་དང་།།

ཕུགས་ཕྱུག་ལོར་གར་དག་ཤ་པའི་ས་མཚམས་ཏོལ་ཏི་ཙ་སྐར་རྡོ་པས་དམག་རྒྱབ་ཏུས། འདི་ནས་ནོ་ནོ་དབང་དྲག་དང་དཔལ་
རྒྱས་དཔུང་དང་བཅས་ཁ་ཟུ་ཕུར་འཐེར། སྙལ་ནོ་ནོ་བསྟན་འཛིན་དམག་འགོ་བཅས་བཏངས་པར། ཀུ་རོའི་ཞིཝ(=སྤྲེཝ)་ཟུད་བཅགས་ 20
སུ་ལེན་ཏེ། ནོན་དོར་མཁར་རྒྱབས་ནས། ཁ་ཟུ་[ཕུ]་པའི་རེས་པ་བཞགས་མིང་། ཀུ་རོ་ལྷ་ལི་དང་ཞབས་སུ་ཁྲིག་ཕྲུབ་པའི་ཞབས་
སྟོག་ཟུས།།

རྩ་སྒྲེ་ལོ་ཇོ་ཡ་ཡ(=ཡ་ཧི་ཡ)་ཁན་ཚོས་མ་ཕྲུབ་སྐབས། འདབ་ལད་ཨ་ལི་ཁན་ན་[སོ་]ཟླ་[སོ་]སྐབས། ཨ་ཧྲོན་རྣམས་བྱེད་རྒྱུ་
མང་བར་རྟེན། ཁ་ཟུ་ཕུའི་ནང་ཤིག་ལ་སྦུག་པར། འདི་ནས་ནོ་ནོ་རྟ་མགྲིན་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བདུད་འཛོམ[ས]་དང་ནོ་ནོ་ བསྟན་ འཛིན་གཉིས་
ཁོ་པའི་བདལ(=གྲལ)་ཟུ་བར་བཏང་བར། ཀྱི་རེས་སུ་རེས་པ་བཞགས། མགྲོན་རྩེ་མཁར་ཏུ་འདབ་ལད་ཨ་ལི་མཁན་སྐལ(=བཀལ)་ཏེ། 25
ཇོ་ལྷ་ཟིར་གྱི་གྲལ་ཕྱོས། ཨར་གྲོན་རྣམས་དང་། ཟླ་བཅུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བྲ་མ་རྣམས་བསྡུས་ཏེ། ཁོ་པ་རྣམས་ལ་ཕྱིས་འཛུག་ཏུ་བཟོ(ས)་བདེ་
གཞོང་འཛུགས་ཡོད་བའི་བཀོད་པ་བཏང་རྗེས། ད་ནས་བཟུང་ཁ་ཕྱིད་ལྷ་མེད་པ་(=ངོ་མ་ ལོག་ པར་)ལ་དྲགས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་བཀའ་ཕྱོད་
བཅིངས་དང་། འདབ་ལད་ཨ་ལི་ཁན་ལ་བསྐྱུར་ཏེ་དང་གང་ཟིད་ལ་ཉན་ནས། ཞབས་སྟོག་ཕུལ་བ་ མ་རྟོགས་ལོག་པར་ལྟ་བའི་རིགས་
སྣ་ཙམ་ཡང་བྱེད་པ་མེད་པའི་མཐའ་བསྐལ་ཏེ་འབའ་གམ་བརྟན་པོ་ཐུངས་པ། རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཕུལ་བ་ སོགས་ ཕྱི་ནང་ལ་ རྒྱའི་ལས་དོན་ཟུས་
གཙང་ཕྲུབ་པ་དང་།། 30

ཤིང་བག་ལོ་སྤྲིལ་བློན་ཕྲོ་ནོ་ནོ་རྟ་མཐིན་ནམ་རྒྱལ་དམག་དཔོན་དུ་[བ]སྐོས་ཏེ། ལ་དྭགས་སྟོད་སྨད་ཀྱི་དམག་ཞིམ་སྐྱིལ། བུ་རིག་
གི་དམག་དང་བཅས་སྐྱེ་རིས་སུ་དབུང་འཇུག་སྐབས་སུ། ནོ་ནོ་བསྟན་འཛིན་མི་གསུམ་བརྒྱ་དང་ཅམ(=བཅས)་སྔག་ནས། སྔོན་ལ་སྔ་
ཟར་ལ་སོང་ནས། ཡོས་བའི་ཉ་དེ་ཟླ་གྲོབ་མ་ཐག་[ཏུ་]། ཀུ་རོའི་འགོག་རྫུད་ནས་སྐྱེ་རིས་བར་མཆོད་སར་སྔ་བསྐྱོད། ཚེ[ས་]
བརྒྱད་ཉིན་ཁན་ཀ་ཆར་དཀན་བཏང་བའི་བར་དུ། སྐྱེ་རིས་མཁར་ནང་ནས་ཉིན་མཚོངས་པ་བྱུང་བར། ནོ་ནོ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ཉམ་ང་
མེད་པ། དབྲ་ལོག་རལ་གྲི་གཏོན་ནས། བར་མཆོངས་པས། མི་གཅིག་གྲི་ལམ་དུ་བཀུམས། དེའི་འཇུག་དབུང་བཀྱེ་བས། སྦལ་ཏི་
གཡུལ་ཕམ་ནས། ཁན་གཞི་ནང་དུ་ཞོས་ཏེ། དེ་བྱ་གཏོལ་མེད། རྒྱ་འབྲུམས་བཏང་སྐབས། ཨ་མད་ཀླས་བཟང་སྲིག་བྱས་པས།
སྐྱེ་རིས་སུ་མཁར་དཔོན་བཞགས་ན[ས]། དམག་ཕྱིངས་ཕྱིར་ལོག་པ་དང་། ནར་དུ་ཡོད་པ་རྣམས་ཅད་ལ་ཆེས། དེ་རྗེས་སུ་ཡོད་པའི་
ལམ་པར་བཅད་དེ། དགེ་སྡིག་རྒྱུ་འབྲས་ལ་མི་བརྩི་བའི། ཨ་མད་ཀླས་རང་རེའི་དམག། སོད་པ། རྒྱ་མོད་པ། ཁ་བུ་ལུ་པ། ཚོར་
འབར་པ། ལྷུམ་ར་པ་བཅས་མི་གྲངས་བརྒྱ་སྐོར་ཙམས་ཚིར་སོང་བ་ལ། ནོ་ནོ་བསྟན་འཛིན་འདི་པ་བློ་སྟོབས་ཆེ་བ་བཅས་རང་སློག་
བློས་བཏང་ཀྱི་མི་རྣམས་གཏོད་པའི་ཕྱིར་ཁ་བུ་ལུར་ཟླ་བ་གསུམ་གྱི་བར་དུ་འདུགས་ཏེ། སྐར་རྡོད་མི་ཚོད་གསུ[མ]་བཏང་པར།
ཉི་དྲག་ཐབས་སྒོ་དུ་མའི་སྒོ་ནས། རང་རེ་མི་རྣམས་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མ་ལུས་པ། གསོས་ལྷུམ་སྐྱོན། རང་ཡུལ་ཕྱོངས་པའི་ཞབས་སྟོག་བྱུལ་
བ་དེ། ཡིད་ཅན་ཀུན་གྱིས་རིག་པ་ལྟར་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་སྔ་ཕྱི་བར་གསུམ་དུ་ཁ་ཙམ་ཚིག་ཙམ་མ་ཡིན་པར། ཞི་དྲག་གི་ཞབས་སྟོག་
གཏན་འཁྲུན་མེད་པ། རིམ་ཅན་བྱུལ་བའི་མཐུད་རྟེན། ཁོ་པར་བདག་རྒྱུན་མཛོད་དགོས་ཞེས་སུ་བབ་བ་བཅས།། . . .

TRANSLATION

Now listen to my tale of the superior and pure services rendered in former times and also later by No-no Bsod-nams-bstan-ḥdzin, warden of Ldum-ra. 'A-zam-khan, the chief of Śi-dkar, and Ma-ma Sul-tan, his wa-zir, did not agree. The chief 'A-zam-khan left the castle of Śi-dkar, bowed before the king of La-dvags and earnestly implored [him], 'Kindly send me an army!' Then from here the minister Ga-ga Tshe-dbaṅ-don-grub [was sent] with a great army.

The army was raised on the third day of the sixth month of the Water-Mouse year (c. 1792 A.D.); and on its arrival at Tiṅ-sgaṅ it united with the armies of Bu-rig. A council of war was held, [as follows]:—'If now in the time of great heat and high water we should enter into war, we shall [not] succeed in the lands of the enemies.' And it was given up. Only, for the sake of giving some training to the respective soldiers, the armies were occasionally summoned. During this [time of] waiting No-no Bstan-ḥdzin, Rig-ḥdzin, the minister of Bde-skyid, and the elders of Lte-ba-Tiṅ-sgaṅ, went [to Kha-pu-lu] as messengers. When they arrived at Sur-mo-ḥbrog, the chief and the wa-zir of Kha-pu-lu, as well as 'A-zam-khan, chief of Śi-dkar, boiled with anger. They said, 'Having raised an army, you must not come! It is not your intention to come as messengers!' Although they opposed for about ten days, No-no Bstan-ḥdzin, through many contrivances, brought their minds to reason, and it was agreed that for several years there should not be any warfare.

In the Wood-Mouse year (c. 1804 A.D.) the minister Tshe-dbaṅ-don-grub and Ga-ga Rdo-rje were both appointed generals. The forces of Upper and Lower Maṅ-yul,

Bzaṅ-dkar, Ldum-ra, and Bu-rig were called up, and a great army was dispatched. Once, when the minister had waited [a little] at Ha-nu, Ga-ga Rdo-rje together with No-no Bstan-ḥdzin [went off] to question Ma-ma Sul-dad (= Sul-tan ?) about his circumstances. 'To examine your position,—you have left your own chieftain, and you have brought here the army of Skar-rdo! [This shows] your own inability. It cannot be right that the lamp should fight against the sun. Therefore you should repent of what you previously did. If henceforth you wish to live in happiness, you should offer the castle of Śi-dkar as a present and bow [before us]! If you will not do so, we shall approach it with an army forthwith! When you are defeated together with your army, repentance will not save you!'—such a message was sent. Then Ga-ga Rdo-rje and No-no Bstan-ḥdzin together with the host marched away in alarm, and the Phur-bcags Skar-rdo people were turned out after they had been seized by the Dmar-po-jaṅ Skar-rdo people. Ri-sna was taken in a moment, and at Sman-mdzes and Khom-bu an encampment was established. Through several villages (countries (?)) flying columns were sent, and booty was taken. Then, the time (*nam-zla* ?) being come to take measures for safety, [and] No-no Bstan-ḥdzin and Rab-brtan, the minister of Da-ru, both went as messengers and delivered the Prime Minister's letter. Through mild and strong means the heart of Ma-ma Sul-tan, which was as hard as horn, was bent like a bow; and after a present consisting of gold, rifles, and horses had been sent with 'Ab-ḥdul-la, the son, they [the Sbalti wazīrs] were sent with the minister of Da-ru before Ga-ga Rdo-rje to greet [him]. No-no Bstan-ḥdzin himself sat there as a representative, and made a contract of clear words with the wa-zirs and Inner Councillors [of Śi-dkar], [as follows]:—'As this year my (i.e. Ma-ma Sul-tan's) son and family are staying at Skar-rdo, it is not proper to offer the castle [to you now]. Next year, when those people will be sent here from Skar-rdo, the castle of Śi-dkar [will be offered], and we, father, son, and retinue, will salute the King of La-dvags!' Such a document, furnished with a true oath and promise, was brought and offered here. The following year, in accordance with the promise, Śi-dkar was offered into [our] hands, and until now has remained so without change.

In the Fire-Tiger year (*c.* 1806 A.D.) the noble Prime Minister and No-no Dbaṅ-drag both went to Śi-dkar and besieged the Nar castle. No-no Bstan-ḥdzin, the Minister Bsod-nams of Sa-spo-rtse, and Brtan-pa-tshe-riṅ went together to Skar-rdo as messengers. 'A-mad-śa, the chief of Skar-rdo, and the chief of Śi-dkar, who before had been quarrelling with his wa-zir, had now given up their hatred and respected their agreement. They offered salutations to the Prime Minister. The chief Mu-rad and Ser-po-pa both sent presents and brought them before the Prime Minister. The garrison posted at Nar was turned out, and, after [our] own castellan had been placed there, we went [home] by the lower road.

In the Iron-Sheep year (*c.* 1811 A.D.), when on the frontier of Gar-dag-śa (Skar-stag-śa) the people of Skar-rdo waged war against Tol-ti, No-no Dbaṅ-drag and Dpal-rgyas marched with an army from here to Kha-bu-lu. Presently No-no Bstan-ḥdzin was sent as (*bcas*, with ?) general, and the tower of Ku-ro was demolished (?). Bon-dor

castle [also] was taken and given to a representative of Kha-bu-lu. Ku-ro-wa-li came into our hands and did service to us.

In the Water-Monkey year (c. 1812 A.D.), when the chief Ya-ya (=Yahia)-khan was in bad health, and when Ḫdab-la[d]-'A-li-khan was [still] very young, the 'A[r]-rgon (*Akhon*, children of Muhammadan fathers and Tibetan women) became very busy. For that reason we sent No-no Rta-mgrin-bkra-śis-bdud-ḫjoms and No-no Bstan-ḫdzin both to meet in a place inside Kha-bu-lu; they were to take their side. At [S]kye-ris a representative was placed. Ḫdab-lad-'A-li-khan was sent to Mtho-rtse castle. He took the side of the chief and wa-zir. The *gra-ma* (villages?) of the 'A(r)-rgon and of the Pā-bcu-gñis (?) were gathered together, and it was arranged for them to settle down happily later on. Henceforth [they had] to remain bound to the orders of the king of La-dvags without any rebellion. [A messenger] was sent to Ḫdab-lad-'A-li-khan, and an oath taken (lit. placed) from him, [as follows]:—He was to heed what he was told. He had not only to serve [the Ladakhis], but also never to show any sign of rebellion. A firm contract was made, and he served [our] government, and with all his power (lit. pure power) he carried out the inner and outer interests of our government (*la-rgya*).

In the Wood-Pig year (c. 1815 A.D.) No-no Rta-mgrin-rnam-rgyal, the minister of Slel, was appointed chief-general. He issued a call-to-arms to Upper and Lower La-dvags. When he had entered Skye-ris, together with an army from Bu-rig, No-no Bstan-ḫdzin together with 300 men whom he had collected went first of all to Sna-zar. When he had met with Phos-naḫi-ña (?), he marched through the out-fields of Ku-ro, and pitched his tents opposite Skye-ris. Until Char-dgan (?) of Khan-ka was sent off on the eighth day, they used to issue from the Skye-ris castle in the day-time. Then No-no Bstan-ḫdzin fearlessly drew his sword against the enemy, leaped to the other side, and killed one man with his sword. After that he sent a host, the Sbal-tis were beaten in the struggle, fled right into Khan-ka, and did not know what to do. At the time when a proclamation (*rma-ḫgrams*?) was issued, 'A-mad-śa made peace. At Skye-ris a castellan was installed. The army returned quietly (lit. in a concealed manner), and those who were at Nar were punished. Later on he was cut off on the way by which he had come. Not considering the fruit of good and sinful works (?), 'A-mad-śa had seized and carried off about 100 men from our own army, people from Sod, from Chu-śod, Kha-bu-lu, Chor-ḫbar, and Ldum-ra. To deliver these men No-no Bstan-ḫdzin, using the great power of his intellect, even risking his life, waited at Kha-bu-lu for three months, and sent a man to Skar-rdo three times; and by using many mild and strong means he brought all his men to their own homes, not leaving a single one; [they were even] equipped with clothing and shoes. Such service was rendered by Bsod-nams-bstan-ḫdzin. It is a clever [kind of service] in the minds of thoughtful people. Besides, in the three times, past, present, and future, there are not words enough to set forth his mild and strong services rendered on occasions when there was no warfare. And it is right that they should meet with recognition.

Map of
BALTISTAN
(Prepared from the Survey of India Degree Sheets on the scale of four miles to an inch)
Statute Miles
5 0 5 10
x = Pass
76°
30′
35°
SKYE-RIS
Skye-ris
KHA-PU-LU
Dgon-pa-Bo-re-das
Do-wa-ni
Ku-nes
Ku-ru
Wali
Sa-gliṅ
Rga-siṅ
Rtol-li
Gser-po-mgo
Dgon-pa
Mgo-rtse
Sa-gliṅ
Pandua
Chukchua
Kha-pu-lu
Sur-mo
Saltoro R.
Laṅ-kha
Mdalṅu
Chug-rtse
Gyiṅ-hgud
Mkhar-maṅ
Man-thro-khar
Pal-pal-do
Chu-mig
Sman-mdzes
Hchor-hbad
Hphags-pa-yirl
Śa-gyog R.
Thaṅ
HCHOR-HBAD
Seṅ-ge-dkar-mo
Ham-ze-gund
Mo-rol
Ga-nog-sa
Ga-nog-sa

NOTES

As regards the Balti duchy of Kha-pu-lu, the above text contains the names of two more chiefs, whose names are also found in Cunningham's tables (p. 30). They are :—

Ya-ya-khan, identical with Cunningham's Yahia Khan, No. 66.
Ḥdab-lad-'A-li-khan, identical with Cunningham's Daolat-Ali Khan, No. 67.

The Balti duchy of Skar-rdo appears here under the government of 'A-mad-śa, Cunningham's Ahmed-Shah, No. 8 (p. 35). The capture of a large portion of the Ladakhi army, which is here narrated as having taken place in 1815 A.D., under Ahmad-Shāh, is stated by Vigne to belong to the reign of Ahmad-Shāh's predecessor, viz. 'Alī Sher-Khān.

The names of the chiefs of Śi-dkar, as given in the above text, cannot easily be reconciled with Cunningham's list. The fault may be with the author of the present text, who may not have known the personal names of the Śi-dkar chiefs of those times. It is hardly possible to believe that A'zam Khān, who was a contemporary of king Bde-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal, should have been still alive in 1792 A.D. Possibly the Wazīr Ma-ma (= Muhammad) Sultan became chief in place of A'zam Khān. He is probably identical with Mohammed Khan, No. 25 of Cunningham's list of Śi-dkar chiefs (p. 34): see *ante*, p. 192.

A chief called Murad can only be traced in Cunningham's list of the chiefs of Roṅ-mdo. But Ahmad Shāh's eldest son also was called Murad: see *ante*, p. 186.

I cannot venture to identify the new local names found in the above text: but see the map. It is evident that Sa-spo-rtse is Sa-spo-la, Gar-dag-śa or Skar-stag-śa is Mkhar-stag-śa, Skye-ris is Kye-ris, Bzaṅ-dkar is Zaṅs-dkar.

XVIII. King Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal's Account of the Deeds of General Śākya-rgya-mtsho

The following account is found in a decree by King Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal concerning the descendants of this eminent general, who died without a son. For some time I tried in vain to obtain information concerning the family of a famous minister called Baṅ-kha-pa, who rendered important services during the times of the Dogra war. I was of opinion that the Baṅ-kha-pa family was probably connected with Śākya-rgya-mtsho. The above-mentioned document shows that, if the Baṅ-kha-pa family is descended from the general, it can only be in the female line. But a connexion is probable, in particular, because the castle of I-gu (Dbyi-gu) was the property of Śākya-rgya-mtsho as well as of the Baṅ-kha-pa family. The following account is of importance as supplementing the meagre notice of the Mughal wars which we find in the Chronicles. By taking account of enemy generals mentioned in this narrative it might be possible to connect the Mughal histories with those of the Ladakhis.

The Baṅ-kha-pas

About eighteen miles above Leh, in a side valley branching off from the Indus valley, is the principality of I-gu (Dbyi-gu). Its castle, called I-gu-khri-khaṅ, is mentioned in many inscriptions. It was the seat of a line of chiefs called Baṅ-kha-pa, who were extremely loyal to the kings of Ladakh. The first chief who distinguished himself by his bravery was Śākya-rgya-mtsho, the field-marshal who conquered Bu-rig and part of Baltistan under king Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal. Oral tradition connects this general with the castle of I-gu. We do not hear anything further of these chieftains prior to Moorcroft's report of them. He visited Ladakh in 1820 A.D. He says (vol. i, p. 425, of his *Travels*): 'The Banka, who to his office of master of the horse adds the government of this district . . . The district under the Banka comprises seventy villages. His office is hereditary, and is held by the condition of bringing 700 armed men into the field when required.' Thus a Baṅ-kha-pa who commanded a Ladakhi army during the Dogra war is repeatedly mentioned. The Baṅ-kha-pas are possibly descended from the traditional king Sūryamati (now pronounced Surgamati) who once resided at a now ruined castle opposite Stag-sna, on the right bank of the Indus.

TIBETAN TEXT

ངེད་ལྷ་བཞིན་ཡབ་མེས་རིམ་པར་རིམ་པར། ཤཱ་ཀྱ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ཕ་མེས་རིམ་ཅན་དུ་ཞབས་ཏོག་པ་ཡིན་འདུག་པ་དང་། ཁྱད་པར་
ཤཱ་ཀྱ་རང་ཉིད་ཆ་མེས་ཆེན་བདེ་ལྡན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་སྐུ་རིང་ལ། བུ་རིག་དང་ཁྲལ་ཡོད་དོ་ཅོག་དང་། ཁ་པོ་ལོའི་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་རང་ཞབས་
སུ་བསྡུས་པ་དང་། གློ་བོའི་སྐག་རྫོང་ཆར(=དམའ་བར)་འབེབས་ཟིན། གློ་བོ་མེས་ཞང་མཚོར་ཞབས་འདེགས་ཕུལ་བ་དང་། ད་ལིང་
བཅག་ནས་གངས་རི་ར་ཟུག་ཐོམ་མེད་པ་དང་། ཟ་རིག་ཧུ་ཁ་ཐུལ་གྱི་དམག་དཔུང་། ན་བབས་ཨིབ་ར་ཧིམ་མཁན་དང་། ཏི་མུར་
བྷིག་སོགས་ཧོར་དམག་སྟབས་ཆེན་ཡང་ཡང་བྱུང་བར། ཤཱ་ཀྱ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་བློ་གྲོས་ཐབས་མཁས་ཀྱི[ས]་རིམ་པར་ཕྱིར་ཐུབ་ནས་བདེ་ 5
འཛོམས་བྱུང་བ་དང་། ཡབ་ཆེན་བདེ་ལེགས་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བའི་སྐུ་རིང་ལ། དབུས་གཙང་ནས་སོག་དམག་གི་དུས་ཟིངས་བདངས་
པར། ར་ལ་དཔལ་རྒྱས་སོགས་སུ་དམག་འཁྲུགས་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་བར། ཤཱ་ཀྱ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་བློ་གྲོས་ཐབས་ རྣམས་ བདེ་ བར་ཕྱིར་ཐུབ་ཅིང་།
ལ་དྭགས་གཞུང་ལ་ཕྱོགས་བཞིའི་དམག་དཔུང་སྟོབས་ཆེ་ལྷགས་པར། ཤཱ་ཀྱའི་བློ་གྲོས་ཀྱི་གོམས་སྟབས་མ་ འཁྱོད་ བར། པ་ཙ་ཆེན་པོ་
ནས་དམག་དཔུང་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ཏེ། བ་ཆོལ་པོ་རྣམས་ཆག་མེད་དུ་བརླག་ཅིང་། འབྲུག[པ]་ཐམ་མཁྱེན་གཟིགས་སོ་ཟང་གཏིང་སྒང་དུ་སྤྱན་
འདྲེན་ཞུས་ནས། གཞུང་ས་མཆོད་ཡོན་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷ་ཆེན་པོ་རྗེ་སྲིད་བསྐལ་པ་ནམ་གནས་བར་དུ་ཕྱུགས་ལེགས་ཀྱི་བཟང་འཆིངས་ 10
སྒྲིག་ནས། མངའ་ཞབས་བདེ་འཛམས་བྱུང་བ་དང་། སྔོས་ལམ་མངའ་རིས་འདི་ཁྲལ་དོས་ནས་འཛིན་ སྐྱོང་ བྱེད་ སྐབས་ བྱེའི་དགྲ་
འདུལ། ནང་གི་གཉེན་སྐྱོང་སོགས་མཛད་ན། གཞིས་སུ་བློན་པོ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལྷ་ཟླ་དང་། ཇེས་ སུ་དམག་དཔོན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལྷ་ཟླའི་ཟླ་བ་
ཚུལ་མཐུན་ཟས་མིང་བྱེད་རྒྱ་དང་བཅས་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་མདོར་བསྡུས་[སོ་] །།

TRANSLATION

The forefathers of Śākya-rgya-mtsho have been in succession servants of our successive god-like forefathers. In particular, Śākya[-rgya-mtsho] himself, during the lifetime of Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal, who is our second great ancestor (viz. grandfather), gathered under his own feet the entire district of Pu-rig and the kingdom of Kha-po-lo; he brought low the Skag-rdzoṅ [castle] of Glo-bo; he rendered services at the lake Mes-žaṅ of Glo-bo. Having broken Da-liṅ, he did not halt at Gaṅs-ri (Kailāsa); but, when the Kashmir army under Na-babs (Nawāb) 'Ib-ra-him-mkhan, and the Hor (Mughal or Turk) army under Ti-mur-bhig, etc., appeared repeatedly in great force, Śākya-rgya-mtsho was able through his ingenuity and wise methods to turn them back one after another. And during the lifetime of my great father, Bde-legs-rnam-par-rgyal-ba, when a war arose with the Mongol (Sog) army from Dbus-gtsaṅ (Central Tibet), when great battles [were fought] at Ra-la, Dpal-rgyas, and other places, we were enabled by the counsels and measures of Śākya-rgya-mtsho to turn them back in a fortunate manner. When powerful armies assembled from all four sides in the middle of La-dvags, the clever methods of Śākya's ingenuity did not fail. He summoned an army from the great Pa-ca (Mughal emperor), and the enemy was destroyed until no army [of them] remained. Then he invited the Ḫbrug-[pa] lama Thams-cad-mkhyen-gzigs to the palace of Gtiṅ-sgaṅ; and there a fortunate treaty was arranged regarding the offerings to the Gžuṅ-sa (Lhasa government) and the rights of the great Lha-chen-po kings (Ladakhi kings), to last as long as this Kalpa. The subjects lived in a happy

state. In particular, when I became ruler over these districts of the empire, foreign enemies were conquered, friends within were protected, and so on. In brief, at home he was a gem-like minister, and abroad he was a gem-like general. All these deeds were made to agree [with other accounts], and together with the reasons for them collected in a book [containing his] biography.

NOTES

It is of some interest to hear that a biography of the famous general was actually written. Perhaps it may yet come to light. At present we must be content with the slight substitute for it contained in the above text. King N̄i-ma-rnam-rgyal's decree further tells us that Śākya-rgya-mtsho's daughter, Rgyal-ḫdzom, married a certain Dbaṅ-phyug from Zaṅs-dkar, and that the couple received the villages of Dbyig-gu (I-gu) and Sa-bu. We also learn that the general belonged to a clan called Ḫcho-ḫbraṅ, and that he was related to the thirteen great hierarchs of Sa-skya. For local names, so far as identified, see the map. Glo-bo is Blo-bo, and Kha-po-lo is Kha-pu-lu.

XIX. Tshe-brtan's Account of the Dogra Wars

When stationed at Kha-la-rtse, Ladakh, in 1899–1904, I made the acquaintance of an old man, Tshe-brtan of Kha-la-rtse, who in his younger days had done military service in the Dogra wars, 1834–42 A.D. I received the impression that he was a reliable man, and that he would not purposely invent. I therefore asked him to dictate to my munshi, Ye-śes-rig-ḫdzin, his reminiscences of the Dogra wars. The munshi's copy was then sent to the late mission schoolmaster and munshi, Shamuel Ḫbyor-ldan, at Leh, who corrected the orthographical mistakes and wrote a fair copy of it for lithographic reproduction. Tshe-brtan told the tale in 1901, and the lithographic printing of 40 to 50 copies took place at Leh in 1903. Tshe-brtan died at Kha-la-rtse in 1905, almost 90 years old. His account was translated into German by my wife, and fifty copies of her translation were printed. I am of opinion that Tshe-brtan's account, although it cannot replace that of the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*, throws so much fresh light on the history of that interesting war that it fully justifies its appearance among the Minor Chronicles.

TEXT

ཁ་ལ་ཙེ་བ་མེ་མེ་ཚེ་བརྟན་གྱིས་བཤད་པའི་

ཐབ་དམག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བསྡུགས་སོ ||

སྔོན་མ་ལ་ཌྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་། སིང་པའི་དམག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དེ། ཟླ་ཟླ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དུས་ལ། ཕན་མི་སེར་ཚང་མ་འདུ་
ཞི་ལ་ནས་བྱེད་ཕྱོགས། སྒྲལ་ཏེ་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཆོས་འབར་ལ་ནས་བྱེད་ཕྱོགས། ཟངས་དཀར་གྱི་ལ་འདར་ནས་བྱེད་ཕྱོགས། ལྷམ་ར་སྒྲེ་འདུ་
ལ་དང་ཕྱགས། ཐང་ཐང་གི་སོ་ལོང་འདྲ་འདྲ་ནང་ཕྱགས། དེ་ཚང་མ་ལ་ཌྭགས་ཟླ་ཟླ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་མངའ་འོག་གི་ཕན་ཡིན་པས། ཏུ་ཀྱུམ་ 5
ཚང་མ་ཟླ་ཟླ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་མིན་པ། སུས་ཀྱང་མེད་པ་ཡིན། ཁ་ཅུལ་ཕྱོགས་ནས་ལ་ཌྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ས་ལྷན་ཞུ་ཅེས་ལ། ཁ་ཅེ་མ་ཞིག་
ཟེར་མཁན་དང་། ཁོ་ལ་ཡ་རོ་མི་རྟ་པ་བརྒྱ་ཙམ་ཡོངས་འདུག་པས། དེའི་ལན་ལ་ལ་ཌྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོས་ཁ་ལ་ཙེ་པ་དྲག་ཚོས་དོན་གྲུབ་ཟེར་
མཁན་པོ་དང་ནཉམ་པོ། ལ་ཌྭགས་པའི་ཕྱོན་ཁྲངས་གཡག་གཅིག ཕྱུག་གཅིག ར་མ་གཅིག ཁྱི་གཅིག ཡང་བཟང་རྡོར་ཁ་སྐས་དང་
སྐྲགས་ཏེ་བཏང་སོང་། རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཟུག་མཛོད་ལ་སྐྱེ་མི་པ་བློན་པོ་ག་ག་ཟུན་ཚོགས་རབ་བརྟན་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན། འདེགས་དཔོན་ལ་ལྷན་ལ་བ་
གསོལ་དཔོན་པ་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན། ཤ་དཔོན་ལ་ཇལ་ལྷེ་ཤ་གཉེར་པ་སྐྱབས་ལྡན་དང་། རྩབ་སྒོ་པ་འགོ་པ་གཉིས་ཀ་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན། རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ 10
ཁར་ཧྲི་ཙི་དགོས་མཁན་ལྷམ་ར་ནས་འཚོང་འདུག ། ག་ག་བསྟན་འཛིན་ཟེར་མཁན་པོ་ཁར་ཧྲི་ཡི་གཉེར་པ་ཆེན་མོ་ལ་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན། །
གསོལ་མར་དགོས་མཁན་ཚང་མ་ཟངས་དཀར་པས་འཚོང་འདུག། ཡང་ཟ་མིན་ནྡར་ལ་བབ་གསོས་དང་ཁལ་མཐུད་ཅང་མེད་པ་ཡིན། ལྷ་
ས་ཕྱོགས་ལ་ལོ་ཕྱག་པ་ཆ་ཅ་ན། ཡུལ་རེ་རེ་ནས་ཁོ་ལ་ཡ་རོ་མི་རོ་བཏང་དགོས་འདུག་པས། དེ་ལ་བླ་ཆ་ཛཉ་གཉིས་རེ་བཏང་

འདུག ། ལོ་ཟླག་གི་ཀོ་བ་ཡུལ་ཟེ་གཉིས་ཟེ་ལ ། ཡུལ་ཆེན་མོ་ལ་ཀོ་བ་གསུམ་ཟེ་འཁོར་འདུག ། ཡང་ཁ་ཟུལ་པ་དང་ ། ཡར་ཀྱེན་པ །
དཀར་ཞུ་པ་ཚོང་མ་ཚོང་ལ་ཡོད་ན ། ཨོ་གམ་ཟེ་ལེན་ཏེ ། ཟླ་རིག་པ ། སྤྲལ་ཏི་ཡུལ་པ ། ལ་དྭགས་པ་གསུམ་ཀྱི་ཐོག་ནས་ཅང་
ལེན་པ་མི་འདུག ། དེ་ནས་དཀར་ཞུའི་ཁང་གསར་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་སྐུ་བག་ཅིག་ཕྱུས་པས ། རྒྱལ་མོ་དེ་ལ་སྦས་མིག་མ་བལྟམས་པས །
རྗེས་སུ་ཙབ་ཨོ་འགོ་པའི་ཟླ་མོ་འཚོང་ནས ། དེ་ལ་སྦས་རྒྱལ་ཟླ་ཞིག་བལྟམས ། མཚན་ལ་དོ་ཆུང་ཙ་བཏགས ། དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་ཟླ་ཁྲི་ལ་
5 བཞེངས་ཅན ། ཡུལ་སོ་སོ་ལ་སྤྱོད་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཟླ་བོན་མང་པོ་ཡོད་པས ། ཞིང་ཚོང་མ་ཟླ་བོན་ལ་ཡལ་ཏེ་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན ། དེ་ནས་
རྒྱལ་ཟླ་ཁྲིས་ཐོག་ཏུ་བཞེངས་པའི་ཤག་ལ་དེ་ཟླ་བོན་ཅི་ཡོད་མཁན་ཚོང་མ་རྒྱལ་པོས་ཟུར་སྤུལ་པས ། དེ་ནས་ཟ་མེན་ཧྲུར་ཚོང་མ་མིན་
ཏུ་མང་པོ་འཕར་སོང་ ༎

དེ་ནས་ལོ་མང་པོ་སོང་སྟེ ། རྟེད་ལོ་ཏ་ཡོའི་ཟླ་བ་དགུ་པའི་ནང་ཙུ་ཀ་མེར་ཕྱོགས་ནས ། སིང་པའི་དམག་ཐོན་པའི་སྐད་ཆ་ཚོར །
དེ་ནས་རོང་ཆུ་ཟུར ། ཨུམ་ར ། སྤྲལ་ཏི་ཡུལ ། ལ་དྭགས ། ཟླ་རིག་ཚོང་མ་ནས་དམག་སྐུལ་ཟླས ། དེ་ནས་ཟླ་རིག་ཕྱོགས་ལ་ཁྱེར་
10 ནས ། ཟླ་རིག་གི་སང་ཀུ་ལ་སིང་པའི་དམག་དང་ཐུག་སྟེ ། དེ་ཙ་སིང་པ་དང་འཐབ་མོ་བཏངས ། སིང་པ་རྒྱལ་ནས ། ལ་དྭགས་པ་བམ་
སྟེ ། ཙས་སི་ལ་ཕྱོགས་ནས་མཚན་ལ་ཨོར་ཏེ་ཡོངས ། དེ་ནས་ཤེར་གོ་ལ་ལ་བིང་སྟེ ། སིང་པ་དམག་ཚོང་མ་ལང་དཀར་ཙོ་ཙ་ཟླ་བ་
གཅིག་ཙམ་འདུགས ། ཟླ་བ་བཅུ་པའི་ཟླ་རྟེལ་ཏེ ། དེ་ཙ་དམག་སྐད་བཏབ་ནས་འདུགས ། ཡང་ཟླ་བ་བཅུ་གཅིག་པའི་ཚོས་མགོ་ལ་སིང་
པ་ཚོང་མ་པ་སྒྲུམ་ཡུལ་ལ་བསྙེབ ། པ་སྒྲུབ་ཡུལ་ལ་ཞག་བཅོ་ལྔ་འདུགས་ནས ། སིང་པ་ཚོང་མ་ཡང་ལང་དཀར་ཙོ་ཙ་ལོག་སྟེ་སོང་ །
དེ་ཙ་ཟླ་བ་བཅུ་གཅིག་པ་འཁོར་རིང་བར་ཙུ་འདུགས ། ཡང་ཟླ་བ་བཅུ་གཉིས་པའི་ཚོས་ མགོ་ལ་ལ་དྭགས་པའི་དམག་ ཚོང་མས་གླབས་
15 བཙོས་པས ། དགའ་ས་དབུད་ལ་ཁ་མང་པོ་ཡོངས ། སིང་པ་ཚོ་ལ་གོས་མེད་པས ། གྲང་མོ་སོང་སྟེ་ཁོ་ཀུན་གྱིས་འཐབ་མོ་བཏང་མི་ཐུབ །
ང་ཏང་ལ་དྭགས་པ་རྒྱལ་ཡིན་ཟེར་ནས ། སིང་པ་དང་འཐབ་ཅེས་ལ་སོང་ ། ལ་དྭགས་པ་དམག་མི་སྟོང་དགུ་ཙམ་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན ། དེ་ཚོང་
མ་སིང་པ་ལ་རྒྱབ་འདེད་ལ་སོང་ ། དེ་ནས་ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཚོང་མ་སྐྱིད་མར་ཙོ་ཙ་བསྙེབ་སྟེ ། སྐྱིད་མར་ཙོ་ཙ་སིང་པ་དང་འཐབ་མོ་ཆེ་བ་
བཏངས་ནས ། ལ་དྭགས་པ་བམ་སོང་ ། ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཅིའི་ཞི་ལ་བམ་ཟེར་ན ། ལ་དྭགས་པས་རང་གི་རྒྱགས་དང་གོན་ཆས་སྣ་ཚོང་མ་
བཀུར་ཏེ ། ཀྱིས་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱང་སྟེ་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན ། དེའི་ཁ་ཐོག་ལ་ཏུ་བག་ཡང་ཡོད་པས ། ཁྲ་ཙ་མང་པོ་ཡོད་པས ། འཐབ་མོ་བཏང་མ་ཐུབ་
20 པར་ལ་དྭགས་པ་བམ ། སིང་པ་རྒྱལ་སོང་ ། སིང་པའི་ཏུ་བག་རལ་གྲི་ཐོག་ནས་ལ་དྭགས་པའི་མི་སུམ་བརྒྱ་ཙམ་དེ་ཙ་ཤི་སྟེ ། དམག་
མགོ་ཧོག་པ་བཀའ་བློན་ཡང་དེ་ཙ་གྲོངས ། ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཁ་ཤས་སིང་པས་བཟུང་སྟེ་ཁྲིད་ས ། དེ་ནས་ཚོང་མ་གར་སོང་གར་མ་སོང་ཤོར་
ཏེ་ཡོངས ། ཀྲམ་ཞིས་པ་ཟླག་མཛོད་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་སིང་པ་དང་ཐོ་ར་ལྟར་ལ ། ལམ་བསྟན་བཙོ་སྟེ་ཁྲིདས་ནས་མཁར་ཟླ་ཙ་ཕྱིར ། དེ་
ནས་གཡུ་ཙ་པ་དང་ལྷན་ལ་པ་ཚོང་མ་ལ་སིང་པའི་དམག་ཚོང་མ་མཁར་ཟླ་ཙ་བསྙེབ་ཟེར་པ་སང་འཛིགས་ཏེ ། སིང་པ་ལ་ཕྱུ་བར་ཏུ་
གཅིག་དང་ ། དཔལ་ཁ་ཤས་ཁྲེར་ཏེ་མི་ཚོང་མ་མཁར་ཟླ་ཙ་སོང་སྟེ ། སིང་པའི་དམག་ལ་མགོ་དབུས་ནས་ཕྱུ་ཟླས ། དེ་ནས་སིང་པ
25 དང་ཐོ་ར་ལྟར་མིན་ཏུ་མང་པོ་འཕར་སོང་ ། གཡུ་ཙ་དང་ལྷན་ལ་པ་ལ་ཡུལ་ལ་དོག་སན་ཆ་མི་བཏུག་ཟེར་ཏེ ། སི་པ་རེ་རེ་སྒྲུང་ཅེས་
ལ་བཏངས ། དེ་ནས་གཡུ་ཙ་ལ་བསྙེབ་པས ། ཡང་ལྟེ་བ་པ་དང་ཏིང་མོ་སྒང་པ་ཚོང་མ་འཛིགས་ཏེ ། ཡང་ཏ་གཉིས་དང་དཔལ་ཁ་
ཤས་རེ་ཁྲེར་ནས ། གྲོང་རེ་མི་རེ་གཡུ་ཙ་ལ་སོང་སྟེ ། སིང་པ་ལ་ཕྱུ་ཟླས ། དེ་ནས་ཡང་སིང་པ་མང་པོ་འཕར་ནས ། ལྟེ་བ་པ་དང་
ཏིང་མོ་སྒང་པ་ལ་སི་པ་རེ་རེ་སྒྲུང་ཅེས་ལ་བཏངས ། དེ་ནས་ཡང་སི་པ་སྒྲུར་ལ་ལ་ཕྱིར ། ཡང་སྐྱི་མོ་བ་སྒོ་པ་དང་ ། ཨ་ལྕི ། སས་
པོ་ལ ། ཞི་ཀྱིར་པ་ཚོང་མ་དོར་རེ་ཁྲེར་ཏེ་སིང་པ་ལ་བསྒུ་སྟེ་སྒྲུར་ཕུ་ཙ་བསྙེབ་པས ། ཡང་སིང་པ་འཕར་ནས ། ཡུལ་ཚོང་མ་ལ་སྒྲུང་
30 མཁན་སི་པ་རེ་རེ་བཏངས ། དེ་ནས་སིང་པའི་དམག་ཚོང་མ་སྐྱི་མོ་ཙ་བསྙེབ་པས ། འདི་ཟླག་ཟེར་པ ། དཔལ་བཏང་ན ། སིང་པའི་

དམག་ཚང་མ་ལོག་སྐྱེ་ཆ་ཅེས་འདུག་ཟེརས། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོས་གསན་པས། དཔལ་དང་རྡོ་ཚན་མང་པོ་གྲོལ་མཁར་དང་ནས་བྱིང་
སྐྱེ། སྐྱེ་མོ་རུ་བསྒྲིབས་ཏེ་སེང་པའི་རྒྱར་སོང་སྐྱེ། སེང་པ་ཚོ་ཡིས་དོར་དང་དཔལ་ཚང་མ་ཡང་ལེན་ཏེ། སེང་པ་འཐད་ནས་ང་ཉ་
ལོག་སྐྱེ་ཆ་ཡིན། ད་ལྟ་ལ་དྭགས་ལ་ལྟ་ཅེས་ཀྱི་ཟི་ལ་སྦྱིན་ཅིག་ཆ་ཡིན་ཟེར་ནས། ཛོ་ར་ཝར་དང་དམག་མི་ཚང་མ་ལ་དྭགས་ལ་སོང་
སྐྱེ། ག་ཡུལ་ན་ཡང་མི་མདའ་གཅིག་ཀྱང་རྒྱབ་མཁན་མེད་པར་གྲོལ་དུ་བསྒྲིབ་ནས། གར་བརྒྱ་རུ་དམག་བྲང་སྦས་ནས་འདུགས།
ཟླ་བ་གཉིས་པའི་ཚེས་མགོ་ལ་བསྒྲིབ་ནས། ཟླ་བ་བཞི་ཐུག་སེང་པ་དང་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་འཐབ་མོ་མེད་པར་འདུགས། དེ་ནས་ཛོ་ར་ 5
ཝར་གྱིས་ཟེར་དོན་ལ། ཁ་ལ་ཙེ་དྭག་ཆོས་ཀུན་དགའ་ལ། ཁྱོད་རང་གིས་ལ་དྭགས་པ་འདི་ཚང་མའི་ཁག་འཁུར་དགོས་ཟེར་པས། ཁ་
ལ་ཙེ་པ་དྭག་ཆོས་ཀྱིས་ལན་ལ། ང་རག་ས་ཕྱུག་པ་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཞབས་འབྲི་བཅོས་མཁན་ཡིན། མ་ཚད་པར་བསང་རབ་སྐྱོགས་
ཞབས་མང་པོ་ཟོས། ད་ལྟ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ངོ་ལོག་མི་བཅོ། དེ་ཐག་ཟེར་པ་སང་། ཛོ་ར་ཝར་ལ་སྨོ་མང་པོ་ཡོདས། དེ་ནས་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་
པོ་དང་། ཛོ་ར་ཝར་གཉིས་ནས་ཆད་དོན་བརྟན་པོ་བཅོ་སྐྱེ། ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཚང་མ་ལ་ཁབ་གྲོང་པ་རེ་རེ་ལ་བོད་དཔལ་བཅུ་དང་ཨ་ན་
རྡུག་རེ་དང་པེ་ཎེ་གཉིས་རེ་བཅོ་སྐྱེ། གྲོལ་བློན་པོ་དངོས་གྲུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ར་ཛ་བཅོ་སྐྱེ། བ་སྒོ་བཀའ་བློན་ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་བློན་ 10
བཅོས། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆུང་ཞུ་དཀར་ནུ་ཕྱོགས་ལ་སྤོར་ཏེ་བསྐྱོར། ཟླ་ཟླ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་ལས་ཙང་མེད་མཁན་བཅོ་སྐྱེ་བོརས།
དེ་ནས་ཁ་ལ་ཙེ་དྭག་ཆོས་ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་ཁག་མི་འཁུར་ཟེར་མཁན་པོ་ལ་སྤོ་བཅོ་སྐྱེ། ཛོ་ར་ཝར་ལ་ཡ་རྣོ་བཅོལ་ཏེ། ཁ་རྩལ་ལ་ཁྲིད་དེ་
བཙོན་པ་བཅོ་སྐྱེ་ཁྱེརས། དེ་ནས་སེང་པའི་དམག་མི་སུམ་བརྒྱ་ཙམ་ཞིག་ལ་དྭགས་ལ་ཀྱི་ལ་བཅོ་སྐྱེ་དེ་རུ་བོརས། དེ་ནས་སེང་པ་དམག་
མི་ཕྲུས་མཁན་སག་ཁྲིད་ནས། ཛོ་ར་ཝར་ཁ་རྩལ་ལ་སོང་། ཛོ་ར་ཝར་ཉིད་མོ་སྣང་མཁར་རུ་བསྒྲིབ་ནས། མཁར་དང་ན་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཉི་
མ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་གཏེར་མཛོད་བཅག་སྐྱེ། རྒྱལ་པོའི་སྐུམ་རལ་དང་། སྒ་ཏིག་གི་ཆུན་པོ། ཅེ་རྩེའི་ལག་པ། རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཆིབས་ཀྱི་སྣ་སྙན་ 15
དང་། བཟང་ནོར་ཚང་མ་སེང་པས་ཁྱེརས།།

དེ་ནས་ཡང་ལོ་ཐུག་འདུག་སྐྱེ། ལོ་བདུན་ངོ་ལ་ཡང་སྒྲི་རུ་ཡོད་མཁན་གྱི་སེང་པ་ཀུན་ལ་ལྟ་སྐྱེ། ལ་དྭགས་པས་བྲབས་བཅོ་སྐྱེ།
དམག་བཏང་ཅེས་ཁྲིག་ཁྲིག་བཅོས། ཧེམ་བབས་པ་སྒྱུ་ཀ་མིར་ཟེར་མཁན་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན། དེ་མི་པོས་ཐུ་རིག་ན་དམག་བསྐུལ་ཏེ་
འཁོར་ཅེས་བཅོས་པས། ཡང་ཛོ་ར་ཝར་གྱིས་སེང་དམག་མང་པོ་ཁྲིད་ནས། ཟངས་དཀར་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་ལམ་ནས་བྱིང་སྐྱེ། གྲོལ་དུ་བསྒྲིབ།
ལ་དྭགས་པ་དམག་ཚང་མ་དང་། ཐུ་རིག་པ་དམག་ཚང་མ་སེང་པའི་དམག་ལ་འཇིགས་པས། ཚང་མ་ཛོ་ར་ཝར་གྱི་མདུན་ལ་སོང་སྐྱེ། 20
འདི་ཐུག་ཟེར་པ། ང་ཉ་ཚང་མ་ཉེ་རང་ལ་ས་ལྡམ་བཅོ་ཅེས་ལ་ཡོདས། ང་ཉ་ཚང་མ་ལུ་ཨར་ཌི་ཡོད་ཟེར་ཏེ་བརྟེན་བཏབས། དེ་ནས་
ལྷ་ཟེར་གྱིས་ཟེར་པ། ཁྱོ་ཉ་ཚང་མའི་ཨར་ཌི་ཅི་ཡོད་ཀྱང་གསན་ཡིན་མོལ་ནས། ཁྱོ་ཉ་མི་ཁ་ཅིག་རེ་འདི་རུ་འདུག གནད་མ་ཚང་
མ་རང་རང་གི་ཡུལ་ལ་ལོག་སྐྱེ་སོང་ཞིག་མོལ་སོང་། ཐུ་རིག་ཧེམ་བབས་པ་སྒྱུ་ཀ་མིར་དང་། ཅིག་ཏན་པ་ཡིས་མལ་མིར་དང་། ཐུ་
རིག་པ་ཡང་མི་ཁ་ཅིག་འདུག་བཅུགས། དེ་ནས་ཞག་ཁ་ཤས་སོང་སྐྱེ། མགོ་མ་དམག་སྐྱུལ་བཏང་མཁན་པོ་སྒྱུ་ཡིན་ཟེར་ནས་ཁྲིབ་ཏུ་
བཏངས་པས། ཧིང་ན་ཧེམ་བབས་པ་སྒྱུ་ཀ་མིར་ཟིན་ནས། སྒྱུ་ཀ་མིར་ལ་བད་ལྡམ་བཏངས། ལག་པ་གཡས་པ་བཙད་དེ། ལག་ལྷན་པོ་ 25
མར་ཚན་ཏིའི་ནང་ལ་བཏངས། ཡང་ལག་པ་དེ་ཁ་ལ་ཙེ་ཟམ་པ་རུ་གཏུང་མའི་ཁ་ཕོག་ལ་གཟེར་བརྒྱབས། དེ་ནས་ཡང་ཁྲིད་སྐྱེ་ཁ་ལ་
ཙེ་ཟམ་པ་རུ་ལག་ཟེས་ཤིག་གི་ནང་རུ་བཀུམ་སྐྱེ་འདུག་པེན། ཡང་ཁ་ལ་ཙེ་ཀོ་ཁྲིའི་ནང་མིག་ཅིག་གི་ནང་ལ་བོར་པས། མཆོད་ལ་ཟི་
ལ་ཞིག་གིས་ལག་པ་དེ་ཁྱེར་ནས། ཧིང་ལ་ཁ་ལ་ཙེ་པ་ཚང་མ་ལ་ཆད་པ་བཅད་ཡིན་བསམ་སྐྱེ། མེ་མེ་བླ་མ་ཞིག་གི་སྐྱེ་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན།
ཁོའི་ལག་པ་བཅད་དེ་ཁ་ལ་ཙེ་ཟམ་པ་རུ་གཏུང་མ་ཞིག་གི་མགོ་ལ་བཏག་སྐྱེ་བོརས། ཡང་སྒྱུ་ཀ་མིར་གྱི་བུ་པོ་ཡང་བཅདས། དེ་ནས་
ཡང་སྨལ་ཏེ་ཡུལ་དུ་དམག་འཁྱེར་ཅེས་ལ་ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཚང་མ་ལ་དམག་སྐུལ་བཏང་སྐྱེ། གཡུ་རུ་ནས་ཁྱེར་ཕྱོགས། ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཁྲིད་ 30

ནས། དམག་མགོ་ལ་ག་ག་བང་ཁ་པ་བཅོ་སྐྱེ། ཧ་ཏུའི་ཚོས་འབད་ལ་རྒྱུད་ནས་སོང་། སེང་པའི་དམག་ཚང་མ་དང་མཉམ་པོ་མ་དི་ན་
ཁ་ཟེར་མཁན་པོ་ཉིད་མ་ནག་ལ་བཏངས། པུ་རིག་པ་དམག་ཚང་མ་དང་། འཛམ་འབྲུ་ནས་དམག་སྔོན་བསྐྱོབས་མཁན་དེ་ཚང་མ་ཁྲིད་
ནས། ཛོ་ར་ཝར་དཀར་ཆེལ་ལོ་འི་ལམ་ཕྱོགས་ནས་སོང་སྐྱེ། ཙེ་ཙེ་ཙན་ཟེར་སའི་ས་ཁྲད་ལ་བསྐྱོབ། ཨ་ཕྱོགས་ནས་སྦལ་ཏི་ཡུལ་གྱི་
དམག་དང་ཐུག་སོང་། དེ་དུ་འཐབ་མོ་བཏངས་ནས། སེ་པ་ཁ་ཤས་ཡང་ཤི། དཀར་ཆེལ་ལོ་པ་ནི་ཟམ་དོན་ཟེར་མཁན་པོ་དམག་མགོ་
5 ཡིན་པས། ཁོ་ཡང་ཤི་སོང་། དེའི་ཉིད་ན་ལྷ་ཟེར་ཛོ་ར་ཝར་དང་གིས་འཐབ་མོ་བཏངས། སྦལ་ཏི་ཚང་མ་སྐབས་ཤིག་ལ་ཤོར་སོང་།
དེ་ནས་སེང་པའི་དམག་དང་། ལ་དྭགས་པའི་དམག་ཚང་མ་སྐར་རྡོ་མཁར་ལ་སློབ་སློབ་ཚུག་པ་མེ་མདའ་རྒྱབ་མཁན་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མེད་པར་
སྐར་རྡོ་མཁར་ལ་བསྐྱོབ། དེ་དུ་ཚང་མ་འཛོམ་ནས། དམག་ཐང་བབ་སྐྱེ། ཞག་མ་བཅུ་གཉིས་སར་ཚུན་གཉིས་ཀ་འཐབ་མོ་མེད་པར་
འདུགས། སྐར་རྡོ་ཇོ་ཨག་མད་ཤ་མཁར་ནང་དུ་ཡིབ་སྐྱེ། དེ་ནས་ཞག་བཅུ་གཉིས་སོང་སྐྱེ། རང་མེད་ལ་ཇོ་ཨག་མད་ཤ་མཁར་ནང་
ནས་བབས་ཏེ། ཛོ་ར་ཝར་ལ་མགོ་དགུ་བ་ལ་ཡོངས། ལྷ་ཟེར་འཕྲད་ནས་ལྷ་ཟེར་གྱིས་ཇོ་ལ་འདི་ཐུག་ཟེར་པ། ཅིག་ཏན་པ་ཇོ་ར་ཡིམ་
10 ཁན་གར་ཡོད། ཁོ་བཟུམ་སྐྱེ་ཁྱོང་ཟེརས། ཇོ་ཨག་མད་ཤ་ཁན་གྱིས། ཅེ་ཤེས་ང་ལ་ཁ་བར་མེད་ཟེརས། ལྷ་ཟེར་གྱིས་ཁོ་མ་འཚོང་ན།
ཁྱོ་རང་ལ་དགགས་པོ་བཅོ་ཡིན་ཟེརས། ཇོ་ར་ཡིམ་ཁན་ཅིའི་ཞི་ལ་བཙལ་འདུག་ཟེར་ན། སྔོན་ལ་ཛོ་ར་ཝར་ཁ་རྒྱལ་ནས་ཡོང་ཡོད་
ཚུག་པ་ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཚང་མ་ལ་དམག་སྐྱུལ་བཏངས། དེའི་ཕྱིར་དུ་ཇོ་ར་ཡིམ་ཁན་ལ་རྒྱད་གཅོད་དྲག་པོ་བཏངས། ཉིད་ན་ཇོ་ཨག་མད་
ཤས་ཡུལ་ཚང་མ་ལ་བཙལ་མཁན་གྱི་མི་བཏངས་ནས། ར་ཡིམ་ཁན་བཟུམ་སྐྱེ་ཁྱོངས། ཛོ་ར་ཝར་གྱི་མདུན་ལ་བསྐྱོབ་པས། ཛོ་ར་ཝར་
གྱིས་ཏུ་ཀུམ་ཞིག་བཏངས། སེང་པའི་དམག་ཚང་མ་དང་། ལ་དྭགས་པའི་དམག་ཚང་མ་དང་། པུ་རིག་པ་ཚང་མ་དང་། སྦལ་ཏི་ཡུལ་
15 གྱི་བུ་ཚ་དང་བུ་མོ་རྒན་གཞོན་ཞར་བ་ཞ་བོ་ཚང་མ་དུས་གཅིག་གི་ནང་དུ་བསྡུ་སྐྱེ། ཡུལ་གྱི་གཞུང་ལ་འོལ་ཐང་ཆེན་མོ་ཞིག་འདུག་
པས། དེའི་ཁར་ཚང་མ་ཁྱོངས། ཛོ་ར་ཝར་དང་ཟླ་ཟླ་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉིས་ཀ་ལ་གུར་རེ་རེ་བརྩུག་སྐྱེ་འདུག། ཉི་ནས་དམག་ཚང་མ་
གྲལ་ལ་འདུག་བཅུག་སྐྱེ། ར་ཡིམ་ཁན་སེ་པ་བདུན་གྱིས་བཟུམ་སྐྱེ་དེ་དུ་ཁྱོང་སྐྱེ། ཁོ་ལ་ཨ་ཞིམ་མང་པོ་ཟ་བཅུག་སྐྱེ། ར་དོས་བཏུགས།
བྱང་སོ་མི་ཡོད་ཅེས་ཀྱི་ཞི་ལ་ཡིན་ཟེར་འདུག། དམག་ཚང་མའི་དཀྱིལ་དུ་བོརས། མི་ཞིག་གིས་ཤེད་ཆན་ཁྲང་གང་ཁྱོངས། ཡང་མི་
ཞིག་གིས་ཟངས་བུ་ཆུང་ཙེ་ཞིག་གི་ནང་དུ་མར་བ་ཏི་གཅིག་ཙམ་བཀྲུད་སྐྱེ་ཁྱོངས། དེ་ནས་སྐྱིད་བུ་བརྩུག་སྐྱེ། ཟངས་ཆུང་དེ་བཀལ་ཏེ།
20 མེ་ཐུས་ནས་མར་ཚོག་བཅུགས། མི་བསད་མཁན་གྱི་འབྲུམ་ཞིག་ཡོད་སྐྱེ། ར་ཡིམ་ཁན་བཟུམ་སྐྱེ། སྔོན་ལ་ལག་པ་བཅད་དེ་མར་ཚོན་
རྨ་ཁ་ལ་བསྐུས། དེ་ནས་ལྕེ་ཡང་བཅདས། ཡང་རྣ་མཆོག་གཉིས་ཀ་ཡང་བཅད་དེ། དམག་ཚང་མ་ལ་མཐོང་བཅུགས། དེ་ནས་མི་ཚང་
མའི་གཞུང་ལ་བང་སྐྱེ་སོརས། ཡང་པས་ཀུམ་པ་སོད་སོ་པ་རྒྱ་སེན་ཟེར་མཁན་པོས་ཀྱང་སེང་པ་ལ་ངོ་ལོག་བཅོས་མཁན་ཡིན་པས།
ཁོའི་ལག་པ་གཡས་པ་ཡང་བཅདས། ལྕེ་པོ་ཡང་བཅད་དེ་ཐུར་བཏངས། ཁོ་མ་ཤི་བར་ལུས། ར་ཡིམ་ཁན་ཞག་གཉིས་ཙམ་ཀྱི་ཙོ་བཏང་
གིན་འདུག་སྐྱེ། ཉིད་ན་ཤི་དོག། དེ་ནས་སེང་པ་རྒྱལ་མལ་མལ་ལ་སོང་སྐྱེ། སེང་པ་ཁ་ཤས་སྐར་རྡོ་དུ་སོདས། སྐར་རྡོ་པ་ཇོ་ཨག་
25 མད་ཁན་དང་འགོ་ཡོད་ཚང་མ་ཁྲིད་དེ། ཕྱིར་ལོག་སྐྱེ་ལ་དྭགས་ལ་ཡོངས། ཟླ་ཟླ་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་བང་ཁ་པ་གཉིས་ཀ་སྐར་རྡོ་དུ་སྡོདས་
ཏེ། སྒྲུར་དེ་དོག་ཏུ་ཁྱོང་སྐྱེ། མེ་ལ་ཐུལ། དེ་ནས་ལྷ་ཟེར་གྱིས་སྐར་རྡོའི་མཁར་ནང་ནས་ནོར་ཅི་ཡོད་བཀུར་ཏེ་སློལ་དུ་ཕྱིར། དེ་
ནས་དགུན་གཅིག་ལ་དྭགས་ལ་འདུགས།།

དབྱིད་ཀྱི་ཟླ་བ་གཉིས་པའི་ནང་དུ་ཐང་ཐང་དུ་དམག་ཁྲིད་ཅེས་ན། ཡུལ་ཚང་མ་དུ་སེ་པ་བཏང་སྐྱེ། མི་ཚང་མ་ལ་མ་ན་
བཀལ་ཏེ་ཁྲིདས། ཡང་ཁ་ཆུལ་ཕྱོགས་ནས་སེང་པའི་དམག་སྔོན་སྐྱོང་ཐུག་ཙམ་ཡང་བསྐྱོབ་པས། དེ་མཉམ་དོབ་ཐུམ་ཅུ་ཡང་འདུག།
30 དེ་ནས་ལ་དྭགས། སྦལ་ཏི་ཡུལ། པུ་རིག་ཡུལ། ལྷུམ་ར་གར་ཚོད་ནས་མི་བསྡུས་ནས། དམག་མི་སྟོང་བཅུ་གཉིས་ཙམ་འཛོམ་པས།

ཐུང་ཐང་ལ་ཕྱིན་ས། གྲོང་པ་རེ་རེ་ལ་སེ་ཀར་ཁལ་ལྔ་རེ་བཀལ་ཏེ་ཕྱིན་ས། དེ་ནས་རྩ་ཐོག་ཏུ་བསྒྲིབ་སྟེ། དེ་རྩ་འཐབ་མོ་མ་བཏང་
བར་རྩ་ཐོག་ཏུ་ནོར་ཙེ་ཡོད་མཁན་ཚང་མ་བཀོག་སྟེ། ལ་དྭགས་ལ་བཀལ་ཏེ་བཏང་ས། དེ་ནས་གློག་པོ་རབ་གསུམ་ལ་བསྒྲིབས་ཏེ། དེ་
རྩ་བོད་པའི་དམག་ཡང་ཐོན་སོང་། དེ་ནས་སིང་པ་དང་ལ་དྭགས་པ་གཉིས་གྲབས་བཙོ་སྟེ། ང་ཏང་གིས་གློག་པོའི་རྒྱ་སྐྱིལ་ཡིན་ཟེར་ཏེ།
གློག་པོའི་རྒྱ་བསྐྱིལས། དེ་ནས་བོད་པའི་དམག་ཚང་མ་ཞག་གཅིག་གི་ལམ་ཕྱིར་ལོག་སོང་བས། སིང་པའི་དམག་ཚང་མ་ཡང་སོང་།
གློག་པོ་རབ་གསུམ་གྱི་སྟོད་ལ་སིང་བ་དང་ལ་དྭགས་པའི་དམག བོད་པའི་དམག་ཚང་མ་དམག་ཐང་བཏབ་སྟེ་འདུགས། མཚན་ཞིག་ལ་ 5
ནམ་མཁའ་ནས་སེ་ར་རྩ་མང་པོ་ཡོངས་ནས། ནམ་ལངས་ལངས་ལ་སིང་པ་ཚང་མ་ལ་གོན་ཆས་མེད་སེ་ར་རྩེའི་ནང་དུ་ནུབ་སྟེ།
སིང་པ་མང་པོ་ཤི་སོང་། དེ་ནས་ཉི་མ་རྩེ་ཤར་དང་བོད་པ་དང་སིང་པ་གཉིས་ཀས་འཐབ་མོ་ཆེ་བ་བཏངས། ཉི་མ་ཕྱེད་ཙམ་ལ་ཟོ་ར་
ཝཱར་ལ་བོད་པའི་ཏུ་བག་ཐོག་ནས། རྟའི་ཐོག་ནས་ས་སྐྱེང་དུ་ལྷུང་སྟེ་ཤི། བོད་པའི་དམག་ཚང་མས་ཟོ་ར་ཝཱར་གྱི་ཤ་ཚང་མ་བཅད་དེ་
ཕྱིན་ས། ཟོ་ར་ཝཱར་གྱི་མགོ་བཅད་དེ་འཛམ་འབྲུ་རྩ་བཀལ་བཏང་ས། དེ་ནས་བོད་པས་སིང་པ་མང་པོ་བཟུང་སྟེ་བོད་ལ་ཕྱིར་སོང་།
བོད་པའི་ཞིབ་གཙོད་ཟེར་མཁན་གྱི་མི་ཆེན་མོ་ཞིག་དང་སིང་པའི་དམག་ཚང་མ་ནང་སྲིག་སོང་བས། དེ་ནས་ཕྱིན་བན་ཚུན་གར་ནས་ 10
ཟེར་ལོ་མེད་མཁན་བཙོས། སྔོན་ཁྲིམས་དང་ལྷར་ལོ་ཐུག་པ་འབྲུལ་ཅེས་བཙོས། ཚད་ཡིག་བརྟན་པོ་བཙོས་ནས། སིང་པའི་དམག་ཚང་མ་
ལ་དྭགས་ལ་ཡོངས། བོད་པ་ཚང་མ་བོད་ལ་སོང་།།

དེ་ནས་ཡང་ཟླ་བ་གསུམ་སོང་བ་དང་། ཡང་ཁ་རྒྱལ་ཕྱོགས་ནས་བོད་ལ་དམག་འཁྱེར་ཅེས་ལ། དེ་ལྷན་ཏ་རི་ཙནྡ་དང་ལྷ་ཟེར་ར་
ཏུན་གཉིས་ཀ་དམག་མགོ་བཙོ་སྟེ། སིང་པ་དམག་མི་སྟོང་བརྒྱད་ཁྲིད་ནས། ཟླ་བ་ལྔ་པའི་ནང་དུ་སླེབ་དུ་ཕྱིར། དེ་ནས་ཡང་ལ་
དྭགས་དང་། ལྷུན་ར། སྤལ་ཏི་ཕྱུལ། ཟྭ་རིག་ཡུལ་ཚང་མ་ལ་དམག་རྒྱལ་བཏང་སྟེ། ཟ་མིན་ཏཱར་ཚང་མ་ལ་སེ་ཀར་བཀལ་ཏེ་ཕྱིན་ས། 15
མི་དྲག་རིགས་ཚང་མ་དམག་མི་བཙོ་སྟེ་ཕྱིན་ས། དེ་ནས་བོད་པའི་དམག་ཁ་ཤས་ལྷུམ་འཐེ་མཁར་ནང་དུ་བསྒྲིབ་སྟེ་ཡོད་པས། དེ་ཚང་
མ་ལ་མཁར་ནང་དུ་རྒྱ་མེད་མཁན་བཙོ་སྟེ། སིང་པའི་དམག་མི་ཁ་ཅིག་དེ་རྩ་བོར་ས། དེ་ལྷན་དང་སིང་པ་མང་པོ་བོད་པའི་དམག་ཚང་
མ་ལ་བཏྲ་སྟེ་སོང་། དེ་ནས་རྒྱ་ཕྲུལ་ལ་བྲག་སྟེ་བོད་པ་ཁ་ཤས་བསད་བཏངས། ཁ་ཤས་བཟུང་སྟེ་ཁྲིད་ས། བོད་པའི་དམག་མགོ་ར་ག་ཤ་
ཟེར་མཁན་པོ་ཡང་བཟུང་སྟེ། སྔོན་ན་ལྷ་ཟེར་ཟོ་ར་ཝཱར་བསད་པའི་སློག་ལན་ཡིན་ཟེར་ནས། རལ་གྲི་དང་སྐྲ་བཅད་ས། དེ་ནས་བོད་
པ་ནམ། སྔོན་ཁྲིམས་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡི་ཁྲིམས་ལ་བཞག་ཅེས་བཙོས། སྔོན་ལོ་ཟོ་ར་ལྷར་ཤི་ཙ་ན། སིང་པ་བཟུང་སྟེ་ཁྲིད་མཁན་ཚང་ 20
མ་ཕྱིར་ལོག་བཏང་ཅེས་བཙོ་སྟེ། བོད་པ་བཟུམས་མཁན་ཚང་མ་ལོག་ཅེས་བཙོ་སྟེ་ནང་སྲིག་སོང་། དེ་ནས་བོད་དུ་ཡོད་མཁན་གྱི་སིང་པ་
ཚང་མས་བོད་པ་མོ་ཨ་ནེ་ལ་ཁྱོང་སྟེ། ཐུ་རེ་བ་བྲུ་གུ་སོང་སྟེ་ཁྱིད་ནས། ཚང་མ་ཁ་རྒྱལ་ལ་སོང་། བོད་པ་སིང་པས་བཟུམ་སྟེ་ཁྱེར་
མཁན་ཀུན་ལ་འཛམ་འབྲུ་མ་ཨ་ནེ་ལ་ཁྱོང་སྟེ་བྲུ་གུ་གཉིས་གསུམ་རེ་སོང་སྟེ། ཁྱིད་ནས་བོད་ཕྱོགས་ལ་སོང་། བོད་ལ་སིང་པ་མཉམ་
འགོ་པ་ལ་མི་ཉ་རེ་ཡ་སིང་ཟེར་མཁན་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན། ཁོ་བོད་ནས་འཛམ་འབྲུ་རྩ་བསྒྲིབ་ནས། མ་ཧ་ར་ཛ་ཡིས་འདི་རྒྱག་འདྲིས་པ།
བོད་ལ་ཡང་དམག་འཁྱེར་ན། ཉན་ཅེས་འདུག་ག་མི་འདུག་དྲིས་པས། མི་ཉ་རེ་ཡ་སིང་གིས་ལན་དུ། བོད་ལ་དམག་འཁྱེར་བ་ཉན་ 25
ཅེས་མི་འདུག ཅི་འདུག་ཟེར་ན། ང་ཏང་གི་དམག་པོ་ཟམ་ཤིག་བོད་པའི་ལྷ་མ་ཚང་མ་འདུག སིང་པས་ཟླ་བ་གཅིག་ལ་ཁར་ཐི་ཟ་
མཁན་པོ། བོད་པས་ཞག་གཅིག་ལ་ཟ་རྩག སིང་པ་མི་བཅུས་གོན་མཁན་གྱི་གོན་ཆས་པོ། བོད་པ་མི་གཅིག་གིས་གོན་འདུག ཡང་ཁོ་
ཀུན་ལ་ཧ་རྩ་མང་པོ་འདུག ནམ་མཁའ་ནས་ཆར་པ་མང་པོ་བབ་ཅེས་དང་། རང་བཞིན་ནས་མེ་འབར་བརྒྱུག་ཅེས་དང་། ས་དང་
གནམ་འགྲུལ་བརྒྱུག་ཅེས་དང་། མཐུ་བཏང་ཅེས་ཤེས་འདུག མི་ཁ་ཅིག་ནམ་མཁའ་རྩ་འཕུར་ཅེས་དང་། མི་ཁ་ཅིག་གིས་མི་སྲུ་ལ་
མཐོང་མ་བརྒྱུག་པར་རལ་གྲི་ཁྲར་ཏེ་མི་བསད་མཁན་དང་། མི་འདྲ་ཅེས་མང་པོ་འདུག་ཟེར་པས། མ་ཧ་ར་ཛ་ལ་སྤྲོ་མང་པོ་ཡོངས། 30

ཚེ་རང་གིས་བོད་པའི་ཕྱོགས་བཅོ་སྐྱེ་གཏམ་ཚིག་པོ་ཟེར་ས། ཚེ་རང་དོ་ཀ་ཉི་ལ་མི་འཁོར་ཟེར་ནས། མིང་སྐྱེ་གཞན་ཡུལ་ཞིག་ལ་བཏང་ས། སྔོན་ལ་ལ་དྭགས་པ་བོད་ལ་བཟུམ་སྐྱེ་ཁེར་རིགས་ནི། དགོན་པོ་ཚེ་དབང་རབ་བརྟན། ཆུ་མོད་རྫོ་སྒོ་ལམ་ཁན། བ་སྒོ་བཀའ་བློན། བློན་པོ་ས་བི། ལྐྱེ་བ་པ་འབེལ་ཚགས་པ་ཟུག་རྡོར། ཁོང་མི་ལྔ་བོད་ནས་ལོག་སྐྱེ་མ་བསྒྲེབ། དེ་ཅེ་ཡིན་ཟེར་ན། ཁོ་ཚང་ཀ་བོད་པའི་ཕྱོགས་མ་བཅོ་སྐྱེ། མིང་པའི་ཕྱོགས་བཅོ་མཁན་ཡིན་ཟེར་ཏེ། བོད་པ་ལ་སྒོ་ཡོད་སྐྱེ། ཁོང་ཚང་ཀ་ཤེ་ཤེ་ཚུག་པ་བོད་ལ་བོར་ས།།

TRANSLATION

In the following is contained the history of the Indian war, as told by the grandfather Tshe-brtan of Kha-la-rtse.

This is the tale of the former king of La-dvags (Ladakh) and of the war with the Siṅ-pas. During the time of the father-king the following [districts were inhabited by] his subjects: [the region] from the Ḫdu-ži pass (Zoji pass) upwards, from the Chos-ḫbad pass of Sbal-ti-yul upwards, and from La-ḫdar in Zaṅs-dkar upwards; [the region] within the Še-ḫdu-la pass of Ldum-ra (Nub-ra), and within Pho-loṅ-ḫdra-ḫdra of Byaṅ-thaṅ. All those [who lived there] were the subjects of the father-king of La-dvags. Besides the father-king none could give orders to them. To say 'Salām' to the king of La-dvags there came annually from Kashmir [a Kashmiri] called Ma-lig, and together with him about one hundred assistant pony-men. In return to this, the king of La-dvags sent with a man from Kha-la-tse, called Drag-chos-don-grub, various products of La-dvags, for instance, a yak, a sheep, a goat, a dog, and also more valuable things. The king's steward was the minister Ga-ga Phun-tshogs-rab-bstan of Sñe-mo, the chief cook (storekeeper) was a man of the house of Gsol-dpon (cook) at Wan-la. Chief purveyors in flesh were Ša-gñer-pa (meat provider) Stobs-ldan of 'Al-lci, and the magistrate of Rub-šo, these two. What the king wanted of victuals (grain) was brought from Ldum-ra, and a man called Ga-ga Bstan-ḫdzin was the chief caterer of victuals. What was wanted of butter was brought by the people of Zaṅs-dkar. The peasants had [to pay] no taxes, and there was no forced labour. When the biennial embassy went to Lha-sa, every village had to send one man each to attend, and every [peasant] had to contribute two *jau* (a coin) as his wages. Every village had to give two hides (for packing) for the biennial embassy (*lo-phyag*), but the large villages three. Toll had to be paid by the traders of Kha-ce (Kashmir), Yar-kyen (Yarkand), and Dkar-žva (Lahul), on entering La-dvags; but it was not asked of the people of Pu-rig, Sbal-ti-yul, and La-dvags. Then a bride was asked for the king from Khaṅ-gsar (Ko-loṅ) of Dkar-žva. Later on, as a son was not born by that queen, they brought a daughter of the chief of Rub-šo. To her was born a prince, who received the name of No-chuṅ-ṅu (boy prince). Formerly many villages were deeply in debt to the king, and at the time when the prince was raised to the throne the king remitted all the debts. Thereupon all the landholders were much pleased.

Then, many years later, at last, in the ninth month of a Horse-year, a rumour was heard of an army of Siṅ-pas coming from Ka-shir (Kashmir). Then a 'call to

arms' was issued in Roṅ-chu-rgyud, Ldum-ra, Sbal-ti-yul, La-dvags, Pu-rig, and all [the other provinces]. Then [the armies] were led towards Pu-rig, and at Saṅ-ku of Pu-rig the army of the Siṅ-pas was met, and a battle was fought. The Siṅ-pas were victorious, the Ladakhis were beaten, and fled during the night across the Rus-si pass. They came out [of the defile] at Śer-go-la (Śar-sgo-la); and the whole army of the Siṅ-pas remained at Laṅ-dkar-tse for about one month. There they threw up trenches and remained for the whole of the tenth month. On the first day of the eleventh month all the Siṅ-pas arrived at the village of Pa-skyum. After having remained at Pa-skyum for fifteen days, the Siṅ-pas went back again to Laṅ-dkar-tse. There they remained till the end of the eleventh month. On the first of the twelfth month the whole Ladakhi army held a council [as follows]: 'It is winter now, and much snow has fallen. As the Siṅ-pas have not [sufficient] clothing, they will catch cold and not be able to fight. Then we Ladakhis will be victorious.' Thus saying, they went to fight with the Siṅ-pas. The number of the Ladakhi soldiers was about 9,000. They all went after the Siṅ-pas. When the Ladakhis arrived at Skyid-mar-tse, they fought a great battle with the Siṅ-pas, and the Ladakhis were beaten. If you ask why the Ladakhis were beaten, [we answer] that the Ladakhis had to carry [on their own backs] their food, clothing, and a carpet, which filled a litter. On the top of that was placed the musket. As they had to carry so much, the Ladakhis could not fight and were beaten. The Siṅ-pas were victorious. Being hit by the muskets and swords of the Siṅ-pas, about 300 Ladakhis died there. The chief commander, the minister of Tog, died there also. Several of the Ladakhis were seized and carried off by the Siṅ-pas. Then they fled in all directions. The treasurer Rnam-rgyal of Kram-bis acted as guide to the Siṅ-pas and Zo-ra-war, and [thus] they arrived at Mkhar-bu. When the people of Gyu-ru and Wan-la heard that the army of the Siṅ-pas had arrived at Mkhar-bu they became afraid, and, to welcome the Siṅ-pas, they brought a horse and some money. They all went to Mkhar-bu and, bowing their heads before the Siṅ-pa army, greeted them. Then Zo-ra-war and the Siṅ-pas became very much pleased. He said to the people of Gyu-ru and Wan-la: 'I will not allow any harm to be done to your villages!', and gave them one soldier (*si-pa*) each to guard them. When [Zo-ra-war] arrived at Gyu-ru, the people of Lte-ba and Tiṅ-mo-sgaṅ became frightened, and one man from each village went to Gyu-ru, leading two horses and carrying some money. They welcomed the Siṅ-pas, who were highly pleased. The people of Lte-ba and Tiṅ-mo-sgaṅ also received one soldier each to guard [their villages]. Then the soldiers arrived at Myur-la, and the people of Sñe-mo, Ba-sgo, A-lci, Sa-spo-la, and Li-kyir, carrying some treasure each, went to meet the Siṅ-pas, and came to Myur-la. The Siṅ-pas liked that, and gave one soldier to each village as a guard. Then the whole army of the Siṅ-pas arrived at Sñe-mo, and the following rumour was spread: 'If some money is given, the whole army of the Siṅ-pas will go back!' When the king of La-dvags heard of it, he took much money and many [silver] ingots out of the Slel castle, went to Sñe-mo, and arrived before the Siṅ-pas. The Siṅ-pas were pleased, took all the treasures and the money, and said: 'We shall go back! Only just now

we want to go to La-dvags for a moment to see it.' Zo-ra-war and all his soldiers went to La-dvags. Nobody fired a bullet in any village, and thus they arrived at Slel and stayed at Gar-bzu (Dkar-zu), where they had their camp. They arrived there on the first of the second month, and the Siṅ-pas and the King of La-dvags stayed without fighting till the fourth month. Then Zo-ra-war said to Drag-chos-kun-dgaḥ of Kha-la-tse: 'You must take the responsibility for all these Ladakhis!' To which Drag-chos of Kha-la-tse replied: 'Until now have I been a servant of the king of La-dvags; not only that, but I have also received ample food and drink from him. I shall not now revolt against the king!' As he spoke thus, Zo-ra-war became very angry. Then the King of La-dvags and Zo-ra-war both made an agreement [as follows]: 'Every peasant among the Ladakhis has to pay ten Tibetan rupees, six annas, and two paisa as tribute [to Jam-mu].' The minister of Slel, Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin, was made Ra-ja, and the minister of Ba-sgo (Bab-sgo) was made minister of La-dvags. The 'little king' fled in the direction of Lahul, and the father-king remained [in Leh], being deprived of every power (work) in La-dvags. Then anger was shown against Drag-chos of Kha-la-tse, who had said that he would not accept the responsibility for La-dvags. He was appointed a servant of Zo-ra-war, and taken to Kha-cul (Jam-mu) as a prisoner. Then a fort (*kyi-la*) was erected in La-dvags, and about 300 Siṅ-pa soldiers were placed in it. The remaining Siṅ-pa soldiers were taken by Zo-ra-war to Kha-cul. When Zo-ra-war arrived at the castle of Tiṅ-mo-sgaṅ, he destroyed the treasury of king Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal, and the Siṅ-pas carried off the king's sword, the strings of pearl, the branch (hand) of coral, the royal saddle cloth, and all the precious things.

Then there were six years [of peace]. In the seventh year the Ladakhis held a council against the Siṅ-pas who lived in Sle[l]. They made [everything] ready for war. There was a man called Su-ka-mir, of Hem-babs. That man admonished the people in Pu-rig to make war. And, when he led them [against the enemy], Zo-ra-war arrived at Slel, coming by the Zaṅs-dkar road and leading many Siṅ-pa soldiers. The soldiers of La-dvags and Pu-rig, being afraid of the Siṅ-pa soldiers, went before Zo-ra-war and said: 'We have all come [here] to say Salām to you! We want to make a petition.' Such a lie they said. Then the Wa-zir answered: 'Whatever petition you have, I will listen to it. Some of you may remain here; all the rest may return to their own villages.' He kept back Su-ka-mir of Hem-babs in Pu-rig, Yis-mal-mir of Cig-tan, and several more people of Pu-rig. After several days, he began to examine them, saying: 'Who is the one that issued the first call to arms?' After all, Su-ka-mir of Hem-babs was found out. Su-ka-mir was abused, and, his right hand being cut off, the stump was dipped into boiling butter. That hand was fastened with nails on the top of a pole at the Kha-la-tse bridge. Then it was again taken off and wrapped in a handkerchief at the bridge of Kha-la-tse. When that hand was placed in the room of the government storehouse (Ko-khri) of Kha-la-tse, a cat carried it off over night. Then the people of Kha-la-tse thought that they would all be punished. But, a 'grandfather lama' having died, his hand was cut off and fastened on the top of a pole at the Kha-la-tse bridge. Su-ka-mir's tongue was also cut out.

Then a call to arms was issued to all the Ladakhis to carry war to Sbal-ti-yul. The Ladakhis were sent from Gyu-ru in the upper direction, their general being Ga-ga Baṅ-kha-pa. They marched across the Chos-ḫbad pass of Ha-nu. On the following day the Siṅ-pa army was sent off together with a man called Ma-di-na-Śa. Zo-ra-war, leading an army of Pu-rig people and an army from Ḫjam-ḫbu which had arrived only recently, marched by way of Dkar-gyil-lo and reached a place called Tse-tse-tsan. There they met with the army of Sbal-ti-yul, a battle ensued, and several Si-pas were killed. A general called Ne-zam-din of Dkar-gyil-lo also died there. Later on the Wa-zir Zo-ra-war himself fought a battle, and all the Sbal-tis fled at once. Then the [other] army of the Siṅ-pas and that of the Ladakhis arrived at the castle of Skar-rdo, without ever having fired a single bullet. There they all gathered and made a camp. Both sides remained without fighting for twelve days. 'Ag-mad-Śa, the chief of Skar-rdo, remained hidden in the castle. After twelve days had elapsed, the chief 'Ag-mad-Śa came down from his castle for no particular reason, and bowed his head before Zo-ra-war. The Wa-zir was pleased and said to the chieftain: 'Where is Ra-yim-Khan, the chief of Cig-tan? You must seize and bring him [here]!' The Chief 'Ag-mad-Śa-Khan answered: 'Who knows? I have no news [about him]!' The Wa-zir said: 'If you do not bring him [here], I will make it unpleasant for you!' If you ask why the chief Ra-yim-Khan was looked for, [we answer] that, before Zo-ra-war had come from Kashmir, [Ra-yim-Khan] had issued a call to arms to all the Ladakhis. For that reason a strict inquiry was made for Ra-yim-Khan. Later on the Chief 'Ag-mad-Khan sent scouts over the whole country. They seized and brought Ra-yim-Khan [to Skar-rdo]. When he arrived before Zo-ra-war, Zo-ra-war issued an order He assembled the whole armies of the Siṅ-pas and Ladakhis, of the Pu-rig-pas, and of Sbal-ti-yul, men and women, old and young, blind and deaf, all at a time. In the middle of the town was a large field of lucerne, and all men were taken there. Tents were put up for both Zo-ra-war and the father-king. Then the whole army was drawn up in order, and Ra-yim-Khan was seized by seven soldiers and escorted there. He was admonished to eat much opium, which made him intoxicated. It was to save him much pain, they said. He was placed in the middle of the whole army. One man brought an armful of wood, another a small kettle filled with a *ba-ṭi* (four pounds) of butter. Then [three] hearthstones were put up, and the small kettle was placed on them; a fire was lit, and the butter was boiled. A 'man-killing executioner' appeared and seized Ra-yim-Khan. At first he cut off his hand and smeared the hot butter over the wound. Then he cut off his tongue. When he had cut off his ears, he showed him to the whole army. Then he pushed him into the middle of the crowd. There was also a man from Pas-kyum, called Hu-sen of [the house] Boṅ-pho, who had rebelled against the Siṅ-pas. His right hand and tongue were also cut off. Then they let him go. He did not die. Ra-yim-Khan cried for about two days; then he died. Thus the Siṅ-pas were victorious, and everything went as they could wish. Several Siṅ-pas were stationed at Skar-rdo. 'Ag-mad-Khan, the chief of Skar-rdo, and all the [other] chieftains were carried off, and the army returned to La-dvags.

The father-king and Baṅ-kha-pa both died at Skar-rdo. Their corpses were brought to Tog, where they were cremated. Then the Wa-zir took out of the castle of Skar-rdo the whole treasure that there existed, and went to Slel. He remained for a winter in La-dvags.

In the second month of spring some soldiers were sent over the whole country on account of a war to be undertaken against Byaṅ-thaṅ. All people had to carry loads and were taken along [with the army]. About 6,000 [men] arrived from Kha-cul as reinforcements of the Siṅ-pa army. They had thirty cannons with them. Then [more] men were gathered from La-dvags, Sbal-ti-yul, Pu-rig, Ldum-ra, and all directions; and when about 12,000 soldiers were assembled, they were led to Byaṅ-thaṅ. Every villager was made responsible for the transport of five *khal* (150 pounds). Then they arrived at Ru-thog. Without fighting they carried off all the riches that existed at Ru-thog and sent them to La-dvags. Then they arrived at Grog-po-rab-gsum, where the Tibetan army made its appearance. Then the Siṅ-pas held a council with the Ladakhis [as follows]: 'We will dam up the water of the brook!'; and they dammed up the water of the brook. Then the whole Tibetan army went back for a day's journey, and the army of the Siṅ-pas followed them (marched also). In the upper part of Grog-po-rab-gsum, the Siṅ-pa-Ladakhi army, as well as the Tibetan army, made their camps and remained there. During one night much hail came down from the sky. When it dawned, the Siṅ-pas, who had only little clothing on them, sank under the hail, and many Siṅ-pas died. When the sun rose above the summits, the Tibetans and the Siṅ-pas fought a great battle. About noon Zo-ra-war was hit by a Tibetan bullet. He fell from his horse and died. The Tibetan soldiers cut Zo-ra-war's corpse (flesh) to pieces and carried it off. They cut off Zo-ra-war's head and sent it to Ḫjam-ḫbu (Jammu). Then the Tibetans seized many Siṅ-pas and took them to Tibet. A Tibetan of high rank, named Żib-bcod, made an agreement with the Siṅ-pas: 'What has been done on both sides should not be spoken of again. The biennial trade (*lo-phyag*) is to be continued as formerly.' After this letter of agreement was duly written, the Siṅ-pa army went to La-dvags, and the Tibetan army to Tibet.

After three months had elapsed, De-wan Ha-ri-cand and Wa-zir Ra-tun, these two generals, came from Kha-cul into Tibet, leading 8,000 Siṅ-pa soldiers. They arrived at Slel in the fifth month. Then a call to arms was issued to La-dvags, Ldum-ra, Sbal-ti-yul, and Pu-rig. The peasants were taken to do transport work, and the noblemen to serve as warriors. Some Tibetan soldiers, who had arrived at the Lcem-ḫbre castle, were deprived of their water supply in the castle [and the castle was conquered]. Several Siṅ-pa soldiers were left stationed there. The De-wan and many Siṅ-pas pursued the Tibetan army. They caught them at Chu-śul. Some Tibetans were killed, others were seized and carried off. Ra-ga-śa, the Tibetan general, was also seized. They said: 'It is in reply to their having killed Wa-zir Zo-ra-war first!', and severed his neck with a sword. Then the Tibetans were beaten. All the customs of the former kings of La-dvags were re-established. Those Siṅ-pas who had been made prisoners in the preceding year, when Zo-ra-war died, were

returned, and the captive Tibetans were also returned, and an agreement was arrived at. Then those Siṅ-pas who had been kept captive in Tibet had married Tibetan women. They all went to Kha-cul, every one carrying a child. Those Tibetans who had been taken captive by the Siṅ-pas had married women of Ḫjam-ḫbu. They went [back] to Tibet, carrying two or three children each. Mi-ña-re-ya-siṅ had been in Tibet with the Siṅ-pas as an officer. When he arrived at Ḫjam-ḫbu [home] from Tibet, the Ma-ha-ra-ja asked him: 'If once more we go to war against Tibet, shall we win or not?' To which Mi-ña-re-ya-siṅ replied: 'We cannot make war against Tibet! If you ask why, as many soldiers as we have, so many lamas have the Tibetans; as much food as a Siṅ-pa consumes within a month, a Tibetan eats within a day; as many dresses as are put on by ten Siṅ-pas, a single Tibetan puts on; and they are in possession of much magic. They know how to bring rain from the sky, and how to cause fire spontaneously. They cause heaven and earth to shake, and they can show great power. Some men fly up to the sky; others make themselves invisible and kill people with a sword, and there are many [more] unusual things!' The Ma-ha-ra-ja became angry and said: 'You are taking the side of the Tibetans! You are telling ugly things! I will not keep you in my service!' He turned him out and sent him to some other country. Five Ladakhis out of those who had been taken captive by the Tibetans and carried off, viz. the astrologer Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-bstan, the chief Sgo-lam-Khan of Chu-śod, the minister of Ba-sgo, the minister Sa-bi, and Ḫol-chags-pa-phyag-rdor of Lte-ba, did not return from Tibet. If you ask why, [we answer that] they said they were taking the side of the Siṅ-pas and not that of the Tibetans. Therefore the Tibetans became angry and kept them in Tibet till they died.

NOTES

The language of Tshe-brtan's account is not quite the spoken language of Ladakh, as might be supposed. Tshe-brtan himself spoke the Ladakhi dialect when he told his tale; but the munshi who wrote it down contrived to embellish it with as many classical Tibetan words and grammatical forms as he thought necessary, to make the account acceptable to educated men. The natives themselves would never write as they speak. It is only the missionaries who pursue that aim.

There is a remarkable number of foreign words, Urdū, contained in the account. These words testify to the influence exercised by the Dogras and Kashmiris over the Ladakhis since the times of the Dogra war. Such foreign words are the following: *Bā-bā* (Turk.), 'father'; *hu-kum* (*ḥukm*), 'order'; *sa-lām*, 'peace,' 'salutation'; *khar-ji* (*kharch*), 'taxes in kind,' often used in the sense of 'food'; *za-min-dār*, 'landholder'; *bab* (*bāb*), 'taxes'; *tu-bag* (*tupak*), 'musket,' 'rifle'; *nog-san* (*nuqṣān*), 'harm,' 'injury'; *si-pa* (*sipāhī*), 'soldier'; *'a-na* (*ānā*), 'a coin'; *pe-ne* (Indian *paṇa*), 'one paisa'; *kyi-la* (*qil'a*), 'castle,' 'fort'; *ar-ji* (*'arẓī*), 'petition'; *bad-nam* (*badnām*), 'abuse'; *ko-khri* (*koṭhī*), 'warehouse,' 'granary'; *kha-bar* (*khabar*), 'information,' 'news'; *'a-phim* (*afīm*), 'opium'; *ba-ṭi* (*bāṭ*), 'a weight' (four pounds); *tob* (Turkish *tōp*), 'cannon'; *be-kar* (*begār*), 'forced labour'; *ja-du* (*jādū*), 'magic'; *no-ka-ri* (*naukarī*), 'service.'

Among the local names the spelling Ka-shir for Kashmir is of particular interest, as reminding us of the old name Kaśvīra of that country. It occurs only once: in all other cases we find Kha-cul. Jam-mu is regularly spelt Ḫjam-ḫbu. The Tibetans seem to connect this name with Ḫjam-bu-gliṅ, Jambū-dvīpa.

As regards the use of the pronouns *ṅa-taṅ* and *ṅa-ža*, 'we,' they are very carefully distinguished in Tshe-brtan's account, *ṅa-taṅ* being used inclusively, and *ṅa-ža* exclusively, of the addressed person.

As the text shows us, Tshe-brtan had never understood that in 1834 Jammu and Kashmir were not one and the same state, as they have been since 1846. He believed them to be one and the same even then, and therefore he often speaks of Kashmir when he means Jammu. Although the general course of events is the same in Tshe-brtan's and munshi Dpal-rgyas' accounts, there are many differences with regard to minor matters. Bastī-Rām's account, which is found in Cunningham's *Ladák*, also differs from both of them in many points. At the present day it will hardly be possible to decide which of the three accounts is to be given the preference in particular points, and it will therefore be useful to compare the three in a table, showing the chief events in three parallel columns, one for each authority. (See *ante*, pp. 129 sqq.)

The main importance of Tshe-brtan's account rests in the fact that he alone describes the Dogras on their cruel and avaricious side. If we had nothing but the two other accounts, we should come to the conclusion that the Dogra generals and soldiers were as chivalrous as any army in the world has ever been. In reality, they appear to have been not much above the average of Oriental warriors.

XX. Bastī-Rām's Account of the Dogra War, and Cunningham's 'Other Information'

Bastī-Rām was a Dogra officer and one of the early Wazīrs of Ladakh. His Wazīrate lasted from 1847 to 1861 A.D. Cunningham met him in Ladakh, probably in 1847, and asked him to write an account of the Dogra war, to which he agreed. As Bastī-Rām held a high office in the conquered kingdom of Ladakh, his account has a right to appear among the 'Minor Chronicles' of Ladakh. His account of the Dogra war is of particular importance, for the simple reason that it is the earliest ever written. On the other hand, it is in much need of re-editing; for the names contained in it have never been identified with those contained in the later Tibetan accounts of the same war. The original (probably Urdū) text of Bastī-Rām's tale has been lost. What we possess now is Cunningham's English rendering of the same. Cunningham says (p. 332) with regard to it: 'The following account of the Dogra invasion was kindly dictated, at my request, by Mehta Basti Ram, a Hindu Rajput of Káshtwár, now governor of Lé, who was one of the principal officers of the expedition. As an authentic record of an interesting event, of which no other account exists to my knowledge (in 1847 A.D.), I should have preferred giving the narrative almost literally, but I found that in this shape it would entail the insertion of too many footnotes, which would have completely distracted the attention of the reader. I have therefore re-written the account entirely, and have given the Tibetan names, which my knowledge of the localities enabled me to do without much difficulty. The narrative was of course dictated in the first person, for which I have throughout substituted the name of "Dogra" and "the Dogra troops".' Bastī-Rām's account breaks off immediately before the Balti war. The history of the conquest of Baltistan and the two later Tibetan Dogra wars was compiled by Cunningham from 'Other Information'. The correct Tibetan forms of the names have been added by the present author.

ENGLISH TEXT (Cunningham, p. 333)

1. Conquest of Ladák by the Dogras

1. The chief officers engaged in this expedition under the Vazir Zorávar Sing were, 1st, Mia Rai Sing; 2nd, Mehta Basti Rám; 3rd, Mirza Rasul Beg; 4th, Rána Zálim Sing; 5th, Singhé Mankotiah; 6th, Mian Tuta (Tibetan, Miyanota); 7th, Sirdar Uttam Sing; and 8th, Vazir Khojah Bhunjah.

2. The Dogra troops marched from Káshtwár (T. Kastrawar), and entered the Ladák (La-dvags) territory by the pass at the head of the Suru valley, where, on the 16th of August, 1834, they were opposed by the Boti (Tibetan) leader Mangal, at the head of 5,000 men. The Dogras advanced to the attack up a hill, which was obstinately defended for a whole day, and at last succeeded in dislodging the Ladákis with a loss of only six or seven killed, and five or six wounded; whilst the enemy lost thirty killed, and as many wounded. They encamped on the north side of the hill for the night, and on the next morning marched to Suru, where they halted for eight days. During that time the Vazir prohibited his troops from cutting the corn, which was then ripe, and his politic conduct was rewarded by the immediate submission of the zamindars, who came over to him in a body, and placed themselves under his protection. The Vazir then built a small fort, which he occupied for a month. He next advanced to Shakhar (Śag-mkhar), where there was a fort belonging to Thai Sultan (Khri-Sultan), and having reinstated the zamindars of Janguri (Saṅ-ku-ri ?) and Shakhar (Śag-mkhar) in their villages, he made a summary settlement of the district by imposing a tax of four rupees upon each house.

3. Leaving thirty-five men in the fort and ten men over the bridge, the Dogras advanced by Langkarchu (Laṅ-mkhar-rtse) and Manji (Mainji of the map) to the bridge of Paskyum (T. Pas-kyum), where they were again opposed by the Ladákis. The struggle was desultory, and protracted, the Dogras losing only seven killed, while the Botis (Tibetans) had fifty or sixty killed, and a greater number wounded. By a skilful manœuvre the Ladákis effected their retreat across the bridge, which they then broke down. On the following day, however, the Dogras managed to cross the river on inflated skins without opposition; on which the chief of the place abandoned Paskyum, and fled to the fort of Sōd (Sod), where, with the zamindars of the district, he determined to hold out.

4. The Dogras advanced towards the place and raised a battery against it; but after ten days' firing nothing had been effected, although they had lost forty men in killed and wounded. The Vazir, who had remained behind at Paskyum, then ordered Mehta Basti Rám, with a party of 500 men, to make a vigorous assault upon the place. Accordingly, early the next morning, whilst it was still dark, the attack was begun by a discharge from the battery, under cover of which the Dogras advanced rapidly to the assault. By daybreak they had gained possession of the place and had captured the Gyalpo (*rgyal-po*, 'king' or 'chief'). Altogether the number of prisoners taken at Paskyum and at Sōd amounted to 6,000 men. A whole month was then wasted in fruitless negotiations with the zamindars of the district, who would not agree to the terms of settlement proposed by the Vazir.

5. In the meantime Akabat Mahmúd Khan (the King of Ladakh), the Gyalpo of Ladák (La-dvags-rgyal-po), with the Banka Kahlan (Baṅ-kha-bkaḥ-blon) and four chiefs, named Gapaju (T. Ga-ga-jo ?), Dorje Namgyal (Rdo-rje-rnam-rgyal), Chang or Chovang Nabdan (Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan), the Kahlon of Bazgo (Bab-sgo-bkaḥ-blon), and Rahim Khan, of Chachot (Chu-śod), accompanied by a force of 22,000 men,

arrived at Mulbil (Mul-ḫbye). From thence they dispatched envoys to the camp, who at first talked boldly, and tried to frighten the Dogras, but they afterwards declared their readiness to agree to honourable terms, and proposed that some respectable and confidential agents should be sent back with them to treat with their chiefs regarding the terms of accommodation. To this the Vazir consented, and after having feasted the envoys and placed turbans on their heads, he deputed Mehta Basti Rám, with some other Dogra officers and a guard of 500 matchlock-men, to accompany them. When the men were ready to start, the Vazir was requested not to send so large a party, as their number would be more likely to alarm than to pacify the minds of their countrymen. Accordingly only five men, with two respectable zamindars, named Gola and Nanda, were sent with the envoys. On their arrival in the Ladáki camp, these men were treacherously seized by the chiefs, and dispatched under a guard of 500 men to the bridge of Darkech (perhaps Durkit of the maps between Śar-sgo-la and Pas-kyum). One of the men, however, a Suwar, named Ratan Sing, managed to escape, and returned to the Dogra camp. In the meantime Banka Kahlon (Baṅ-kha-bkaḫ-blon), by a circuitous route, attacked the Dogras in their rear, and made many prisoners, who were thrown bound into the river in sight of their comrades. On this the Vazir, seeing the danger of his situation, ordered a retreat, which with some difficulty was effected to Lang-karchu (Laṅ-mkhar-rtse), in the Suru valley, to the fort of the Thai Sultan (Khri-Sultan). There the Dogras remained unmolested for four months, procuring a precarious subsistence by plunder alone.

6. At the end of that time Banka Kahlon (Baṅ-kha-bkaḫ-blon) with his 22,000 men advanced towards Langkarchu (Laṅ-mkhar-rtse); but the Vazir, having received intelligence of their movements, dispatched a party of 100 men to oppose them, when they were within one kos (one mile and a half) of the place. Now the straggling manner in which the Dogras were obliged to wade through the snow, and the unsoldierlike way in which their tents were scattered over the open country completely deceived the Ladákis as to the real number of their enemies. They were, besides, quite exhausted with their long and fatiguing march through the snow; and therefore, instead of attacking the Dogras at once, they halted for a consultation, which ended in the whole body sitting down to prepare their evening meal of tea and wheaten flour. On seeing this the Dogras attacked them with their swords, and after five or six were killed on each side, and several were wounded, Banka Kahlon (Baṅ-kha-bkaḫ-blon) and the other Ladáki leaders became alarmed and fled with numbers of their men. The remainder of the Dogras, who had hitherto held aloof, now rushed to the attack, and completed the rout of the Botis (Tibetans); 400 Ladákis, in attempting to escape along the bank of the river, were overwhelmed by the fall of a snow-bed, and 1,200, who had been concealed behind a hill, were made prisoners, along with Moru Tádzi (Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin), the Káhlon of Bazgo (Bab-sgo-bkaḫ-blon), and his son Gyurmed (Ḫgyur-med). The Dogras lost three of their leaders, namely, Uttam Vazir, Hazru Vazir of Una, and Surtu Rana, with twenty men, and between fifty and sixty wounded.

7. After this victory the Dogras were again enabled to advance to Paskyum by making use of their prisoners for the carriage of their baggage. From thence they marched by Shergol (Śar-sgo-la) to Mulbil (Mul-ḥbye), where they halted for fifteen days, and then proceeded by Kharbu (Mkhar-bu) to Lama-Yuru (Gyuṅ-druṅ), where they were met by an envoy with a letter from Sultán Akabat Mahmud Khán (the King of Ladakh), sueing for peace. Eight months, he said, had now elapsed in the vain struggle for independence, and that, if the Vazir would promise faithfully that he should not be seized, he would himself come to treat about the terms of peace. To this the Vazir at once assented, adding that the king need not be under any alarm, as the Dogras wanted nothing more than the payment of a regular tribute to their master, Maharaja Guláb Sing. On this the Gyalpo (*rgyal-po*, king) advanced to Bazgo (Bab-sgo), and intimated his wish to have an interview, provided the Vazir would not bring a large body of men with him. Accordingly the Vazir, Zoráwar Sing, with Mehta Basti Rám and 100 men, waited upon the Gyalpo, whom they found encamped upon the plain of Bazgo, with a party of 2,000 men. The Gyalpo received the Vazir kindly, and begged that he would move his camp to Bazgo, which was soon afterwards done.

8. When ten days had elapsed, the king wished the Vazir to accompany him to Lé (Sle), but with only a small party, lest the inhabitants should become alarmed. Zoráwar Sing assented, and started for Lé with only 100 men. Soon after their arrival the Vazir waited upon the Gyalpo, and was preparing to make his usual offering of a Sadka of rs. 100 to the Gyalpo's son, named Chang-raphtan (Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan), then only seventeen years of age, when the prince, mistaking the action either for an insult or for treachery, drew his sword. His followers did the same, and the Dogras also drew their swords. On this the Gyalpo fell upon his knees and clasped the Vazir's hands, while the prince and his followers retired into the fort of Lé. Some horsemen carried the intelligence to the Dogra camp at Bazgo (Bab-sgo), when 5,000 men started at once for Lé, which they reached the next morning.

9. For four months the Vazir remained at Lé, when it was finally arranged that the Gyalpo (king) should pay rs. 50,000 for the expenses of the war, and a yearly tribute of rs. 20,000. Of the first, a sum of rs. 37,000 was paid at once, partly in cash and partly in jewels. The balance the Gyalpo promised to pay in two instalments, the first of rs. 6,000 at the end of one month, and the second of rs. 7,000 at the end of four months. The Vazir then fell back to Lama Yurru (Gyuṅ-druṅ).

10. At this place he heard that the chief of Sod had recaptured his fort and had put to death the Dogra garrison of fifty-five men. By forced marches the Dogras reached Sod; but the enemy having dispersed, they halted there for thirteen days. Thence they marched thirty-seven and a half miles (twenty-five *kos*) in two days to Suru, where they surprised the Botis (Tibetans) by a night attack. Thirteen of the enemy were taken prisoners and hanged upon trees; while by a promise of fifty rupees for every head the Dogras obtained 200 prisoners, who were at once beheaded. After this the zamindars of the district tendered their submission.

11. Here it was discovered that this rebellion had been excited by Mihan Sing, the Sikh governor of Kashmir, who had even sent a servant of his own, named Jala Sing Gopi, with 50 men, to the assistance of the chiefs of Suru and Sod.

NOTES

For a comparison of Bastī-Rām's account with the other authorities see *Rgyal-rabs* (*ante*, pp. 129 sqq.). As regards numbers, I cannot place any confidence in Bastī-Rām's statements. Thus it is not possible that the first Tibetan force which opposed the Dogras should have numbered 5,000 men. The Dogras surprised the Ladakhis in time of peace, and at the utmost 500 men could be gathered together in the remote Suru valley. Nor can I believe that Baṅ-kha-pa's army numbered 22,000 men, and that even after 6,000 Ladakhis had been taken prisoners at Sod and Pas-kyum. I cannot help suspecting Bastī-Rām of exaggerating the number of the enemy in order to make the victory of the Dogras appear in a better light. With regard to Moru Tadzi (Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin) let me state that according to the Tibetan accounts he was 'minister of Leh'. Cunningham continually mixed him up with Baṅ-kha-pa, the 'minister of Lce-ḥbre', probably because these two persons are often mentioned together. Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan was apparently 'minister of Bab-sgo'. In a later note Cunningham spells his name Chang Raphtan (instead of Chang Nabdan). Rājā Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin was visited by Vigne in 1839. He calls him Marut Tanzin, and says that hewas only a puppet in the hands of the Dogras. 'Āqibat Mahmūd Khān was the title given by the Mughal emperor to the King of Ladakh after the battle of Bab-sgo, *c.* 1650 A.D., when he was supposed to become a Musalman.

2. Second Expedition to Leh (Cunningham, p. 340)

1. Leaving Suru the Vazir marched in ten days to Jasku or Zanskar (Zaṅs-dkar), the chief of which, together with all the zamindars, waited upon him, and agreed to pay a tax of three rupees and a half for every house.

2. Intelligence now arrived that an insurrection had broken out in Lé (Sle); that the Gyalpo (king), at the instigation of Mihan Sing, the Sikh governor of Kashmir, had closed the roads to the merchants; that he had confiscated the property of Moru Tādzi (Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin) and the Banka Káhlon (Baṅ-kha-bkaḥ-blon), and that he had imprisoned and tortured his munshi Daya Ram, on suspicion of his being a partisan of the Dogras. This news distressed the Vazir very much; and his anxiety was further increased by the difficulty of finding a guide, who would conduct him by the direct route to Lé, upon which he determined to march at once. Everyone professed entire ignorance of any direct route, until at length a man named Midphi Sata offered his services, to whom the Vazir gave a present of a pair of golden bracelets, worth rs. 500, besides two rupees a day, and the promise of the district of Zanskar (Zaṅs-dkar) in perpetuity.

3. With twelve seers of wheaten flour, and a bag of barley upon each horse, the party, under the direction of their guide, marching from 45 to 60 miles a day, in ten days reached the village of Tsumur (Lce-ḥbre), where they most unexpectedly heard that the wife and son of the Gyalpo were then residing. A party of 500 horsemen was sent forward to capture them; but they received early intelligence of the movement, and fled to Lé. On this the Gyalpo waited upon the Vazir at Chachot (Chu-śod), and expressed his sorrow and contrition for what had occurred. The Vazir demanded why he had so shamefully broken his promises, and added, 'Although we conquered your

country with 10,000 men, we did not place a single man of our own over any of your districts, but left you in sole charge of the whole kingdom.' The Gyalpo was much ashamed, and promised to be faithful for the future.

4. On the next day the Dogra troops, accompanied by the Gyalpo, proceeded to Lé, where the Vazir demanded the balance of the tribute, amounting to rs. 13,000, besides the additional expenses of the army. To pay the first the Vazir was obliged to take the property of the royal ladies; and in lieu of the second, the Káhlon, Achu Ganpu ('A-jo-mgon-po), offered tea and wool, gold and silver utensils, and other goods, which were accepted. The government of the country was then bestowed upon Moru-pa Tādzi (Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin), the Káhlon of Banka, while the Gyalpo was allowed a jaghir. A fort was erected outside the city of Lé, and Dalel Sing was appointed thanadar of the place with a body of 300 men. After this Zoráwar Sing proceeded to Jammu, taking with him the son of Moru Tādzi, and some other respectable men, as hostages for the good behaviour of the new king.

5. Before leaving Lé, the Vazir had ordered Lakpat Rai and Basti Ram to proceed against Baldé (Paldér, Dpal-dar). Accordingly they marched with 1,500 foot-soldiers by the Zanskar (Zaṅs-dkar) road to Baldé, where they were opposed by Budhi Sing Mithania, the chief of the district. Victory declared for the Dogras, with a loss of eighteen or twenty men killed on their side, and about twenty or twenty-five on that of the enemy. After a halt of seventeen days, they proceeded towards Jammu, leaving a garrison of twenty men in the fort of Chatrgarh.

NOTES

Cunningham has the following note on Miyān-Siṅgh's plans when exciting the Ladakhis to rebel against the Dogras: 'Mihan Sing's intention was undoubtedly to force the whole trade through Kashmir, which otherwise, owing to the occupation of Ladák by the Dogras, would have been turned into other channels leading through Káshtwár, and the Dogra territories dependent upon Jamu to India. The amount of duties upon merchandise in transit through Kashmir had already fallen off from this cause.' According to Cunningham Bastī-Rām's statement about marching 45–60 miles a day is exaggerated. 'A-jo-mgon-po was not a *bkaḥ-blon* or minister, but the warden of the He-mis monastery; see the Tibetan accounts. As has been stated, Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin was not minister of Baṅ-kha (Lce-ḥbre, etc.), but of Leh. Balde, or Palder, is the Tibetan Dpal-dar, Indian Padar, a district on the Chenab river, east of Kashṭavār, which was in those days under Chamba. It was wrested from the Chamba State by the Dogras. See the account in the Chamba State *Gazetteer*, 1910, p. 105.

3. CONQUEST OF BALTISTAN (Cunningham, p. 343)

1. Maharaja Guláb Sing and the Mia (Uttam Sing, eldest son of Guláb Sing) were both very much displeased with the Vazir Zoráwar Sing for having made over the country to Moru Tādzi (Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin), who had no claim to it. The Vazir replied that Moru Tādzi belonged to the royal family of Ladák; but that since his elevation was displeasing to the Maharaja, he would depose him on his return to Lé (Sle). One year after this, news was brought that the new king had revolted, that he had killed the thanadar of Baldé (Dpal-dar, Padar) and his twenty men, that twenty others had been made prisoners; and that the Dogra troops throughout the country were beleaguered in their different forts.

2. On hearing this, the Vazir started at once with a body of 3,000 infantry, and in two months reached the district of Baldé (Padar); but owing to the swollen state of the river he was unable to accomplish anything for two months more. At the end of that time, when the river had become passable, the Dogras attacked the fort of Chatrgarh, which they carried by storm with a loss of fifteen men on their own side and of twenty on that of the enemy. Some twenty or thirty prisoners that were taken, had their ears and noses cut off, which frightened the people so much that they immediately tendered their submission.

3. Leaving a garrison in the fort of Chatrgarh, the Vazir again marched into Zanskar (Zaṅs-dkar) over the hills. On this march twenty-five men died from the severe cold, and ten men lost their feet and hands in the snow. On reaching Zanskar the Dogras found that the people had fled; but during a halt of two months everything was arranged satisfactorily. After that Rai Sing and Mia Tota (T. Mi-ya-no-ta), with about 1,000 men, advanced towards Lé (Sle), on which Moru Tādzi (Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin), the new Gyalpo (king), who was formerly Káhlon of Banka (no, minister of Sle, F.), fled with precipitation from the capital. Being closely pursued, he was nearly overtaken, when, by the resistance of some of the more trustworthy of his followers, he was enabled to continue his flight. He was at length captured at the village of Tábo (T. Ta-bo) in Spiti, after a loss of six or seven men on each side; on which he was taken back to Lé and imprisoned.

The old Gyalpo, Akabat Mahmud, and the new one, Moru Tādzi (Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin), were both brought before the Vazir, who deposed the latter, and reinstated the former, upon the old terms of rs. 23,000 yearly tribute, but with the stipulation that the expenses of the troops which occupied the country should also be defrayed by him.

The Vazir then again proceeded to Jammu, where he remained for a whole year, after which he returned to Ladák (La-dvags) with 5,000 men, for the purpose of seizing Moru Tādzi (Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin), the Káhlon of Banka (Baṅ-kha-bkaḥ-blon), and Chang Nabdan (Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan), the Káhlon of Bazgo (Bab-sgo-bkaḥ-blon), both of whom had been plotting against the Gyalpo Mahmud Khan.

End of Basti-Rām's narrative

Beginning of Cunningham's 'Other Information' (p. 345)

They had been in correspondence with Ahmed Shah of Balti (Sbal-ti), whom they wished to engage in a general rise against the Dogra authority. The Balti chief imprudently lent too willing an ear to their overtures, and by a subsequent act furnished the long-looked-for pretext for invasion, which Zoráwar Sing was but too glad to seize upon. Early in 1835 Ahmed Shah being dissatisfied with his eldest son Muhammed Shah, had formally disinherited him by the inauguration of his younger brother Muhammed Ali. On that occasion Muhammed Shah fled to the camp of Zoráwar Sing in Suru, and claimed his protection. This the wily Vazir readily granted;

but not wishing to embroil himself with the chief of Balti while the campaign in Ladák was still before him, he contented himself with giving promises of future assistance to the Balti prince. After a time the prince returned to his father; but the reconciliation could not have been very cordial, for early in 1840 the prince fled to Lé, and sought refuge with the Gyalpo, whom he believed to be a puppet of the Dogra chief. The real authority was not, however, in the Gyalpo's hands, but in those of his two ministers, the Káhlon of Banka and the Káhlon of Bazgo; and as they were anxious to have Ahmed Shah on their side during their intended outbreak against the Dogra authority, they suggested to him the propriety of sending a party to seize his son to which no resistance would be offered. Ahmed Shah at once agreed to this proposal, and a small party of fifty men was allowed to carry off the Balti prince to Lé.

When Zoráwar Sing arrived in Zanskar (Zaṅs-dkar) and heard of the flight of Muhammed Shah, he sent strict orders that the prince should be treated with kindness and respect, intending, perhaps, to use him as a tool for the furtherance of his master's view upon Balti. But shortly after, when he heard of the prince's seizure by a party of Balti troops, he determined at once upon the conquest and annexation of that principality. A letter was, however, first addressed to Ahmed Shah, informing him that his son, who had sought the Maharaja's protection, had been forcibly carried off by a party who had invaded the Ladák territory, and that, unless the prince was sent back again, the Dogra troops would enter Balti and force his release. To this letter Ahmed Shah deigned no reply.

Accordingly, in the end of the year 1840, the Vazir assembled an army of 15,000 men, and a large body of Ladákis for the conquest of Balti. Ahmed Shah also prepared himself for the struggle, and was joined by a large party of discontented Ladákis, who, after crossing the Indus, destroyed the bridge, to delay the advance of the Dogras. Zoráwar Sing was obliged, therefore, to march down the right bank of the river, which he followed steadily for twenty-five days, receiving the submission of the chiefs of Khatakchau (Mkhar-maṅ or Parkuda) and Khapolor (Kha-pu-lu), but without finding any place where the army could be crossed. He then detached Mia Nidhán Sing, with a body of 5,000 men, by way of Shigar (Śi-dkar), to look for a road, and to collect provisions, which had now become very scarce in the Dogra camp. But the Baltis kept a good look-out, and had early intelligence of this movement. Mia Nidhán Sing was allowed to advance unmolested for about fifteen miles, when his party was surrounded and attacked by thousands, and he himself was cut off with nearly the whole of his detachment.

About 400 men only managed to find their way back to the Dogra camp with the tale of their defeat. At the same time the winter set in with a heavy fall of snow, and as provisions were extremely scarce, the Dogra troops became so much dispirited, that their discipline was seriously affected. With an impassable river in their front, and certain starvation both from cold and hunger, whether they retreated or remained in their present position, the majority of the troops paid no attention to orders, and of the few who still obeyed, none did so with alacrity.

The Dogra army had halted in this position for fifteen days, exposed to frost by night and to hunger by day. Many had sought shelter from the snow amongst the overhanging rocks, and there they sat listless and vacant, and utterly indifferent whether they should be cut off by the sword of the enemy, or be frozen to death by the cold. The Vazir saw the desperate state in which he was placed, and roused himself to discover a passage across the river, but after several hours' vain search he returned in the evening wearied and despondent. Upon this Mehta Basti Rám and some others, to the number of about forty, determined to make a last effort to extricate themselves from their difficulties. At midnight, with only one companion, Basti Rám examined the bank of the river for several miles, while his party kept up a smart fire upon the Botis (Tibetan Baltis) on the opposite bank, to distract their attention. At length they discovered a place where the river was frozen over sufficiently thick to bear a man's weight, save about 20 feet in the middle, where the ice was thin. Then, sending for assistance, they cut down trees and placed them over the weaker parts of the ice, and by 5 o'clock in the morning the Indus was passable.

Intelligence was sent at once to the Vazir, by whose order this small party of forty men was the first to cross the Indus; but they had been so benumbed by their night's work, and by their previous exposure, that ten of them sank down exhausted, and afterwards lost their hands and feet, and eighteen others were unable to get through the snow. Basti Rám was then left with only twelve men, which the Botis perceiving, they moved to attack him; but, in the meantime, Zoráwar Sing, having roused a number of his men, pointed out to them that the river was passable, and that it had already been crossed by some of their more adventurous fellow-soldiers. Upon this a number of Dogras advanced gladly to the attack. The Indus was rapidly passed, and the small party of daring men, after a smart fight, were safe. The Botis retreated, leaving 200 men dead on the field, and 100 men wounded. The Dogras lost only 25 killed, and 15 or 16 wounded in the action; but they had about 500 men more or less disabled by the loss of hand or foot during the exposure to the snow of the last few days.

The retreating Botis were pursued, and slaughtered for nine miles, as far as Marwan, where the victorious Dogras pitched their camp. The Vazir halted there for a few days to reorganize his troops, and to reward those who had distinguished themselves in the last action. To Mehta Basti Rám he gave rs. 500 and a pair of gold bangles, and to thirty-two others of his party he gave similar presents of less value, to some rs. 100, to some rs. 50, and to others rs. 40, according to their deserts.

Zoráwar Sing then advanced to Ṡkardo (Skar-rdo), and after some desultory firing, the fort was surrendered by Ahmed Shah for want of water. He was shortly afterwards deposed by Zoráwar Sing, who installed his eldest son Muhammed Shah in his room, on the promised payment of an annual tribute of rs. 7,000. But the astute commander, who had profited by his experience in Ladák, would not leave this new conquest to the doubtful faith of a son of Ahmed Shah. A small garrison of trustworthy soldiers was placed in a new fort on the bank of the river, to confirm the faithfulness of the new king, and Ahmed Shah and his favourite son were carried off

as prisoners to Ladák. In this campaign the invaders lost about 200 men, and the Botis (Baltis) about 300 men.

Previous to the conquest of Skardo, the old king of Ladák, Tonduk Namgyal (Don-grub-rnam-rgyal), or 'Akabat Mahmud', had been accused of having intrigued with Ahmed Shah for a simultaneous and organized rising of the Tibetans of Ladák (La-dvags) and Balti (Sbal-ti). He may, perhaps, have been wrongfully accused; but as his feelings must naturally have inclined him to think favourably of any enemy of the Dogras, it would have been impolitic to have left him behind, as the absence of the conquering troops might have tempted him to rebel. Zoráwar Sing therefore carried Tonduk Namgyal (Don-grub-rnam-rgyal) with him on his expedition against Skardo. The old man had outlived the downfall of his country; he had survived close personal restraint and bitter indignity; but when his last hope was cut off with the fall of Skardo, he gave way to despondency, and being attacked with small-pox, he died within a month after the annexation of Balti (Sbal-ti) to the Jammu vice-royalty of the Sikh dominions. On the death of Akabat Mahmud, his grandson Jigmet Singgé Namgyal (Ḫjigs-med-seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal), a mere boy, was acknowledged as Gyalpo (Rgyal-po) by Zoráwar Sing. The father of this lad, Prince Chovang (or Chang) Raphtan Namgyal (Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan-rnam-rgyal), fled first to Hundar (Sṅon-dar) in Nubra, and afterwards to Spiti, on the deposal of Akabat Mahmud. In October, 1837, he reached Sarāhan, in Bisahar (Bashahr); and in April, 1838, he came to Kotgurh, where he resided until his death in 1839. He was then about 21 years of age. His wife, a daughter of the Káhlon Chovang Tandup (Bkaḫ-blon-Tshe-dbaṅ-don-grub), remained in Ladák with her young son, Jigmet Singgé (Ḫjigs-med-Seṅ-ge).

NOTES

According to the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* the deposition of Rājā Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin took place immediately before the expedition against Baltistan, and not before Zorāwar's visit to Jammu. The conquest of Chatrgarh was not directed against Ladakh, but against the Chamba State (see the Chamba *Gazetteer*, p. 105). Ahmad-Shāh's quarrel with his eldest son is found fully described in Vigne's *Travels* (see *ante*, p. 186). The chief of Khatakchan (Parkuda) not only submitted to the Dogras, but energetically took their side, because he wished to assist Ahmad-Shāh's eldest son in his plotting against his father. As regards the construction of a bridge across the Indus, it was mainly due to the Dards, who assisted Bastī-Rām. The Dards have traditions about this incident. The Dards every year, in winter, make bridges across the Indus in places where they wish to have them. Their method is the following :—they fasten several beams to the bank of the river in such a way that they project into the river. After a short time they are frozen in an incrustation of ice of such solidity that it is possible to walk on them as far as the outer end. Then several more beams are fastened to the first, and are made to project into the river. When they are frozen in, another set of beams is brought, and so on, until the other bank is reached. It is only Cunningham who knows of Prince Rab-brtan's (or Mchog-sprul's) death in Kotgur. The Ladakhis believe that he died in Spyi-ti. A song of his flight is found in my *History of Western Tibet*, p. 152.

4. WAR AGAINST CENTRAL TIBET (Cunningham, p. 351)

Elated with his success, Zoráwar Sing now threatened the neighbouring States, and even talked of invading Yarkand. But the Lhasan provinces of Rudok (Ru-thogs) and Ngari (Mṅaḫ-ris) were more accessible; and the unscrupulous conqueror

revived the old claims of Ladák (La-dvags) to those districts which had been alienated since the time of Singgé Namgyal (Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal). It was enough for him that the monasteries were known to possess vessels and instruments of gold and silver for the service of religion; and that the country produced the finest shawl-wool. The plunder of the first would enrich himself and his soldiers, and the acquisition of the latter would be highly pleasing to his master, as it would throw the whole trade in shawl-wool into the hands of the Jammu Raja.

In the month of May, 1841, with an army of 5,000 men, he advanced up the valley of the Indus, and plundered the monasteries of Hanlé (Wam-le) and Tashigong (Bkra-śis-sgaṅ). His troops penetrated to Rudok (Ru-thogs) and Gáro (Sgar, modern Gar-thogs), both of which submitted without striking a blow. The conqueror then passed the sources of the Indus, and established his headquarters on the Sutluj at Tirthápuri, in Gugé, the principal place in the holy district of Lake Manasarovara. The whole country was now occupied by parties of Dogra and Ladáki soldiers. Basti Ram was stationed at Takla-Khar (Dvag-la-mkhar or Stag la-mkhar), on the Karnali or Gogra river, close to the frontiers of Kumaon and Nepal. Rahim Khán, a half-blood Musalmán of Chachot (Chu-śod), was placed over Spiti, while Ghulám Khán, his son-in-law, was employed in the congenial occupation of plundering the monasteries and temples. This work he executed with iconoclastic fury. The gold and the silver were reserved for his master; but the plastic images of clay, the books, and the pictures, excited the religious bigotry of the Musulmán, and were indiscriminately destroyed.

The news of this invasion was speedily carried to Lhasa; and about the 7th of November, Zoráwar Sing first heard of the approach of a Chinese (Tibetan) force. He at once detached a small party of 300 men, under Nono-Sungnam (No-no-Bsod-nams), to oppose the advance of the Chinese (Lhasa-Tibetans); but the detachment was surrounded at Kar-dam-Khar (Kar-dam-mkhar), to the south of the Ráwan-Hrad (Rakas-Tal) lake, and almost cut to pieces. The Nono himself escaped, and was again detached on the 19th of November, with a larger force of 600 men, under the joint command of himself and Ghulam Khán; but this party was also surrounded and cut to pieces, and the leaders were both made prisoners.

Zoráwar Sing, still treating the Chinese (Tibetans) with contempt, although they numbered about 10,000 men, or three times the strength of his own force, at once advanced from his position at Tirthapuri with the whole of his available troops. The two armies first met on the 10th of December, and began a desultory fire at each other, which continued for three days. On the 12th Zoráwar Sing was struck in the shoulder by a ball, and as he fell from his horse the Chinese (Tibetans) made a rush, and he was surrounded and slain. His troops were soon thrown into disorder, and fled on all sides, and his reserve of 600 men gave themselves up as prisoners. All the principal officers were captured, and out of the whole army, amounting with its camp-followers to 6,000 men, not more than 1,000 escaped alive, and of these some 700 were prisoners of war.

The Indian soldiers of Zoráwar Sing fought under very great disadvantages. The battlefield was upwards of 15,000 feet above the sea, and the time mid-winter, when even the day temperature never rises above the freezing point, and the intense cold of night can only be borne by people well covered with sheepskins and surrounded by fires. For several nights the Indian troops had been exposed to all the bitterness of the climate. Many had lost the use of their fingers and toes; and all were more or less frost bitten. The only fuel procurable was the Tibetan furze, which yields much more smoke than fire; and the more reckless soldiers had actually burned the stocks of their muskets to obtain a little temporary warmth. On the last fatal day not one-half of the men could handle their arms; and when a few fled, the rush became general. But death was waiting for them all; and the Chinese (Tibetans) gave up the pursuit to secure their prisoners and plunder the dead, well knowing that the unrelenting frost would spare no one. A few men made their way to their brethren at Takla-Khar (Dvag-la-mkhar, Stag-la-mkhar); but that garrison was so dismayed by the defeat, that they fled precipitately, even over the snowy mountain-range, near the head of the Kali river, into the British province of Kumaon. But even in this unopposed flight one-half of the men were killed by frost, and many of the remainder lost their fingers and toes. These few, and the prisoners, form the whole number that escaped with their lives.

Amongst the prisoners were Ahmed Shah, the ex-ruler of Skardo, and his favourite son Ali Muhammed, whom Zoráwar Sing was afraid to leave behind. The old man was treated with kindness, and even with distinction; but his heart was broken, and he pined and died in a few months. Other prisoners of distinction were, 1st, Rai Sing, Zoráwar's second in command, for whose liberation Maharaja Guláb Sing wished the Governor-General to intercede with the Lhasan authorities.

2nd. Chang-Nabdan (Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan), the Káhlon of Bazgo (Bab-sgo-bkaḥ-blon), whose wife, a buxom rosy-cheeked dame, came crying to me in 1847 at Nyimo (Sñe-mo), to do something for her husband's release. She had written every year to him by different persons, but had never got any reply, as no communications were allowed with the prisoners.

3rd. Nono-Sungnam (No-no-Bsod-nams), the brother of the last. These two brothers were considered particular friends of the invaders, and were therefore treated more harshly than the multitude.

4th. Ghulám Khán, the active plunderer and desecrator of the Buddhist temples, was tortured with hot irons. His flesh was picked off in small pieces with pincers; and, mangled and bleeding, he was left to learn how slow is the approach of death to a wretch lingering in agony.

NOTES

The statement that Ru-thogs and Mṅaḥ-ris had been alienated from Ladakh since the time of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal is not quite correct. These districts were separated from Ladakh after the battle of Bab-sgo under Bde-legs-rnam-rgyal. With regard to Bastī-Rām's flight from Dvag-la-mkhar (Stag-la-mkhar), Cunningham says in a note that the Dogras were very kindly received by Mr. Lushington, British Resident of Almora. According

to a statement by Dr. Hutchison, Ahmad-Shāh's grave is shown to travellers in Kasṭawār, so that he cannot have died in Lhasa. The minister (*bkaḥ-blon*) of Bab-sgo seems actually to have taken the side of the Dogras; for we find the same statement in Tshe-brtan's account. Tshe-brtan also mentions in this connexion a certain Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan, whom he calls an astrologer. Thus it is quite possible that the minister of Bab-sgo and Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan are two different persons. Cunningham believed them to be one and the same, probably because they were occasionally mentioned together.

5. Second War against Central Tibet (Cunningham, p. 354)

During the winter the Chinese (Tibetans) re-occupied the whole of the Garo (Sgar, Gar-thog) territory, and early in the spring of 1842 a body of about 3,000 men advanced into Ladák (La-dvags), and laid siege to the new fort at Lé (Sle). (The people of Balti (Sbal-ti) also rose; but they were soon reduced by a small force under Vazir Lakpat, who destroyed the fort and palace, to prevent the chance of another insurrection.) They were joined by the boy-king Jigmet Namgyal (Ḥjigs-med-rnam-rgyal), and the unwarlike Tibetans once more began to dream of independence. But after a short reign of six weeks, Dewán Hari Chand and Vazir Ratanu advanced with fresh troops, and the Tibetans were rudely awakened from their dream of liberty by the musketry of their old enemies, and the 3,000 would-be heroes who had talked of invading Kashmir, fled ignominiously towards Rudog (Ru-thogs). There they recovered themselves, and taking up a strong position, they determined to await the approach of winter, and then join in a general rising against the Indian invaders. But the simple Tibetan was no match for the wily Indian, and the Lhasan commander was soon made a prisoner by stratagem. The strong position of the Tibetans was shortly afterwards turned; and the Lhasan Vazir was glad to be permitted to retire on the single condition that the old boundary between Ladák and China (Tibet) should be re-established.

NOTES

In my opinion Cunningham emphasizes the cowardice of the Ladakhis more than is just. A great deal of their inability to resist the Dogras was due to their insufficient armament. The Dogras were equipped in the most excellent way with cannons and modern rifles. The Tibetans had ancient matchlocks, and, as we know from Moorcroft, there was only one matchlock to ten soldiers. Even swords were rare, and most of the Ladakhis had to rely on clubs, bows and arrows, and stone-flinging.

XXI. The Song of the Dard Colonization of Baltistan and Ladakh

The following song is taken from a collection of Dard songs called *Bono-nā-yi-glu-'a-thruṅs*, "the eighteen songs of the Bono-nā festival." When I discovered this collection at Mdaḥ (Dah), in Lower Ladakh, the natives told me that they had written it down about thirty to forty years ago at the request of the famous traveller R. Shawe. No reference to it can, however, be found among Shawe's publications. I published this interesting hymnal in my *Ladakhi Songs*, where it is found under Nos. xxxi–xliv, together with a Tibetan translation; and again in the *Indian Antiquary*, where it was furnished with an English translation. The "Colonization song" is No. vi of the hymnal, and is found under No. xxxvi of *Ladakhi Songs*. As I am not satisfied with my previous translation of this song, I propose to publish a new attempt at solving its difficulties. I have come to the conclusion that several words which I believed to be terms of a descriptive character are in reality local names. These places cannot yet all be traced on modern maps; but a tour along the Indus from Skar-rdo to Ha-nu would probably help us to identify them all. On the whole the song follows the natural course of the Indus in enumerating them. If several places are mentioned together in a single line, we may expect to find them close together in the district. As I believe, the hymnal contained in earlier times several more Ladakhi names than it does now. Probably some of the names were dropped when the Dard language became extinct in those places. But a study of Ladakhi ethnography and archæology leads to the conviction that several villages which nowadays appear to be entirely Tibetan were in former centuries Dard.

DARD TEXT

1. ཕོ་ཏྲོ་དྲའི། རྫོང་ཚར་རྒྱུད་ཏུ་ཚ་ཙོ་ཡྒད་ལེ་སྨུམ་མོ།
2. རྫོང་དེ་ཚར་རྒྱུད་ས་ལི་ལོ་ཡ་ཟ་ཡན་ཉིང་།
3. དང་སེ་ཏྲོ་ཏྲོ་ལོ་དང་སེ་མེན་ན་ཡན་ཉིང་།
4. བ་སྐྲོ་ཀུ་སུར་ས་ལི།
5. གོ་ཨར་ཏྲོ་ཀུ་མར་ས་ལི་ཏྲོ་ཡ་ཟ་ཡན་ཉིང་།
6. དང་སེ་ཏྲོ་ཏྲོ་ལོ་དང་སེ་མེན་ན་ཡན་ཉིང་།
7. སྐར་དོ་གོང་དེ་ཕུང་ས་ལི་ཏྲོ་ཡ་ཟ་ཡན་ཉིང་།
8. དང་སེ་ཏྲོ་ཏྲོ་ལོ་དང་སེ་མེན་ན་ཡན་ཉིང་།

9. ཤི་གར་རི་ཚམ་བྲོ་ཞིང་ས་ལི་ཧྲོ་ཡན་དྲིང་།

10. དང་སེ་ཧྲོ་ཧྲོ་ཝོ་དང་སེ་མེན་ན་ཡན་དྲིང་།

11. ཀྱེ་རིས་ཆུམ་རྒག་ས་ལི་ཡན་དྲིང་།

12. རྒ་སིང་མན་ཕྲོ་ཁར་ཤག་གལ་ས་ལི་ཧྲོ་ཡ་ཇ་ཡན་དྲིང་།

13. པར་ཀུད་ད་ནམ་ཀྱིལ་ས་ལི་ཧྲོ་ཡ་ཇ་ཡན་དྲིང་།

14. ག་ཡིས་སྒུག་ཏུག་ས་ལི་ཧྲོ་ཡ་ཇ་ཡན་དྲིང་།

15. ག་ཏོག་སེ་ཙང་གི་ས་ལི་ཧྲོ་ཡ་ཇ་ཡན་དྲིང་།

16. ཀྱི་སྒུར་ལྷ་འགྲོག་ས་ལི་ཧྲོ་ཡ་ཇ་ཡན་དྲིང་།

17. ཏ་ཏུ་ཏན་ཙང་མིར་ས་ལི་ཧྲོ་ཡ་ཇ་ཡན་དྲིང་།

18. ས་ཉིད་ས་ཚོག་བེད།

19. ཟུ་བོ་རོ་ཏ་ཙུ་ནེ་སོ་རེ་ཙན།

20. ཧྲོ་ཏ་ཡོན་མ་སྨོན་མན་རེ་རེ་མན་རེ་མན་རེ་ཤེན།

21. དེ་ཀྱོན་མལ་མལ།

22. མན་རེ་རེ་མན་རེ་ཤེན།

23. ཧྲོ་ཀེ་ཡོན་མལ་མལ།

24. མན་རེ་རེ་མན་རེ་ཤེན།

25. ཧྲོ་ཀེ་ཡོན་མལ་མལ།།

TRANSLATION

1. Then they went, and arrived at Roṅ-chur-rgyud, oh Mum-mo!
2. At Roṅ-ṅe-chur-rgyud. Love, oh Yan-driṅ!
3. Is that not a place of pleasure, oh Yan-driṅ?
4. [They arrived] at Ba-śo [and] Gu-sur,
5. At Go-'ar-to [and] Ku-mar. Love, oh Yan-driṅ!
6. Is that not a place of pleasure, oh Yan-driṅ?
7. [They arrived] at Skar-do [and] the willow of God. Love, oh Yan-driṅ!
8. Is that not a place of pleasure, oh Yan-driṅ?
9. [They arrived] at Cham-bro-żiṅ of Śi-gar, oh Yan-driṅ!
10. Is that not a place of pleasure, oh Yan-driṅ?
11. [They arrived] at Kye-ris [and] Chum-rgag, oh Yan-driṅ!
12. At Rga-siṅ, Man-thro-khar, [and] Śag-gal. Love, oh Yan-driṅ!
13. At Par-kud-da [and] Nam-kyil. Love, oh Yan-driṅ!

14. At Ga-bis [and] Śug-tug. Love, oh Yan-driṅ !
15. At the willow (*Caṅ*) of Ga-nog-sa. Love, oh Yan-driṅ !
16. At Kyi-śur [and] Lha-ḥbrog. Love, oh Yan-driṅ !
17. At Ha-nu [and] Han-draṅ-mir. Love, oh Yan-driṅ !
18. Sa-nid is the beginning [of colonization].
19. [There are] two out-fields, oh happy youth !
20. Oh Ha-yon-Ma-sron, Man-de-de-man-de-śin !
21. [This is] a dancing-place.
22. Oh Man-de-de-man-de-śin !
23. This [is] a dancing-place.
24. Oh Man-de-de-man-de-śin !
25. This [is] a dancing-place.

NOTES

This song contains the names of several Dard deities which have not yet been identified. *Mum-mo*, literally 'uncle', seems to be a deified forefather. *Yan-driṅ* is probably a corruption of the Tibetan word *Yar-ḥdren*, 'upwards-drawer,' one of the epithets of Kesar. *Ha-yon-Ma-sron* is translated by the Tibetan *Lha-mo*, *Devi*. *Man-de-de-man-de-śin* is given in Tibetan by *Yul-lha-gẑi-bdag*, 'local deity.'

Local names.—The following may be identified: Roṅ-chur-rgyud, the Indus valley between Lig-tse and N̄o-ma. Ba-śo, west of Skar-rdo. Gu-sur, Tibetan Khu-tshur, near Ba-śo. Ku-mar, near Skar-rdo. Skar-rdo, the capital of Baltistan. Śi-gar (Śi-dkar), north of Skar-rdo. Kyo-ris, close to the confluence of Sha-yok and Indus. Man-thro-khar, probably identical with Anthrokar or Kharmang of the maps. Par-ku-da, below Kharmang, Ga-bis (map Gavis), name of the valley of Palpaldo. Ga-nog-sa (map Ganoks), name of a side-valley above Ga-bis. Ha-nu and Han-draṅ-mir, in a side-valley above the latter. Sa-nid (map Sunnit), a few miles above Mdah (Dah of the map).

As regards the seventh line, another translation, viz. 'willow of Skar-do-god', might be proposed; for among the Dards this town may be known by the name of Skar-do-god. Taṅ-se is probably an abbreviation of [*rtses*]-*btaṅ-sa-ig*, a dancing-place.

XXII. Notes on those Vassal States of which no Chronicles remain

1. The Khri-Sultāns of Dkar-rtse

The principality of Dkar-rtse comprised the valleys of the Su-ru and Dras rivers; but the chiefs of Dras may at times have been independent. The capital of the State was Dkar-rtse in the Su-ru valley, and the towns of Su-ru, Dkar-kyil, Pas-kyum, at times even Mul-ḫbye, Wan-la, Śim-śa-mkhar-bu, and Hem-babs (Dras) were subject to these chiefs. The population was for the greater part of Dard origin, and the Dard language is still spoken in its western villages. The religion of the state was originally Buddhism; but in the fifteenth or sixteenth century this was exchanged for Muhammadanism. Rań-ḫdum in the upper Su-ru valley is the only place in the district which has remained Buddhist.

Inscriptions:—At Dras there are several sculptured stones with inscriptions in Śāradā, one even in Tibetan. They go back to the times of the early chiefs of Hem-babs. 'A-la or Dram-'A-la seems to have been the name of one of those chiefs. The huge sculpture of Maitreya at Mul-ḫbye is probably the work of one of the earlier chiefs of Dkar-rtse. It is now stated to be the work of the eight minor sons of Ñe-ba, viz. the eight spiritual sons of Buddha (see S. Ch. Das' dictionary). Similar sculptures near Dkar-rtse are said to be furnished with Tibetan inscriptions, which have, however, not yet been examined. A sculpture at Śiń-go is pictured in Drew's book (*The Northern Barrier of India*, p. 270). A Tibetan inscription mentioning one of those chiefs by his dynastic name *Khri-rgyal* (later on changed to *Khri-Sultān*), is found in my collection of historical inscriptions under No. 42.—King Ḫod-den, mentioned in a votive inscription at Mul-ḫbye, may be one of the Muhammadan chiefs (Khri-Sultāns) of Dkar-rtse.—An inscription from Wan-la is of the greatest importance with regard to the history of these chieftains. It seems to be the only Tibetan record of the Kashmir expeditions against Ladakh in the fifteenth century. It is found on one of the walls of the Bcu-gcig-żal monastery at Wan-la. There the chiefs are called *Khri-dpon* (a synonym of *Khri-rgyal*). Their dominions are said to have included Wa-kha, Kan-ji, Su-ru, En-sa-ali, and Mań-rgyu. The Chief Ḫbhag-dar-skyabs became a vassal of the Kashmir king, and apparently in his service conquered (or assisted in the conquest of) Sbal-ti, Ḫbrog-pa (district of Mdaḫ), Gu-ge, Pu-hrańs, and Mńaḫ-ris-skor-gsum. At that time began the introduction of Muhammadanism into Pu-rig; for names like Khātūn and 'Alī appear in the record by the side of perfectly Tibetan names.

Other records:—In the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī* (c. 1532 A.D., pp. 462 sqq.) we read of several expeditions of the Turkomans under Mīrzā Haidar against Su-ru. Apparently they were not crowned with much success. From the Ladakhi chronicles we learn that two chiefs of Pu-rig were fighting with one another (c. 1550–80 A.D.). One of them was the chief of Cig-tan, and the other in all probability the chief of Dkar-rtse.—Then in the

course of the great Mughal wars during the first half of the seventeenth century the chief of Dkar-rtse, the Khri-Sultān, was taken prisoner and transported to Leh. We do not know whether he again obtained his liberty and his kingdom. During Bde-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal's reign Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal ruled over Pu-rig; and at the beginning of the Dogra wars (1834 A.D.) we find a Ladakhi garrison stationed at Dkar-rtse.

2. The Ancient Kings of Kha-la-rtse

Kha-la-rtse must have been in ancient times an important place; for here we find the most ancient rock-inscriptions of Ladakh. The inscription in Maurya Brāhmī characters discovered here contains nothing but the name Bharadaya (Bharadvāja) in the genitive case, as stated by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel. This may be the name of some Hindu or Buddhist priest. But one of the ancient Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of Kha-la-rtse begins with the title Mahārāja, as pointed out by Professor Rapson. Unfortunately it has not yet been possible to make out the proper name of this king. Then there is a Gupta inscription at Kha-la-rtse, which has not yet been read with absolute certainty. Dr. Vogel proposed the reading *Śrī-Sacamatisya*, the genitive case of Śrī-Sacamati (Satyamati), whilst Mr. F. W. Thomas suggested the reading *Śrīma*[*c*]-*carpatisya*. [*Carpati* is known as the name of a Buddhist divinity, and a legendary Yogin of this name is mentioned in the Chambā *Vaṃśāvalī*. See Dr. Vogel's *Antiquities of Chamba State*, pp. 92–3.—F. W. T.] With the former reading the inscription would seem to contain the name of one of the old [perhaps Dard] chiefs of Kha-la-rtse, who will have reigned there *c.* 400 A.D. In the close vicinity of this inscription are found the so-called *mgo-chen-mchod-rten*, the ancient *stūpas* of those chiefs, as I suppose. I have not yet been permitted to open any of these monuments. The names of the last kings of Kha-la-rtse are found on some of the boulders near Kha-la-rtse bridge. There the names Khri-ḥod, Rgya-śin (Brgya-sbyin, Indra), and Śi-ri-ma (Śrīmān) occur. The orthography of these inscriptions points to the time between 1000 and 1300 A.D. These kings probably reigned during the twelfth century, when Lha-chen Nag-lug of Leh built the Brag-nag castle of Kha-la-rtse. Probably the firm establishment of the Ladakhi rule put an end to their power.

3. The Chiefs of Nub-ra

Nub-ra is a province of Ladakh, situated in the Śha-yok valley, to the east of Chor-ḥbad. In classical Tibetan it is called Ldum-ra, 'fruit garden.' Nub-ra means 'western realm'. To judge by the two inscriptions which have come to my knowledge, it looks as if in former days Nub-ra had been ruled by its own princes. Inscription No. 40 of my collection, which comes from Hun-dar in Nub-ra, speaks of a king Tshe-dbaṅ-brtan-pa, who resided at a castle called Bde-chen-rtse-mo. His wife was called [R]nam-rgyal-skyid, and his son Mgon-po-[r]nam-rgyal. Inscription No. 41 speaks of a king Bhag-ram-mir, who resided at the same castle. This king is in all probability identical with Bahram-Chu (Jo), mentioned in the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī* as having guided the Turkoman army to Śi-dkar (1532 A.D.). There he is called a chief of Baltistan. This is not so extraordinary. As his country bordered on Baltistan, he

may in the eyes of the Turkomans have appeared a Balti chief. Lha-chen Grags-pa-ḥbum (*supra*, p. 102) is the first Ladakhi king whose name appears on votive tablets in Nub-ra. Bhag-ram-mir was probably the last native chief of Nub-ra. He may, moreover, be identical with Sultan Bairam of Kha-pu-lu (*supra*, p. 189), since, as I was informed, Nub-ra was at one time a province of that state.

4. The Chiefs of 'A-lci

'A-lci is an old town, situated on the left bank of the Indus, opposite Sa-spo-la. Judging by its many ruins, it may have been a place of importance in ancient times. Most of the inscriptions near the bridge of 'A-lci contain only the names of colonels who guarded the bridge, probably after the Tibetan conquest in the tenth century. But there is a single inscription which may contain the name of a king. It is No. 5 of my collection, and the king's name would be Rgyal-khri. Local tradition connects the castle above the bridge with a legendary king Bandel or Bahand, or it attributes the erection of the castle to king Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal of Ladakh. The latter statement is apparently a mistake for Ñi-ma-mgon, the conqueror of Ladakh, who may have placed his colonels together with a garrison in this castle.

5. The Chiefs of the Rub-śo Nomads

The chiefs of the Rub-śo nomads are a recognized family of high rank. It intermarries with the kings of Ladakh. Thus one of the most famous queens of Ladakh, Bskal-bzaṅ-sgrol-ma, wife of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal, was a Ru-śod (Rub-śo) princess; and the present ex-king Bsod-nams-rnam-rgyal is also married to a Rub-śo princess. As the nomads are also in the habit of building *maṇi* walls furnished with votive tablets, it may be possible to gather from such tablets a few names of chiefs. Thus on a tablet discovered in 1909 in the vicinity of the Dkor-mdzod monastery, on the shore of the Tsho-mo-ri-ri lake, are found the names Ga-ga Tshe-riṅ-bkra-śis, father and son. As far as I remember, they are the names of the father and grandfather of the present chief.

6. The No-nos of Spyi-ti

The No-nos are the ruling family of chiefs in Spyi-ti. At present it is impossible to decide whether they are descended from a native Spyi-ti family or from certain governors of Spyi-ti, posted there by the kings of Ladakh. Thus a Rdzoṅ-blon-chen-po, mentioned on a votive tablet, is called Stan-ḥdzin-rnam-rgyal. He may be identical with king Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal's step-brother, Bstan-ḥdzin-rnam-rgyal. (See *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*, part vii.) From the list of Spyi-ti MSS. and inscriptions collected by Mr. Howell's two pandits in 1908 the following names of Spyi-ti No-nos or Ga-gas may be gathered. (But these documents have never as yet been properly examined.) 1. Ga-ga Mkhyen-rab (Kanrab), supposed to have been the first No-no of Spyi-ti. 2. Stan-ḥdzin-rnam-rgyal, mentioned again in an inscription from Raṅ-rig. 3. The name of a certain Ga-ga Rdo-rje is found on a dedication sheet from Kyi-bar. He was a contemporary of Tshe-dpal-don-grub-rnam-rgyal of Ladakh (beginning of the

nineteenth century). The No-nos of Sku-gliṅ are adherents of the Sa-skya school of Lamaism. The name of the capital of Spyi-ti is spelt in various ways, Gra-mkhar, Grañ-mkhar, Brañ-mkhar, etc. A legend telling of the extermination of the Ladakhi garrison at this castle is found in my collection, *Die historischen und mythologischen Erinnerungen der Lahouler*, No. 17. The most famous monasteries of Spyi-ti are: Ta-bo (formerly under Gu-ge), Ki (or Skyid) (Dge-lug-pa order), Spyin (Rñiṅ-ma-pa order), and Btaṅ-rgyud (Sa-skya-pa order). According to information obtained by Mr. H. Lee Shuttleworth, there are several (four?) families of No-nos in Spyi-ti, who have never had much political importance: districts and residences will be mentioned in a description of localities to be published later.

7. The Chiefs of Na-ko

A line of chiefs is known to have once resided at Na-ko in Kunawar. As Na-ko is situated exactly above the ancient town of Li, it is possible that the chiefs of Na-ko reigned over the town and district of Li. I found the name of a single chief only in a votive tablet inscription at the ancient Na-ko monastery. It was Jo Dpal-ḥbyor. His wife's name is given as Jo-jo Bsam-brtan.

It is interesting that in 1870 a brother of the rājā of Bashahr, called Fatḥ-Siṅgh, made himself the head of this old principality. He fortified the bridge between Na-ko and Li; but in the same year he was caught and seized by the Bashahr troops.

8. The Chiefs of Ru-thog

From the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* we learn that in the days of king Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal there existed a chief at Ru-thog called 'Aṅ-pa (Dbaṅ-pa, ruler). No inscription of any 'Aṅ-pa has yet been found. Ru-thog was a Station of the Tsaparang (Rtsa-braṅ) mission; when that mission was destroyed by Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal, the 'Aṅ-pa shared the fate of the Rtsa-braṅ ruler.

9. The Chiefs of Pu-hraṅs

From the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* we learn that the name of the last member of the native line of Pu-hraṅs chiefs (tenth century) was Dge-bśes-btsan. He gave his daughter Ḥbro-za-ḥkhor-skyoṅ in marriage to king Ñi-ma-mgon; and thus Pu-hraṅs became part of the West Tibetan empire. When the Gu-ge kings ruled over Gu-ge and Pu-hraṅs, the latter province was given apparently to a branch line of the royal family of Gu-ge, the Lde dynasty. When the line of the kings of Gu-ge came to an end, one of the Pu-hraṅs princes, a certain Bsod-nams-lde, was asked to become king of Gu-ge. (Compare the chronicles of Gu-ge.)

NOTE

As regards the so-called kings of He-na-sku, only one name has as yet been discovered. On p. 87 of the MS. copy of the treaty of Wam-le (*c.* 1751 A.D.) we read that the He-na-sku king of that time was named Dkon-grub, perhaps Dkon-mchog-lhun-grub. On p. 31 it is stated that the line of the He-na-sku kings branched off under Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal. The so-called kings of Rgya were only ministers (*blon-po*). See my notes on them in my book *Archæology in Indian Tibet*, p. 63, and *supra*, pp. 225 sqq.

XXIII. Appendix, containing a passage from the *History of Kashmir* in Persian by Maulavī Hasan-Shāh, copied from a history by Maulavī Haidar Malik of Chodra

'Historians describe the time of rule of the Rajahs up to the reign of Renchan as 4,445 solar years, and till then the Hindu religion prevailed. But no one was firm in his convictions and there was great variety and antagonism of sects. Therefore, according to the saying (Arabic) that "people follow the religion of their kings" Buddhism was the predominant religion, besides various sects of Khatris, Vaish, Kaisth, Parsi, Nāg-worshippers, etc., who lived here. When in the battle of Zalchu many people were killed, and a few remained in different faiths, and when Renchan, who was a Buddhist, sat on the throne and saw that the real faith was in danger owing to the great variety in religion, he wished to have only one religion in the country under his rule. But, as entrance into the religion of Shiwah was impossible and he was undecided as regards the others, he thought that, whomsoever he should see first the next morning, his religion he would adopt. In the morning he saw Sayyid Sharaf-ud-Dīn Bulbul-shāh in the act of saying his prayers on the opposite bank of the River Bhat. He took a fancy for his form of devotions, and together with his own family he embraced his religion, and became a good Muhammadan, with the name of King Sadr-ud-Dīn. On the following day Rāwan-Chandar, the son of Rām-Chandar, the officers of state and the common people in large groups embraced Islām at the hands of the holy Sayyid. The date of this event is contained in the chronogram "the sunrise of the Muhammadan religion" [denoting 726 A.H.–1325 A.D.].

'The following verses have been inscribed on a stone in the Bulbul-langar mosque:—

'"My friend has become the ornament of assemblies, the observed of all observers. His face claims Islām, and his hair adorns paganism. He holds both paganism and Islām in his fist, and his fist too is the cynosure of beholders."

'Renchan-Shāh, after becoming Muhammadan, built a great Khāngāh for his religious guide on the banks of the River Bhat, and it was the first of its kind built in Kashmir. He arranged for food to be distributed to the needy and wayfaring, and endowed some villages in the Nāgām *pargaṇa* for the upkeep of the establishment. This institution lasted till the time of the Jught kings, and poor people were fed there. On that account the quarter was called Bulbul-langar. Renchan-Shāh built for himself a royal palace, which is now occupied by the tomb of Sayyid Muhammad Amīn Waisī. Contiguous to the same he built a very large mosque, and used to read his Friday prayers in it. After some time this mosque was burnt down, and he rebuilt a small mosque with dressed stones; it still exists under the name of Renṭan-masjid. Altogether Renchan-Shāh ruled for two years and seven months, and he died near the Bulbul-Shāh convent.'

TEXT

مورخان مدت فرمانروائی راجها تا عهد رینچن چهار هزار و چهار صد و چهل و پنج سال شمسی می نویسند وتا این زمان طریقه مذهب هنود رواج داشت اما هیچکسی بر صرافت خود نبود تعدد واختلاف مشارب وتنوع و تکثر مذاهب بسیار داشت ازانجمله بمقتضای "الناس علي دين ملوکهم" در مذهب بوده تکثر ورواج بیشتر بود وغیر ازین مذاهب مختلفه مثل کهتري و ویش و کایت و پارسی وناگ پرست وغیره بسیار فرقه در اینجا سکونت میداشتند چون در واقعهٔ زوالچو خلقت بسیاري بقتل رسید وجمعي قلیل بمذاهب مختلفه موجود ماند وقتیکه رینچن که بمذهب بود بود برسریر جهانبانی استقلال یافت بکثرت و اختلاف مذاهب و ملل مذهب اصلی را خلل دیده خواست که در ملک ماتحت خود یک ملت مروج سازد چونکه دخول در مذهب شیوه متعذر بود و در مذاهب دیگر متردد ماند پس با دل خود سنجید که فردا کسیکه اول صبح مي بینم بمذهب اوگرایم بامدادان جناب سید شرف الدین را ملقب به بلبل شاه دید که برساحل آنروی دریای بهت نماز میخواند نماز ونیاز او پسندیده با اهل و عیال خود بمذهب اوگروید وطوق اسلام بگردن انداخته خود را بملک صدرالدین ملقب ساخت فردا بمتابعت او راون چندر پسر رامچندر و سران سلطنت وعامه خلائق جوق جوق بردست سید بزرگوار بشرف اسلام مشرف کشت طلوع افتاب دین احمدی تاریخ اینواقعه گفته اند این ابیات بر یک سنگ کنده در مسجد بلبل لنکر اند

یار من بهر محفل آرائی — شد تماشاي هر تماشائی
روي او کرد دعوی اسلام — موی او کرد کفر آرائی
کفر و اسلام را بجنگ آرد — خود مرآن جنگ را تما شائی

رینچن شاه بعد یافتن دولت اسلام براي مرشد بزرگوار خود خانقاهی رفیع برکنارهٔ دریاي بهت ترصیص نمود و این اول خانقاهي است که در کشمیر تعمیر یافت و در انجا براي آمد ورفت محتاجان و مسافران لنگر جاري ساخت و بجهت مصارف مطبخ و اخراجات خانقاه چند قریه از پرگنه ناگام معین فرمود که تا زمان شاهان جغت بدستور معمول بود وفقرا و مساکین ازانجا راتبه خوار بودند ازینجهت آن محله را بلبل لنگر میگفتند رینچن شاه برای سکونت خود دولتخانهٔ شاهي آباد ساخت که فی الحال مرقد حضرت سید محمد امین ویسی درآنجا است متصل آن مسجد جامع در غایت وسعت معمور ساخت و خود در انجا نماز جمعه ادا میکرد بعد چندگاه مسجد جامع سوخته شده بجاي آن مسجدي قصیر از احجار تراشیده ترصیص نمود که تا حال موجود است و آنرا زینٹن مسجد میگویند رینچن شاه همگی دو سال و هفت ماه بحکومت بسر برده انتقال متصل خانقاه بلبل شاه آسود

Another tale of Renchan Shāh (Riñcana Bhoṭṭa) is given on pp. 180–1 of my *History of Western Tibet* (London, 1907).

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

p. 7, l. 18: For *bram-zehi* read *bram-zeẖi*.

p. 14, l. 24: For 'Bu-rig' read 'Pu-rig'.

p. 14, l. 26: For 'Bar-bog' read 'Bar-ẖbog'.

p. 55, l. 16: For ེ་ཟླ read དེ་ཟླ.

p. 64, l. 17: For *Mṅon-pahi* read *Mṅon-paẖi*.

p. 64, ll. 26 ff.: It is remarkable that the four points of the compass are here given in the order east, north, west, south, not east, south, west, north, which is usual in the Northern Hemisphere. The inverted order, together with the inverted *svastika*, is found in Bon-po literature, for instance, in the *Gzer-mig*. And the fact that this order is followed here speaks in favour of my view that the chapter shows influences of the Bon religion.

p. 67, l. 29: For 'Brāhma' read 'Brahmā'.

p. 71, l. 18: My opinion that the tribe of H̱a-ža (Se-ẖa-ža) are the Lahulīs is questioned by M. Paul Pelliot in his article 'Notes à propos d'un catalogue du Kanjur', *Journal Asiatique*, 1914, p. 144, note. He says that the H̱a-ža are the Tou-yu-houen of the Ku-ku-nor. Without doubting that he is right in his identification, I believe that it is quite possible that the tribe has separated, and that nowadays members of the same original tribe are found in different localities. Thus it was a tribe of Me-ñag who founded the village of Sa-bu, a few miles east of Leh, whilst the other Me-ñag are found in Eastern Tibet. It is the Lahulīs themselves who assert that the word H̱a-ža, found so often in Padmasambhava literature together with the local names 'U-rgyan (Udyāna) and Mandi (Za-hor), actually refers to their own country. In the present designation of Lahul, viz. Gar-ža, two original names, viz. H̱a-ža and Dkar-žva (white-caps), were combined. According to Bon literature, the H̱a-ža are a tribe of fairies, and it is therefore interesting to note that in many inscriptions, as well as in folklore, Lahul is called a 'land of fairies' (*Mkhaẖ-ẖgroẖi-yul*).

p. 71, ll. 19–20: For 'Krakucchanda' read 'Krakucchanda'.

p. 76, ll. 30–1: For *Rgyal-spun-po-* read *Rgyal-rabs-spun-po-*.

p. 81, ll. 9 and 32: The *Spaṅ(Dpaṅ)-skoṅ-phyag-rgya* (Bkaẖ-ẖgyur, Mdo 24) is a short ritual tract, containing invocation, confessions, etc. It is printed in a volume entitled *Dkar-chag-dgos-ẖdod-kun-ẖbyun*, preserved in the Prussian State Library.

p. 82, l. 26: For 'H̱-nu' read ''A-nu'.

p. 87, l. 9: A possibly better translation, according with the views of the Tibetans, is that given in *J. and P.A.S.B.*, vol. vi, 1910, p. 412. 'He (i.e. Padmasambhava) put a *vajra* into the water, whereupon Zil-chen took the shape of a boy.'

p. 87, ll. 38-43: The Report of Nain Singh's journey is contained in *Report on the Trans-Himalayan Explorations in connexion with the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India during* 1865–7, *drawn up by Captain T. G. Montgomerie* (n.d. Dehra Dun (?)).

p. 90, ll. 28–9: For 'Brāhma-' read 'Brahmā-'.

p. 92, last line: The *H̱bum* is the *Prajñā-pāramitā* in 100,000 verse-lengths (*Śata-sāhasrikā*).

p. 96, l. 1: The three lakes. In the Ladakhi Marriage Hymnal (see *Tibetische Hochzeitslieder*, by A. H. Francke, p. 50) the names of three lakes are given as follows :—(1) Ma-phaṅ, (2) La-ṅag, (3) Sgo-mo.

p. 97, l. 22: For 'Pu-raṅs' read 'Pu-hraṅs'.

p. 97, l. 31: The *Rgyud-ḥbum* does not seem to be known: probably it was a collection of Tantras.

p. 101, l. 20: For 'Ddud-' read 'Bdud-'.

p. 104, l. 5: For *btsun-gral* read *btsun-khral*.

p. 105, l. 13: For 'Ḥkhar-ḥo-ldoṅ' read 'Ḥkhar-'o-ldoṅ'.

p. 110, l. 10: 'Chief and owner.' The Tibetan phrase *Jo-bo-bdag-po* is the official title of the Gu-ge kings, the *Chodāpo* of the Jesuit records; cf. Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*, p. 79.

p. 112, ll. 11-12: With regard to d'Andrada's mission to Tsaparang, the work of L. Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*, 1603–1721 (The Hague, 1924), should be consulted. It contains a chapter on the Tsaparang Mission. We learn from this book that the first European known to have visited Leh was the Jesuit Azevedo. He was received in audience by the King of Ladakh, probably Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal. The Rev. H. Hosten's statements will have to be corrected accordingly.

p. 112, l. 39: For 'Ḥgrug-pa' read 'Ḥbrug-pa'.

p. 114, l. 31: For 'Śod' read 'Sod'.

pp. 119–20: The *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur-ro-chog*, which is contained in an existing xylograph, is a recital of the titles of works in the *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur*. *Gser-ḥod* and *Gyaṅ-skyabs* are also known as the titles of two short xylographed tracts. See the volume entitled *Dkar-chag-dgos-ḥdod-kun-ḥbyuṅ* in the Prussian State Library.

p. 123, l. 3 from end: Gzims-cuṅ (or Gzim-chuṅ) is a house for retirement, e.g. that of the Dalai Lama at Lhasa.

l. 35: For 'tafetta' read 'taffeta'.

p. 126, l. 6: }
p. 127, ll. 7–9: } For *khaṭmband* read *khātamband*.

p. 128, l. 33: For 'Sar-re' read 'Śar-re'.

p. 139, ll. 6 sqq.: }
p. 141, l. 27: } Rāmbīr is a mistake of the Tibetans for Raṇbīr (Raṇavīra).

p. 140, l. 29: For 'Dharma-'āt-mas' read 'Dharmātmas'.

p. 141, l. 21: For *al-wan* read *'al-wan*.

ll. 32 sqq.: For *pao* read *paḥo*.

ll. 33 sqq.: For *bati* read *ba-ti*.

l. 34: For *rdo-saṅ* read *rdo-sraṅ*.

p. 142, l. 4: Concerning Gzim-chuṅ see the note above on p. 123.

p. 142, l. 7 and later: Wāzīr, for Wazīr, is a mistake of the Tibetan text.

p. 142, l. 47: For 'Reb-slob' read 'Redslob'.

p. 143, l. 3: Tika. The *ṭīkā*, Sanskrit *tilaka*, is a mark imprinted in the centre of the forehead as a sign of heir-apparency or, in the case of women, of marriage.

l. 10: For 'the lancers' read 'the bugles'.

p. 143, l. 3 from end: Hakīm, for Ḥākim, is perhaps a mistake of the Tibetan text.

p. 152, ll. 23 ff.: With regard to Csoma de Körös' Tibetan studies in Zaṅs-dkar Mr. Lee Shuttleworth, I.C.S., believes that he has found the exact site. According to his investigations it is the Rdzoṅ-khul monastery on the Dpon-tse River.

p. 156, l. 2 from end: } The Yab-sgod king is perhaps identical with Sultan Yagu, No. 39, on p. 189.
p. 157, l. 2: }

p. 157, l. 3: The Ga-rogs (poor people) are probably a family of smiths. In the *Kesar-saga* the name of a famous smith is Ka-rog.

p. 159, l. 35: For 'together with the valley' read 'together with Gsum-mdo (a village)'.

p. 166, l. 49: The name Tshul-khrims-ñi-ma, as found on one of the walls of the cave temples of Sa-spo-la, is of ancient date. The present head-lamas of Ri-rdzoṅ who are called by the same name are probably the spiritual descendants of the ancient lama of Sa-spo-la. In the same manner the spiritual descendants of Stag-tshaṅ-ras-pa who reside at He-mi[s] are at the present day also called Stag-tshaṅ-ras-pa.

p. 169, l. 6: For 'the Smṛtis (śāstras) came' read 'the (teachers) Smṛti and others came'. Smṛti seems to be a personal name: see Walleser, *Prajñā-pāramitā*, p. 28, and *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, ed. S. C. Das, ii, p. xiii.

l. 10: It is interesting that the name of Sroṅ-ṅe's son Żi-ba-ḥod is found in an inscription on a brass image discovered by Mr. H. Lee Shuttleworth at Graṅ-rtse, Spyi-ti. The image represents Śākya-muni.

ll. 15–16: Grags-pa-lde is probably an abridged form of the name Khri-bkra-śis-grags-pa-lde. The latter form occurs, in a votive inscription found by me on a *maṇi*-wall at Tabo in Spyi-ti, as the name of a king who reigned at Tsaparang.

p. 174, ll. 42–3: Chod is generally spelled Phyod.

p. 181, l. 22: Another period when the Dras district may have felt the yoke of the Chinese was the time of the great Mughal emperors in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

p. 185, l. 16: Add to the account of Zufur Khan that he built the *darwāza* (barrage) at Torgo (Thur-dgon); see Vigne, *Travels*, ii, p. 244.

p. 186, last line but one: Add that one of the inscriptions contains the name of one of the ancient Balti kings. It is Lag-chen, 'great hand,' Mahābāhu.

p. 190, l. 33: For '(Haidar-khān)' read '(Hatim-khan)'.

p. 191, l. 9: The full name of the duchy of Keris is Skye-ris, meaning 'home'.

p. 194, l. 24: Add that Biddulph gives (*Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, pp. 144–5) a line of predecessors of Ali Sher, among whom are found the titles Fakir, Tham, Singe, and Bokha: See K. E. von Ujfalvy, *Aus dem westlichen Himalaya*, pp. 254–7. He himself made the acquaintance of the chiefs Ali Shah and his son Shah Abbas.

p. 195, l. 35: } For 'Massey' read 'Massy'. His work is entitled *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Delhi, Jalandhar and Derajat Divisions of the Panjab* (Allahabad, 1890).
p. 206, last line: }

p. 214, l. 29: Add that Lcags-mkhar (which is also mentioned above, p. 206) is found in the Bon-po book *Gzer-mig* as the name of a castle of the Nāgas.

p. 218, l. 29: For '(Ṛiddhi)' read '(Biddhi or Pṛithvī)'.

p. 220, end: Add that, according to the colophon of a MS. of the Tibetan *Vetāla*-stories recently found in the possession of the Bar-ḥbog family, the family is descended from a Brāhman ancestor.

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(Containing chiefly proper names (of persons and places), titles, technical terms, etc.)

N.B.—The variations and inconsistencies in the spelling are due for the most part to (a) *variations in the original documents, Tibetan and other ;* (b) *differences in the systems of transliteration or spelling adopted by European writers from whom quotations are taken ;* (c) *particular deviations on the part of the same writers.*

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